THE

LIFE AND PONTIFICATE

OF

LEO THE TENTH.

By WILLIAM ROSCOE.

EDITED AND REVISED BY HIS SON,

THOMAS ROSCOE.

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Leo X. visits the tomb of his father.

CHAPTER XIII.

1515—1516.

Francis I. assumes the title of duke of Milan—Forms an alliance with the archduke Charles—With Henry VIII.—And with the Venetian state—Leo X. wishes to remain neuter—Marriage of Giuliano de' Medici with Filiberta of Savoy—Confidential letter to him from the cardinal da Bibbiena—Leo X. compelled to take a decisive part—Accedes to the league against France—Revolt of Fregoso at Genoa—He attempts to justify his conduct to the pope—Preparations of Francis I. for attacking the Milanese—Forces of the allies—The league proclaimed—Genoa surrenders to the French fleet—Prospero Colonna surprised and made prisoner—The pope relaxes in his opposition to Francis I.—The Swiss resolve to oppose the French—Francis I. summons the city of Milan to surrender—Endeavours without effect to form an alliance with the Swiss—Rapid march of D'Alviano—Inactivity of the Spanish and papal troops—Battle of Marignano—Francis I. knighted by the chevalier Bayard—Surrender of the Milanese—Leo X. forms an alliance with Francis I.—Embassy from the Venetians to the French king—Death of D'Alviano—Wolsey raised to the rank of cardinal—Leo X. visits Florence—Rejoicings and exhibitions on that occasion—Procession of the pope—He visits the tomb of his father—Arrives at Bologna—His interview with Francis I.—Particular occurrences on that occasion—Abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction and establishment of the Concordat*—Leo X. returns to Florence—Raffaello Petrucci obtains the chief authority in Siena—Death of Giuliano de' Medici—Escape of the pope from barbarian corsairs at Civita Lavinia.*

ALTHOUGH the death of Louis XII. had for the present relieved the Roman pontiff from the apprehensions which he had entertained for the repose of Italy, yet that event was by no means favourable to his views. By the united efforts of his spiritual arms, and his temporal allies, Leo had not only repressed the ambitious designs of the French monarch,

Francis I. assumes the title of duke of Milan. 1515. Æt. 40. Pont. III.

but had acquired an ascendency over him which might have been converted to very important purposes: and if he could not induce the king to relinquish his designs upon Milan, yet he had made such arrangements as to be prepared for whatever might be the event of that expedition. By the death of this monarch he therefore lost in a great degree the result of his labours; and this he had the more reason to regret, as the duke of Angoulême, who succeeded to the crown at the age of twenty-two years, by the name of Francis I., was of a vigorous constitution, an active disposition, and courageous even to a romantic extreme. On assuming the title of king of France, he forgot not to add that of duke of Milan; but although the salique law had preferred him to the two daughters of Louis XII. as the successor of that monarch, the sovereignty of Milan was considered, under the imperial investiture, as the absolute inheritance of the late king, and liable to be disposed of at his own pleasure. Preparatory to the negotiation which had taken place for the marriage of Renée, youngest daughter of Louis XII., with the archduke Charles, her father had made a grant to her of the duchy of Milan, and the county of Pavia, with a limitation, in case of her dying without offspring, to his eldest daughter Claudia, the queen of Francis I.[1] Soon after the accession of Francis, the queen, therefore, by a solemn diploma, transferred to the king her rights to the duchy of Milan and its dependent states; in consideration, as it appears, of a grant previously made to her of the duchies of Aragon and Angoulême, and the stipulation on the part of Francis of providing a suitable match for the princess Renée.[2]

Forms an alliance with the archduke Charles.

The character of Francis I. was a sufficient pledge that the title which he had thus assumed would not long be suffered to remain merely nominal. From his infancy he had been accustomed to hear of the achievements of his countrymen in Italy. The glory of Gaston de Foix seemed to obscure his own

[1] There was also a further limitation to Francis, in case the two princesses died without children. The grant is preserved in Du Mont, Corps Diplomatique, tom. iv. par. i. p. 177.

[2] This act is given by Lünig, Codex Italiæ Diplomaticus, i. 522. Also by Du Mont, Corps Diplomat. tom. iv. par. i. p. 211.

reputation, and at the recital of the battles of Brescia and of Ravenna, he is said to have expressed all those emotions of impatient regret which Cæsar felt on contemplating the statue of Alexander. He was, however, sufficiently aware, that before he engaged in an enterprise of such importance as the conquest of Milan, it would be necessary not only to confirm his alliances with those powers who were in amity with France, but also to obviate, as far as possible, the opposition of such as might be hostile to his views. His first overtures were therefore directed to the young archduke Charles, who, although then only fifteen years of age, had assumed the government of the Netherlands, which he inherited in right of his grandmother Mary, daughter of Charles, last duke of Burgundy. The situation of the archduke rendered such an alliance highly expedient to him; and the conditions were speedily concluded on. By this treaty the contracting parties promised to aid each other in the defence of the dominions which they then respectively held, or which they might thereafter possess; and that if either of them should undertake any just conquest, the other should, upon a proper representation, afford his assistance, in such a manner as might be agreed upon. Many regulations were also introduced respecting the territories held by the archduke as fiefs from the crown of France, and the contract for the marriage of the archduke with the princess Renée was again revived under certain stipulations, which it would be superfluous to enumerate, as the marriage never took place.[3]

The friendship of Henry VIII. was not less an object of importance to the French monarch than that of the archduke, and he therefore sent instructions to the president of Rouen, his ambassador in

And with Henry VIII.

[3] The author of the "Ligue de Cambray" informs us, that by this treaty the French monarch undertook to assist the archduke in recovering the dominions of his maternal ancestors on the death of his grandfather, the king of Aragon; in return for which the archduke agreed not to oppose the king in his attempt on Milan. Ligue de Camb. vol. ii. p. 397. It would have been very indecorous, and indeed very impolitic, in Charles, to have introduced a clause of this nature, which would have had a direct tendency to throw doubts upon his title to his hereditary dominions in Spain; nor are any such specific stipulations contained in the treaty, which is couched only in general terms. *Vide* Dumont, Corps Diplomat. tom. iv. par. i. p. 199.

England, to propose a renewal of the treaty made with Louis XII., which, upon Francis entering into a new obligation for the payment of the million of crowns for which Louis had engaged himself, was willingly assented to, and the treaty was signed at Westminster on the fourth day of April, 1515. Leo X. is named therein, with other sovereigns, as the ally of both the contracting parties; but it is particularly specified that this nomination shall have no reference to the states of Milan, which the French king claims as his right;[4] and through the whole treaty he has cautiously affixed to his other titles those of duke of Milan and lord of Genoa.[5]

And with the Venetian state.

The negotiations of Francis with Ferdinand of Aragon, and the emperor elect, Maximilian, were not, however, attended with the expected success. To the former he proposed the renewal of the treaty which had subsisted between him and Louis XII. omitting only the article which guaranteed the tranquillity of Milan; but as this held out to Ferdinand no adequate advantages for a concession which might prove eventually dangerous to his Italian possessions, it is not surprising that he rejected the proposition; and the emperor elect, who at this time regarded Ferdinand as an oracle of political wisdom, was easily prevailed upon to join his irresolute and feeble aid in opposing the designs of the French monarch. Whilst these negotiations were depending, Francis had forborne to treat with the Venetians, who still remained firmly attached to the cause of the French; but no sooner were his propositions to the two sovereigns rejected, than he agreed with the senate to renew the treaty of Blois, by which Louis XII. had promised to assist them in recovering the possessions of which they had been deprived by the emperor elect in Lombardy. At the same

[4] These rights were founded on his descent from Valentina, only sister of the last duke of Milan, of the Visconti family, and grandmother of Francis I. *Vide* Rossi, Ital. Ed. vol. v. p. 173.

[5] Du Mont, Corps Diplomat. vol. iv. par. i. p. 204. Rymer, Fœdera, vol. vii. par. i. p. 98. The great attention paid by the pope to Henry VIII. at this period, sufficiently appears by a letter from him to that monarch, respecting the appointment of the archbishop of S. Andrews to the office of pontifical legate, in which he assures the king that he esteems him before all the sovereigns of the time, and is ready to do all in his power for his gratification. *Vide* App. No. XLIII.

time he assured the Venetian ambassador, that before the expiration of four months, he would unite his arms with those of the republic on the banks of the Adda.[6]

The Swiss, whom the breach of the treaty of Dijon had rendered irreconcilable enemies of France, still continued to breathe from their mountains defiance and revenge. A herald, whom Francis sent to demand passports for his ambassadors, instead of obtaining the object of his mission, was ordered to return and inform his sovereign that he might soon expect another visit from them, unless he speedily fulfilled the treaty. In one respect this avowed hostility was, however, serviceable to the king, as it enabled him, under the pretext of opposing the Swiss, to carry on, without exciting the jealousy of surrounding states, those formidable preparations which he intended to direct towards another quarter.

Under this alarming aspect of public affairs, which evidently portended new calamities to Europe, Leo availed himself of the friendly terms which he had cautiously maintained with the contending powers, to decline taking an active part in favour of any of them, whilst he continued as the chief of Christendom to administer his advice to all. In this conduct, which was no less consistent with the dignity of his office than with his own private interest, he was for some time encouraged to persevere, by the open sanction or the tacit assent of all parties. Francis I. instead of pressing him to favour an enterprise, towards the success of which he well knew the pope was decidedly adverse, contented himself with sending an embassy to request that he would not enter into any engagements which might prevent those friendly connexions that would probably take place between them, in case his expedition against Milan should prove successful;[7] and to assure him that there was no one who esteemed

Leo X. wishes to remain neuter.

[6] Ligue de Camb. liv. iv. tom. ii. p. 402.

[7] Leo had written to Francis I. soon after his accession, congratulating him on that event, and assuring him of his perfect confidence in his good intentions towards the holy see; at the same time requesting him to confer on the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, the archbishopric of Narbonne, with which the king complied. App. No. XLIV.

more highly the favour of the holy see, or who would make greater sacrifices for the service of the pontiff and the honour of his family, than himself.[8] This communication, which in fact left the pope at full liberty to preserve his neutrality until the event of the contest was known, induced him to decline the offers which were made to him about the same period, by the emperor elect, the king of Aragon, and the Helvetic states, to enter into the league which they had lately concluded for the defence of the Milanese, and in which a power had been reserved for the pope to accede to it within a limited time. By this treaty it had been agreed that the Swiss should send a powerful body of troops to the defence of Milan, and should at the same time march an army into the duchy of Burgundy, for the purpose of occupying the French monarch in the defence of his own dominions; for which services they were to receive a monthly subsidy of forty thousand crowns. Ferdinand, on his part, undertook to attack the dominions of Francis on the side of Perpignan and Fontarabia; whilst Maximilian, on this as on other occasions, seemed to consider the imperial sanction as a sufficient contribution, in lieu both of money and troops.[9]

Marriage of Giuliano de' Medici with Filiberta of Savoy.

In determining the pope to the neutrality which he manifested on this occasion, other reasons of no inconsiderable importance concurred. Early in the month of February, 1515, the matrimonial engagement which had been entered into at the close of the preceding year between Giuliano de' Medici and Filiberta of Savoy, sister of Louisa, duchess of Angoulême, the mother of Francis I., was carried into effect; on which occasion Giuliano paid a visit to the French court, where he so far obtained the favourable opinion of Francis, that he declared he esteemed the connexion as highly as if it had been formed with the most powerful sovereign. Besides the revenues of Parma and Piacenza, which Leo had already conferred on his brother, and which amounted to the clear annual sum of twenty-eight thousand ducats, he assigned to him the income to arise from the city of Modena, which was sup-

[8] Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 84.
[9] Ligue de Camb. liv. iv. tom. ii. p. 405.

posed to amount to about twenty thousand more. He also conferred on him the title of captain-general of the church, to the exclusion of the duke of Urbino, to which he added a monthly salary of four hundred and eight ducats, whilst a separate revenue of three hundred ducats per month was granted to the bride for her own use, although, in respect of her high alliances, she had been received without a portion.[10] Other considerable sums were disbursed in preparing a suitable residence for Giuliano and his bride at Rome, where it was intended they should maintain a secular court; and in the rejoicings which took place in that city on their arrival, the pope is said to have incurred the enormous expense of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats.[11] Extraordinary festivals were also celebrated at Turin, where Giuliano and his wife resided for a month after their marriage; and again at Florence, where all the inhabitants, either through affection or through fear, were anxious to shew their respect to the family of the Medici. But in case the king proved successful in his enterprise against Milan, the territory from which Giuliano derived a great part of his revenues lay at the mercy of that monarch, and it would therefore have been not only indecorous but imprudent in the pope, at such a juncture, to have espoused the cause of his adversaries, and blighted the expectations which Giuliano might reasonably form from the continuance of his favour.

During the absence of Giuliano de' Medici from Rome, he received frequent information respecting the critical state of public affairs, and the dispositions and views of the European powers, as well from Lodovico Canossa, the pontifical legate at the court of France, as from the cardinal da Bibbiena at Rome. The letters from Canossa on this occasion contain the fullest assurances of the kind dispositions, as well of the king as of his mother Louisa, towards the family of the Medici; and the strongest exhortations to him not to neglect so favourable an opportunity of cementing, by a stricter alliance, a connexion so happily begun. But the letters of the cardinal

Confidential letter to him from the cardinal da Bibbiena.

[10] Lettera del Card. da Bibbiena a Giuliano de' Med. Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p. 15.
[11] Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 110.

da Bibbiena, who was at this period intrusted with the most secret intentions of the Roman court, are of a much more curious nature, and throw such light on the state of public affairs, the situation of the different members of the Medici family, and the ambitious designs which were formed by them, as might render a specimen of them not uninteresting, even if it were not written by the lively pen of the author of the "Calandra."

To the Magnificent Giuliano de' Medici, Captain of the Church.[12]

"His holiness has expressed great surprise and dissatisfaction at having heard nothing respecting you during so many days, and complains grievously of your attendants, who have been so negligent, that since your arrival at Nice, no intelligence has been received of your proceedings. The blame of this is chiefly attributed, both by his holiness and myself, to M. Latino,[13] whose province it was to have written. It is no excuse to say, that from the remote situation of the place he knew not how to forward his letters, because the expense would have been well laid out in sending a special messenger, who might at any time have proceeded either to Genoa or Piacenza, to inform the pope of that which is dearer to him than any other object—the state of your own health and person. If you therefore wish to relieve his holiness from this anxiety, and afford him real consolation, take care that he may in future be more particularly apprized of your welfare.

"Not only the pope, and your own family, your brother, nephew, and sister,[14] but the whole court, are in the most earnest expectation of receiving news from you and your illustrious consort; nor do I think that the arrival of any person in any place was ever expected with an impatience equal to that which she has excited at Rome, as well from her own accomplishments, on which account every one is desirous to see and to honour her, as from the great favour

[12] Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p. 14.

[13] Latino Juvenale, one of the Secretaries of Leo X. and frequently employed by him as an envoy to foreign states.

[14] Francesco Cibò, Lorenzo de' Medici, and his mother Alfonsina Orsino.

with which you are yourself regarded here. You will therefore inform us, with all possible speed and accuracy, what time will be employed in your journey, and when you purpose to arrive at Rome, that every thing may be prepared for your reception. I shall say no more on this head, expecting to hear fully from you on the subject.

"As I know that M. Pietro Ardinghelli has continually apprized you of the most important occurrences, I have not for the last ten days troubled you with my letters. I had before written two long letters to you by way of Piacenza, which I flatter myself came safe to your hands. I there mentioned that Tomaso,[15] on going from home, had left your Baccio[16] to expedite many affairs of importance. With Ghingerli,[17] and with him who wished to be related to Leonardo,[18] an intimate friendship and good understanding has been concluded; they being fully inclined to do the same as the rest whom Leonardo knows, if that which Tomaso wishes for Leonardo be granted, which it is hoped will be done.[19] By his letters of the third day of this month, Ghingerli has informed Tomaso that he is willing, besides the other recompense which I mentioned to you, to relinquish the place at which my Leonardo was formerly so much indisposed, to the person you know.[20] It remains, therefore, that he who is to receive this recompense,[21] and his defenders in the vicinity,[22] should satisfy themselves on this head; it being expected that they will approve of it.[23] The person whom count Hercole resembles[24] has sent a message to his master to this effect, and has requested Ghingerli that he will wholly give up the other two places which

[15] Leo X. [16] The cardinal da Bibbiena, writer of the letter.

[17] The king of Spain.

[18] By the person who wished to be related to Leonardo, is probably meant the emperor elect, Maximilian, and by Leonardo, certainly the Magnificent Giuliano, to whom the letter is addressed.

[19] From this it is to be understood, that the king of Spain and the emperor were willing that the pope should retain the possessions which he held in Lombardy.

[20] Undoubtedly the duchy of Urbino, where Giuliano had passed a great portion of his time during his exile.

[21] Meaning Giuliano himself. [22] The Roman see.

[23] This seems intended to discover the sentiments of Giuliano respecting the attempt upon Urbino, of which, from principles of justice and gratitude, he always disapproved.

[24] The Spanish ambassador, who probably bore some resemblance in his person to the count Ercole Rangone, a nobleman of the court of Leo X.

are to belong to Tomaso, or, to speak more accurately, to Leonardo,[25] and it is thought there will not be the slightest difficulty. Tomaso is well disposed to this arrangement, and told me this morning repeatedly, that Leonardo should also have all the other places of which he had formerly spoken,[26] making, however, as you know, a due recompense to those by whose means these favours are received.

"Bartolommeo, who has the cypher, is not at home. I must therefore express myself without it; particularly as this will be sent by our own messengers.

"Our most reverend cardinal, and the Magnificent Lorenzo, recommend themselves to you as fully as can be expressed. I hope you will not omit to write to them, and especially to his holiness, whom I ought to have mentioned first. In this I trust you will not fail, as the reverence due to his holiness, and the love which they bear you, require it. The cardinal has received the *placet* of his most Christian majesty for the cathedral of Narbonne, and wholly through the means of the duchess of Angoulême,[27] on which account your excellency may return thanks in the name of his holiness to the duke and his consort. The business was concluded in the consistory the day before yesterday, and the bull despatched to France, as I believe Ardinghelli informed you, as well as with the alliance which the Swiss have made with the emperor, the Catholic king, and the duke of Milan. The substance of this treaty Ardinghelli must have transmitted to you, as I gave him a copy of the heads of it. To this his holiness is not, for many reasons, disposed to assent; it appearing to him to be proper, that when a league is agreed upon, in which he is to be included, it should be negotiated and stipulated with him, as the head of the league, and of all Christendom.

"Tomaso says, that he expects they should accept and agree to what he proposes, and not that he should have to accept what is done by others.[28]

[25] The cities of Parma and Piacenza.

[26] Alluding, in all probability, to the duchy of Ferrara, and its dependent states.

[27] The mother of Francis I. and sister to the wife of Giuliano de' Medici.

[28] These passages afford a presumptive proof that the pope had not at this time determined to enter into the league against Francis I.

"We hear, by way of France, that the king of England intends to give his sister to the duke of Suffolk, to which she is not averse. This is not much believed, and yet the intelligence is pretty authentic.

"It is thought his most Christian majesty will not this year make his attempt against Lombardy.

"The king of England is resolved that his sister shall on no account remain in France.

"The emperor and the Catholic king are using all their efforts to have her married to the archduke. This is what we hear from our nuncios in Germany and in Spain.[29] I recollect nothing further that can be new to you. I leave the festivities of this carnival to be narrated by others. I shall only mention, that on Monday the Magnificent Lorenzo will have the "Pœnulus"[30] represented in your theatre, and will give a supper in your *salon* to the Marchesana. And on Sunday, in Testaccio, he and the most reverend cardinal Cibò will exhibit a magnificent *gala*, with twenty persons, dressed in brocade and velvet, at the expense of his holiness. It will be a fine sight.

"You have never yet informed us whether you have excused yourself to the duke of Milan; whether you have sent to the Swiss and the cardinal of Sion, as was spoken of and advised: or whether you have had any communication with his most Christian majesty. Respecting all these matters it is requisite that his holiness should be fully informed.

"Remember, that next to his holiness, every one regards you as the person in whom all the thoughts, the expectations, and the designs of the pope are concentred. I must also remind you, that all your actions are not less noted and considered than those of his holiness; and I therefore entreat you, by the great affection which I bear you, that you will daily, if possible, manifest such a course of conduct as may be worthy of your character.

"THE CARDINAL DA BIBBIENA."

"*From Rome, the* 16*th Feb.* 1515."

[29] It is not improbable that the attachment of the widow of Louis XII. to the duke of Suffolk, and the sudden celebration of their marriage, terminated a negotiation which might have had such important consequences to these kingdoms and to Europe.

[30] Of Plautus.

Leo X. compelled to take a decisive part, accedes to the league against France.

Could the French monarch have remained satisfied with the neutrality of the pontiff, the motives which had led to its adoption were sufficient to have induced Leo to persevere in it; but as the contest approached, Francis became more desirous of engaging the pope to take a decided part in his favour. Such, however, was the aversion which Leo entertained to the establishment of the French in Italy, that even the solicitations of his brother to favour their cause were of no avail. As far as expressions of respect and paternal admonitions could appease the king, Leo spared nothing that might be likely to conciliate his favour; but the more Francis pressed him to a decision, the more apparent became his inclination to the cause of the allies. In order, however, to ascertain his intentions, Francis despatched, as his ambassador to Rome, the celebrated Budæus, who is deservedly considered by Guicciardini, as "perhaps one of the most learned men of the age both in Greek and Roman literature."[31] He was shortly afterwards succeeded by Anton-Maria Pallavicini, a Milanese nobleman, who was supposed to possess great influence with the pope;[32] but the endeavours of the king to obtain a positive sanction to his enterprise were still ineffectual. Sometimes Leo appeared to have serious intentions of entering into a treaty, and required, as a preliminary, that the states of Parma and Piacenza should be guaranteed to the church, the refusal of which he conceived would afford him a sufficient apology for joining the cause of the allies. At other times he is said to have made propositions, couched in such ambiguous terms, as, when assented to, always required further explanations, and which left the negotiations in the same state of suspense as when the treaty begun. The French and Italian writers are agreed in considering the conduct of the pontiff on this occasion as the result of artifice and disingenuousness;[33] but they appear not sufficiently to have attended to the difficulties of his situation, or at least not to have made sufficient

[31] Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 86.
[32] Ligue de Camb. liv. iv. vol. ii. p. 410.
[33] Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 87. Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 107. Ligue de Camb. liv. iv. vol. ii. p. 411.

allowance for them. As head of the church, and both by his disposition and office, the acknowledged arbiter and mediator of Europe, he ought not perhaps to have been solicited to take a decided part in the threatened hostilities; and as a prince whose temporal authority was supported rather by public opinion, and the favour of surrounding states, than by his own forces, it was evident that he could not, without endangering his own safety, accede to the propositions of the king. If therefore the reiterated efforts of the French monarch to engage the pope in his interests, were not followed by the consequences which he wished, they were followed by such as he might reasonably have expected, and instead of inducing the pope to unite the power of the Roman and Florentine states with the arms of France, compelled him, in conformity with his former maxims, to embrace the cause of the allies. In the month of June he issued a monitory, subjecting, in general terms, all those who should again disturb the states of the church, and in particular Parma and Piacenza, to the penalties of excommunication;[34] and in July, he openly acceded to the general league expressly formed for the defence of Milan. Nor, if a decision could no longer be delayed, can it be denied, that in making this election, he chose the part that did the most credit to his character, or that an opposite conduct would have rendered him deservedly liable to the suspicion of having sacrificed his principles and his country to the favour of the French monarch, and the aggrandizement of his own family.

The first decisive indications of approaching hostilities appeared in Genoa, where Ottaviano Fregoso, who held the chief authority in that city, which he had obtained by the favour and preserved by the assistance of the pope,[35] unexpectedly relinquished his title of doge, and assumed that of governor for the king of France. That so bold a measure could not be adopted without the participation and encouragement of the king, was apparent; but the event proved that the eagerness

Revolt of Fregoso at Genoa.

[34] This document is preserved in Lünig, Cod. Diplomat. Ital. vol. ii. p. 802.
[35] Ap. Fabr. in Vita Leon. X. p. 88.

of Fregoso to avail himself of the honours and emoluments that were to be the rewards of his defection, had prematurely led him to this treacherous attempt. The Adorni and the Fieschi, the ancient enemies of the Fregosi, were vigilant in grasping at any opportunity that might effect his ruin. Uniting their arms with those of Prospero Colonna, who commanded the forces of the duke of Milan, and being joined by six thousand Swiss, who had already arrived in Italy, they proceeded towards Genoa. Fregoso had assembled for his defence about five thousand men; but conceiving that they would be unable to support so powerful an attack, and despairing of obtaining timely aid from France, he was reduced to the humiliating necessity of having recourse to the pope, to protect him from the chastisement which his treachery had so justly merited. Whether Leo believed Fregoso to be sincere in his contrition, or whether, as is much more probable, he was unwilling to exasperate the French monarch, certain it is, that on this occasion he exerted his authority with Colonna to prevent the intended attack, and a negotiation was entered into, by which Fregoso was allowed to retain his authority as doge, on his engaging not to favour the cause of the French, and paying to the Swiss a considerable sum of money as an indemnification for their expenses.[36]

Fregoso attempts to vindicate himself to the pope.

In order to exculpate himself from the disgrace which he had incurred by this transaction, Fregoso is said to have addressed a letter to Leo X. in which, after having particularized all the motives of his conduct, and alleged all the excuses in his power, he finally endeavours to vindicate the steps which he had taken by the example of the pontiff himself; assuring him, "that he well knew it would be difficult to apologize for his conduct, if he were addressing himself to a private individual, or to a prince who considered matters of state by those rules of morality which are applicable to private life. But that in addressing himself to a sovereign, who was inferior in talents to no one of the age, and whose penetration must have discovered that the measures which he had adopted

[36] Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 87. Murat. Annali, vol. x. p. 111.

were such as appeared necessary for the preservation of his authority, any further excuse must appear superfluous; it being well understood that it was allowable, or at least customary, for a sovereign to resort to expedients of an extraordinary nature, not only for the preservation, but even for the extension and increase of his dominions." On this production, in which Fregoso is supposed to have satirically alluded to the conduct of the pope, in his negotiations with the king of France, and which has been considered as the manifesto of that monarch against Leo X.[37] it may be remarked, that if it was written to prevail upon Leo to interpose his authority for the protection of Fregoso, it was ill calculated to effect its purpose; if it was addressed to the pontiff afterwards, it was an ungrateful return for a magnanimous and unmerited favour; and that at whatever time it was produced (if indeed such a document ever existed) its application was equally insolent and absurd; the connexion between Leo X. and Francis I. bearing no similarity to that which subsisted between Fregoso and the pontiff, who had invested him with that very authority which he had endeavoured to pervert to purposes the most opposite to those for which it had been intrusted to him.

Preparations of Francis I. for attacking the Milanese.

As soon as the intentions of the pope were known, Francis I. thought proper to dispense with the pretexts under which he had made such formidable preparations, and to avow his purpose of attempting to recover the states of Milan. If we compare the measures adopted by Francis on this occasion with those of Charles VIII. about twenty years before, we shall be led to conclude, that of all the objects which at that time engaged the attention of mankind, the destructive science of war had made the most rapid progress. In fact, the commencement of the modern system of warfare is to be referred to this period, when the disorderly bodies of mercenary troops, dependent on their own particular leader, and armed in various modes, gave way to regular levies, duly disciplined, and to those immense trains of artillery which have ever since been found the most effectual implements of destruction.

[37] Ligue de Camb. liv. iv. vol. ii. p. 413 Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 87.

In preparing to carry his arms beyond the Alps, it was, however, necessary that Francis should first provide for his security at home. The province of Gascony was threatened by Ferdinand of Aragon, and that of Burgundy by the Helvetic states. For the defence of the former he despatched the Sieur de Lautrec, with five hundred lances, and about five thousand infantry, whilst la Tremouille hastened to Provence, with a considerable body of troops, to prevent the incursions of the Swiss.[38] The army destined for the expedition to Milan is said to have consisted of four thousand lances, being double the number retained in the service of Louis XII., and which may be computed, with their usual attendants, at twenty thousand cavalry; but the accuracy of this statement has been questioned, and it is probable the number employed in this service did not greatly exceed half that amount.[39] To these were added several large bodies of infantry, as well Germans as French, amounting in the whole to upwards of thirty thousand men, and a much more formidable train of artillery than had ever before been collected. On arriving in the Lionese, where they were directed to assemble, they were also joined by Pietro Navarro, at the head of ten thousand Biscayans, or Basque infantry, whom he had raised, rather by the credit of his military reputation, than by the influence of his rank or his pecuniary resources. This celebrated officer, who had long held a conspicuous command in the Spanish army, after having been made a prisoner at the battle of Ravenna, had remained in confinement; his captor having demanded as his ransom twenty thousand gold crowns, which his avaricious sovereign had refused to pay. On the accession of Francis to the throne, he found Navarro languishing in prison, and being pleased with the opportunity of attaching such a man to his interests, he paid his ransom, and gave him the command of a troop of Biscayans, his countrymen. Navarro, although of mean extraction, had a sense of honour and fidelity, the criterion of an elevated mind. Before he would accept the bounty of the king, he again addressed

[38] Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 111.

[39] Ibid. But according to the enumeration of Guicciardini, the forces of Francis I. amounted to upwards of 50,000 men. Hist. d'Ital. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 88.

himself to his former sovereign, once more entreating to be liberated, and replaced in his former employ. On the reiterated refusal of Ferdinand, Navarro transmitted to him a resignation of all the grants which had been made to him as a reward for his services, and took an oath of allegiance to the French monarch, to whom his talents and experience were of singular service, and to whom he ever afterwards retained an unshaken fidelity.[40]

Forces of the allies.

Nor were the allied powers remiss in preparing for the defence of Italy. The movement of troops throughout the whole of that country far exceeded any recent example. After having reduced Fregoso, doge of Genoa, to obedience, Prospero Colonna, at the head of the Milanese forces, hastened into Piedmont to oppose the entrance of the French. The viceroy Cardona, with upwards of twelve thousand Spaniards, directed his march towards Vicenza, then occupied by the Venetian general d'Alviano; who, not being prepared to contend with so great a force, retired in haste to the Brentel; in consequence of which Vicenza was plundered, and its stores of provisions sent to Verona. The Swiss pouring down in large bodies from the mountains, had increased their army to upwards of thirty thousand men. Another body of Milanese was stationed at Cremona, to repress the depredations of Renzo da Ceri, who from his fortress at Crema, continued to harass the surrounding country. At the same time, the pope despatched his brother Giuliano, as general of the church, at the head of three thousand Roman cavalry, and a considerable body of infantry, to Bologna, whilst Lorenzo de' Medici, as general of the Florentine republic, with two thousand horse, and six thousand foot, took his station in the vicinity of Piacenza.[41]

The league proclaimed

The views of the adverse parties were now fully disclosed: and whilst Francis I. was on the point of passing the Alps in the beginning of the month of August, the league between the pope, and the

[40] Ligue de Camb. liv. iv. vol. ii. p. 407.

[41] Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 112. Leoni, in his life of Fr. Maria, duke of Urbino, p. 167, states the forces of Lorenzo at 800 men at arms, as many light horse, and 7,000 infantry.

king of the Romans, the king of Aragon, the states of Florence and of Milan, and the Swiss cantons, was solemnly proclaimed in Naples, Rome, and other principal places.[42] At the same juncture, Henry VIII. sent an envoy to the French monarch, to admonish him not to disturb the peace of Christendom by carrying his arms into Italy;[43] but opposition and exhortation were now alike ineffectual; and Francis, having passed with his army into Dauphiny, was there joined by Robert de la Marck, at the head of the celebrated *bandes noires*, who were equally distinguished by their valour in the field and by their fidelity to the cause which they espoused.

Genoa surrenders to the French fleet.

In order to engage the attention of the allies, whilst the French army were passing the Alps, Francis had despatched a flotilla with four hundred men at arms and five thousand foot, under the command of Aymar de Prie, with orders to possess himself of the city of Genoa. On their arrival at Savona, that place immediately capitulated. Fregoso had now obtained a better opportunity of deserting his friends than had before presented itself. That he might not, however, a second time incur the imputation of treachery, he despatched messengers to the duke of Milan to request instant succour from the allies; and as this did not speedily arrive, he opened the gates of Genoa to the French, and raised their standard in the city. The French general having accomplished his object without bloodshed, and being now reinforced by a body of troops from Fregoso, proceeded to Alexandria and Tortona, of both which places he possessed himself without difficulty, although the viceroy Cardona was strongly intrenched at Castalazzo; and even the city of Asti soon afterwards surrendered to the French arms.[44]

Prospero Colonna surprised and made prisoner.

Whilst this detachment was thus successfully employed, the body of the French army, under the command of Trivulzio, marshal of France, was effecting its passage over the Alps. They did not, however, follow the usual track, from Grenoble to Susa, although it afforded the greatest facility for the conveyance

[42] Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 113. [43] Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 89.
[44] Ligue de Camb. liv. iv. vol. ii. p. 418. Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 113.

of artillery; having had information, that the Swiss were assembled there in great force to oppose their progress on the supposition that it would not be possible for the French to effect their passage in any other part. Choosing, therefore, rather to encounter the difficulties of a new and unexplored pass, than to attempt to force their way in the face of a bold and active enemy, who might annoy them at every step, they bent their course to the south, and proceeded between the maritime and Cottian Alps, towards the principality of Saluzzo.[45] In this undertaking, they underwent great labour, and surmounted incredible difficulties, being frequently obliged to hew through the rocks a path for their artillery, and to lower the cannon from the precipices with which the country abounds. Having, however, no fear of an attack, they divided their force into different bodies, each taking such direction as appeared most practicable, and in six days arrived in the vicinity of Embrun. The Milanese general, Prospero Colonna, lay encamped at Villa Franca, near the source of the Po, whence he intended to proceed towards Susa, for the purpose of joining his arms with those of the Swiss, to oppose the descent of the French. As he had not the most remote idea that the enemy could have effected a passage so far to the south, he was wholly unprepared for an attack; but the Sieur de Palisse, at the head of a strong detachment, having availed himself of the services of the neighbouring peasants, surprised him whilst he was seated at table, and having dispersed his troops, made him and several of his chief officers prisoners.[46] This unexpected and disgraceful event, by which a great and experienced commander, in whose abilities and integrity the allied powers had the fullest confidence, was lost to their cause, added to the successes of Aymer de Prie, spread a sudden panic throughout the country, and was more particularly felt by the pope, who, relying on the courage and vigilance of the Swiss, had flattered himself that the French would not be able to force their way into Italy.

[45] Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. pp. 90, 91.
[46] Ibid. p. 91. Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 114.

The pope relaxes in his opposition to Francis I.

As the measures in which Leo had concurred for the public defence had been adopted rather through compulsion, than from any hostile disposition to the French monarch, for whom he still continued to profess the highest regard; so the earnest of success which Francis had already obtained, induced him to relax still further in his opposition, lest he should eventually exasperate the young monarch beyond all hope of reconciliation. Hitherto the troops of the church had taken no other part in the contest than such as appeared necessary for the protection of the papal territories. Unable to support the fatigues of a camp, Giuliano de' Medici had been attacked by a slow fever, in consequence of which he relinquished the command of the Roman troops to his nephew Lorenzo, and retired to Florence, in hopes of deriving advantage to his health from the air of his native place. Three days after the capture of Colonna, Lorenzo arrived at Modena, between which place and Reggio he stationed his troops; the only active service which he had performed having been the expulsion of Guido Rangone from the fortress of Rubiera. In this situation it became a subject of serious deliberation with the pope, whether he should order the Roman and Florentine troops to hasten and join the Swiss, who were obliged to retire before the French in all directions, or should avail himself of the opportunity which might yet remain, of a reconciliation with the French monarch. In consulting his principal advisers, he found at this important crisis a great diversity of opinion among them. The cardinal da Bibbiena, and other courtiers, actuated rather by their fears of the French, than by a deliberate consideration of the circumstances in which the Roman pontiff was placed, earnestly advised him to humiliate himself to the king. They represented to him that the duke of Ferrara would undoubtedly seize this opportunity to recover the cities of Modena and Reggio, and that the Bentivoli would in like manner repossess themselves of Bologna; on which account it would be more prudent for the pope, rather to relinquish those places voluntarily, than by an obstinate and hopeless defence, to

endanger the safety of the states of the church. This pusillanimous advice was, however, opposed by the firmness of the cardinal de' Medici, who having lately been appointed legate of Bologna, and conceiving that the disgrace of its surrender would be imputed to his counsels, exhorted the pope not to relinquish to its former tyrants one of the finest cities in the ecclesiastical state, nor to desert at such a crisis those noble and respectable inhabitants, who had adhered with such unshaken fidelity to his interests.[47] These representations, which the cardinal enforced by frequent messengers from Bologna, are said to have had a great effect on the mind of the pope, who resolved not to surrender any part of his territories, until he was compelled to it by irresistible necessity. If, however, on the one hand he did not abandon himself to despair; on the other, he did not think it advisable to take the most conspicuous part among the allies in opposing the progress of the king, but directed his general, Lorenzo, to keep his station on the south of the Po. At the same time he despatched to Francis I. his confidential envoy, Cinthio da Tivoli, for the purpose of endeavouring, by the assistance of the duke of Savoy, to effect a new treaty; or at least for the purpose, as it has been with no small probability conjectured, that in case the monarch should prove successful, the pope might be found in open negotiation with him.[48]

The Swiss resolve to oppose the French.

Nor did the allies of the pope, the Swiss alone excepted, discover any greater inclination than himself to oppose the progress of the French. The emperor elect did not appear on this occasion either in his own person, or by his representatives. The viceroy Cardona, at the head of the Spanish army, after having long waited in vain at Verona for the reinforcements in men and money which Maximilian had promised to furnish, quitted that place, and proceeded to Piacenza, to join the troops under the command of Lorenzo de' Medici. In the mean time Francis had arrived with the remainder of his army at Turin, where he had met with a splendid reception from

[47] Ep. Julii Med. Card. ad Pont. ap. Fabr. in Vita Leon. X. p. 90.
[48] Ligue de Camb. liv. iv. vol. ii. p. 423. Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 92.

his near relation, Charles III. duke of Savoy. As the Swiss found themselves closely pressed by the French, and wholly unsupported by their allies, who ought to have felt a much greater interest in the cause than themselves, they listened to the representations of the duke of Savoy, who had endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between them and the king. Nor is it unlikely that his efforts would have been successful, had they not been frustrated by the remonstrances and exhortations of the cardinal of Sion, who being irreconcileably adverse to the cause of the French, and possessing great influence among his countrymen, stimulated them by every means in his power to persevere in the cause. He also repaired to Piacenza, where he prevailed on Cardona to furnish him with a supply of seventy thousand ducats, and a body of five hundred cavalry, under the command of Lodovico Orsino, count of Pitigliano, with which he returned to his countrymen; who, upon this reinforcement, rejected the overtures of the king, and determined to seize the first favourable opportunity of bringing him to a decisive engagement. The arrival, at this juncture, of fresh levies of their countrymen, confirmed them in this resolution; and although some of their leaders were still desirous of an accommodation, yet the increasing activity and energetic harangues of the cardinal, had inflamed their resentment to such a degree, that the greater part of the army breathed only war and revenge.[49]

Francis summons the city of Milan to surrender.

During these negotiations, the Swiss had quitted Novara on the approach of the king, who, after a cannonade of some days, compelled the inhabitants to surrender, on terms which secured to them their safety and effects. He thence hastened to Pavia, which instantly surrendered to his arms, and passing the river Tesino, he despatched Trivulzio with the advanced guard towards Milan, in expectation that the inhabitants would openly espouse his cause. In this, however, he was disappointed. The sufferings which they had experienced

[49] Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 95. A contemporary poet puts into the mouth of the cardinal the beautiful words by which he sought to dissuade his countrymen from all proposals of conciliation. *Turpe quidem ferro vinci, sed turpius auro.* Haller, Lib. of Helvetic Hist. par. v. p. 116. Ap. Henke, Germ. Ed. vol. ii. p. 229.*

on the last incursion of the French had taught them the danger of a premature avowal of their sentiments, and they therefore determined to remain neuter, if possible, until the event of the contest was known. In order, however, to mitigate the resentment of the king, who had already advanced as far as Buffalora, they despatched an embassy to him, to entreat that he would not attribute their reluctance to obey his summons to any disrespect either to his person or government, but that after having suffered so much on a former occasion by their attachment to his predecessor, they trusted they should not now be called upon to adopt such a conduct as might expose them to the resentment of his enemies. The difficulty of their situation justified in the mind of the monarch the temporizing neutrality which they professed; and with equal prudence and generosity he declared himself satisfied with their excuse.[50]

From Buffalora the king proceeded to Abbiategrasso, whilst the Swiss assembled in great numbers at Gallerata.[51] In this situation the duke of Savoy renewed his pacific negotiations, and having given audience to twenty deputies sent to him with proposals on the part of the Swiss, he so far coincided in their representations as to lay the foundation for a further treaty, for the completion of which he afterwards went to Gallerata, where the terms of the proposed reconciliation were explained and assented to. It was there agreed, that an uninterrupted peace should be established between the king and the Helvetic states, which should continue during his life, and ten years after his death; that the territories which the Swiss had usurped in the valleys of the Milanese should be restored, and the pension of forty thousand ducats paid to them from the state of Milan abolished; that the duke of Milan should have an establishment in France under the title of duke of Nemours, should ally himself by marriage to the reigning family, enjoy a pension of twelve thousand francs, and have an escort of fifty lances. For

Ineffectually endeavours to form an alliance with the Swiss.

[50] Ligue de Camb. liv. v. vol. ii. p. 432.

[51] For the correction of these names of places in the former editions, I am indebted to the local knowledge of Count Bossi.*

these concessions on the part of the Swiss, they were to receive six hundred thousand crowns, claimed by them under the treaty of Dijon, and three hundred thousand for the restoration of the valleys, retaining four thousand men in arms for the service of the king. In this treaty the pope, in case he relinquished Parma and Piacenza, the emperor, the duke of Savoy, and the marquis of Monferrato, were included as parties and allies, but no mention was made either of his Catholic majesty or the Venetians, or of any other of the Italian states.[52] The treaty was, however, no sooner concluded than it was broken, in consequence of the arrival of fresh bodies of Swiss, who, holding the French in contempt, refused to adhere to the conditions agreed upon; whereby such a diversity of opinion arose among them, that although the chief part of the army agreed to remain for the defence of Milan, great numbers quitted the field, and retired towards Como, on their return to their native country.

Rapid march of D'Alviano.

This defection of a part of the Swiss army was not, however, so important as to damp the ardour of the rest. A body of thirty-five thousand men, accustomed to victory, and inflamed with the expectations of an immense booty, presented a formidable barrier to the progress of the king. In retiring from Verona to Piacenza, Cardona had eluded the vigilance of the Venetian general D'Alviano, who having the command of an army of upwards of ten thousand men, had assured the king that he would find sufficient employment for the Spanish troops. No sooner, therefore, was he informed of the movements of Cardona, than he quitted his station in the Polesine, and passing the Adige, proceeded along the banks of the Po towards Cremona, with a celerity wholly unexampled in the commanders of those times, and which he was himself accustomed to compare to the rapid march of Claudius Nero, when he hastened to oppose the progress of Asdrubal.[53] On the approach of D'Alviano, Francis proceeded to Marignano, for the purpose not only of affording the

[52] Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 92. Ligue de Camb. liv. v. vol. ii. p. 435.
[53] Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 95.

Venetian general an opportunity of joining the French army, but also of preventing the union of the Swiss with the Spanish and papal troops.

Inactivity of the Spanish and papal troops.

It may be admitted as a general maxim in the history of military transactions, that the efforts made by separate powers in alliance with each other are inferior to those made with equal forces by a single power. On such occasions the post of danger is willingly conceded to those who choose to take the lead, and the proportionate aid to be given by each party becomes at length so nicely balanced, that the common cause is often sacrificed to vain distinctions and distrustful timidity. Such was the situation of the Spanish general Cardona and of Lorenzo de' Medici at Piacenza; where, whilst each of them stimulated the other to pass the Po to the aid of the Swiss, neither of them could be prevailed upon to take the first step for that purpose. In exculpation, however, of the Spaniards, it is alleged that Cinthio da Tivoli, the envoy of the pope to Francis I., having been seized upon by the Spanish troops, was compelled to disclose the purpose of his mission, in consequence of which Cardona lost all further confidence in the aid of the papal troops; and to this it is added, that Lorenzo had himself secretly despatched a messenger to the king, to assure him, that in opposing his arms he had no other motive than that of obedience to the commands of the papal see, and that he should avail himself of every opportunity, consistently with his own honour, of shewing him how sincerely he was attached to his interests.[54] The concurring testimony of the historians of these times may be admitted as evidence of facts, which the temporizing course of conduct adopted by the pope on this occasion renders highly probable. But it is equally probable that Cardona availed himself of these circumstances as his justification for not doing that which he would equally have declined doing had they never occurred. Ferdinand of Aragon was at least as indecisive as the pontiff, and Cardona well knew the disposition of his sovereign. Day

[54] Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 114. Ligue de Camb. liv. v. vol. ii. p. 483. Guicciard. liv. xii. vol. ii. p. 96.

after day was appointed for the passage of the Po, and a part of the Spanish army had at one time made a movement for that purpose, but a pretext was easily found for their retreat; and the Swiss, deserted by those allies who had called for their aid, were left, almost alone, to support a contest which was to decide the fate of Milan, and perhaps the independence of Italy.

Battle of Marignano.

At the conclusion of one of those inflammatory exhortations with which the cardinal of Sion was accustomed to harangue his countrymen, the resolution was adopted instantly to attack the French, although only about two hours of day-light remained. By a rapid and unexpected march the whole body of the Swiss presented themselves before the French encampments at Marignano, on the thirteenth day of September, 1515.[55] The attack immediately commenced. Their impetuosity was irresistible. The intrenchments were soon carried, and a part of the artillery was already in the hands of the assailants. As the French recovered from their surprise, they began to make head against their adversaries, and the horse joining in the action, a dreadful engagement took place, which continued with various success and great slaughter to a late hour of the night. During this contest Francis was in the midst of the battle and received several wounds. The *bandes noires*, whom the Swiss had threatened with total extermination, contributed with the French *Gendarmerie* to retrieve the loss. The darkness of the night, although it did not terminate the contest, rendered it for a time impossible for the combatants to proceed in the work of destruction; and an involuntary truce of some hours took place, during which both parties kept the field, impatiently waiting for that light which might enable them to renew the engagement. Accordingly, with the dawn of day the battle again commenced, when it appeared that the French monarch had availed himself of this interval to arrange his artillery, and to reduce his troops into better order than when they had been attacked on the preceding day. The vanguard was now led by the Sieur de Palisse with seven

[55] Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 115.

hundred lances and ten thousand German infantry. The body of the army under the royal standard was commanded by the king, and consisted of eight hundred men at arms, ten thousand Germans, five thousand Gascons, and a large train of artillery directed by the duke of Bourbon. Trivulzio led the *corps de reserve*, which consisted of five hundred lances and five thousand Italian infantry. The light infantry under the command of the Sieur de Chita and the bastard of Savoy, brother of the king, were ordered to act as circumstances might require.[56] The attack of the Swiss was now supported with unshaken firmness. A detachment which was intended to surprise the right wing of the French army was intercepted by the duke of Alençon, and pursued by the Basque infantry of Pietro Navarro, who put every man to the sword.[57] After having resisted the charge, the French became the assailants. Francis at the head of his *Gendarmes* first made an impression on their line; but the numbers of the Swiss were so great, and their courage and discipline so exemplary, that he would in all probability have been repulsed, had not D'Alviano at that moment rushed into the midst of the combat, at the head of a small but select and intrepid body of cavalry, and by the cry of *Marco*, the war signal of the Venetians, given new courage to the French and dispirited the ranks of their adversaries, who conceived that the Venetian army had at this juncture joined in the engagement. After sustaining the contest for several hours, the Swiss were obliged to relinquish the palm of victory; but even under these circumstances they had the firmness and resolution to form in regular order, and to quit the scene of action under such discipline, that the French monarch, whose army was exhausted by watchfulness and fatigue, did not venture on a pursuit.[58] Weakened by intestine divisions, deserted by their allies, and defeated by the French, they hastened to Milan, where they demanded from the duke such subsidies as they knew he was wholly unable to pay. This, however, afforded them a sufficient

[56] Murat. Ann. d'Ital. vol. x. p. 116. [57] Ligue de Camb. liv. v. vol. ii. p. 496.
[58] Ligue de Camb. liv. v. vol. ii. p. 498. Planta's Helvetic Confederacy, vol. ii. p. 112.

pretext for withdrawing themselves altogether from the theatre of war, and leaving their Italian allies to the mercy of the conquering army.[59]

The battle of Marignano is justly considered by both the French and Italian historians as highly honourable to the gallantry and prowess of the French arms.[60] The example of Francis I. who had in the course of the conflict repeatedly extricated himself from situations of imminent danger by his own personal courage, had animated his soldiers to the most daring acts of heroism; insomuch that Trivulzio, who had before been engaged in no less than eighteen important battles, declared that they resembled only the sports of children in comparison with this, which might truly be called a war of giants. The chevalier Bayard fought at the side of his sovereign, where he gave such proofs of romantic courage, that Francis, immediately after the engagement, insisted on being knighted by him upon the field of battle. The ceremony was instantly performed in the true spirit of chivalry, and Bayard, making two leaps, returned his sword into the scabbard, vowing never more to unsheath it except against the Turks, the Saracens, and the Moors.[61] This victory is chiefly to be attributed to the superiority of the French artillery; but the arrival of D'Alviano, although accompanied by so small a body of soldiers, undoubtedly contributed to the success of the day. The number of Swiss left dead on the field is stated by different historians at eight, ten, fourteen, and even fifteen thousand; whilst the loss of the French varies from three to six thousand, among whom, however, were many of the chief nobility of France.[62] On this spot,

Francis I. knighted by the chevalier Bayard.

[59] Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 101.

[60] The circumstances of this battle are particularly related by the Cav. Rosmini, in his life of Gian Giacopo Trivulzio, who informs us that some have denominated it the battle of *Melegnano*, or *S. Donato*, and observes, "that it produced a strong sensation, not only in Italy, but throughout Europe; inasmuch as it deprived the Swiss of that title of *invincible*, which they had obtained by their former victories." Francis I., writing to his mother Louisa, regent of France, declares that so sanguinary and ferocious a battle had not been fought for the long course of 2,000 years. Rosm. tom. i. p. 498.*

[61] Champier, ap. Moreri, Dict. Hist. art. Bayard.

[62] The author of the "League of Cambray" states the loss on the part of the French to have been between five and six thousand, and adds, that 15,000 Swiss were left dead on the field; liv. v. vol. ii. p. 499; but Mr. Planta, on the authority of

polluted with carnage, Francis gave orders that three solemn masses should be performed; one to return thanks to God for the victory, another for the souls of those who were slain in battle, and a third to supplicate the restoration of peace. He also directed that a chapel should be built adjacent to the field of battle, as a testimony of his gratitude, and a permanent memorial of his success.

Surrender of Milan.

No sooner was the event of the battle of Marignano known at Milan, than the duke Maximilian Sforza, accompanied by his general, Giovanni Gonzaga, and his chancellor and confidential adviser, Morone, shut himself up in the castle, which was strongly fortified and garrisoned by a considerable body of Swiss, Italian, and Spanish soldiers. The inhabitants of Milan, deprived of all means of defence, sent deputies to the king to testify their entire submission to his authority; but Francis refused to enter the city, conceiving that it would be derogatory from his honour to take up his residence in a place, the fortress of which was yet held by his enemies.[63] Operations were therefore instantly commenced against the castle, under the directions of Pietro Navarro, who promised to reduce it in less than a month; but although he was successful in destroying a part of the fortifications, it is probable that the task which he had undertaken would have required considerable time, had not the assailants found means to open a negotiation with the principal advisers of the duke. Influenced by the treacherous recommendation, or the dastardly apprehensions of Morone, the duke was induced to listen to terms of accommodation, by which he agreed, not only to surrender the fortress of Milan, and that of Cremona, which was yet held by his friends, but also to relinquish for ever the sovereignty of Milan and its dependent states. As a compensation for these concessions, Francis agreed to use his influence with the pope to appoint Maximilian a cardinal, with ecclesiastical preferments and benefices to the annual amount of thirty-six thousand livres,

Schwickardt, informs us, that it appeared by a muster roll of the Swiss, after their return, that about 5,000 men had perished in the action. Hist. of the Helvetic Confed. vol. ii. p. 112.

[63] Ligue de Camb. liv. v. vol. ii. p. 504.

promising to pay him in the mean time a pension to the like amount, and also to advance him, within the space of two years, ninety-four thousand livres, to be disposed of at his own pleasure. A provision was also made for the other members of the house of Sforza, and Morone, who negotiated the treaty, stipulated that he should himself enjoy the rank of a senator of Milan, with the office of master of requests of the hotel to the king.[64] Thus terminated the brief government of Maximilian Sforza; without his having, by his misfortunes, excited in others the sensations of sympathy or regret which usually accompany those who suddenly fall from high rank into the mediocrity of private life. The only observation recorded of him upon this occasion, is an expression of his satisfaction on being at length freed from the tyranny of the Swiss, the persecution of the emperor elect, and the deceit of Ferdinand of Aragon;[65] a remark which is no proof of that want of intellect which has been imputed to him, but which, on the contrary, shews that he had compared the advantages of sovereignty with the inconveniences and dangers that attend it, and had reconciled himself to that destiny which it was no longer in his power to resist.

Leo X. forms an alliance with Francis I.

The cautious pontiff, who had waited only to observe from what quarter the wind of fortune would blow, no sooner found that the French monarch had defeated the Swiss, and subjugated the state of Milan, than he exerted all the means in his power to obtain the favour and secure the alliance of the conqueror. Had he stood in need of an apology to his allies for this apparent versatility, he might have found it in the temporizing negotiations of the Swiss before the engagement, and their speedy desertion after it; in the hesitating conduct of the viceroy Cardona, and the total inattention of the

[64] This treaty is published by Lünig, Cod. Ital. Diplomat. vol. i. p. 523. The stipulations in this treaty on the part of Morone, gave occasion, with other circumstances, to accuse him of treachery to the duke his master; from which he laboured to vindicate himself (to little purpose in the public estimation) by publishing a memorial entitled "Giustificatione di Geronimo Morone circa la Dedizione del Castello di Milano," from which an extract is given by the Cav. Rosmini, vol. i. p. 504.*

[65] Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 105.

emperor elect to the interests of the league; but it is probable that he was much more anxious to excuse himself to the king for the apparent opposition which he had manifested to his views, than to his allies for his dereliction of a cause which was now become hopeless. He did not, however, on this emergency omit the usual forms of exhorting his associates to bear their misfortunes with constancy, and to repair them by their courage; but whilst he thus endeavoured to support a consistency of conduct in the eyes of the world, he had already engaged the duke of Savoy to unite his efforts with those of his envoy, Lodovico Canossa, to effect an alliance with the king. In truth, the situation of the pope was such as would not admit of longer delay. Already the king had given orders to construct a bridge over the Po, for proceeding to the attack of Parma and Piacenza; and although a veneration for the Roman see might prevent him from attacking the ecclesiastical dominions, this sentiment did not apply to the state of Florence, which had taken a decided and hostile part against his arms. Fortunately, however, for the pope, the king was not averse to a reconciliation, which, whilst it relieved him from those spiritual censures that had occasioned such anxiety and humiliation to his predecessor, might be of essential service to him in securing the possession of his newly acquired dominions. A negotiation was accordingly opened, when it was proposed that the pope and the king should mutually assist each other in the defence of their respective dominions; that the king should take under his protection the state of Florence and the family of Medici, particularly Giuliano, the brother, and Lorenzo, the nephew of the pontiff, and should maintain to them and their descendants the authority which they enjoyed in the Florentine state. In return for these favours it was proposed, that the pope should surrender to the king the cities of Parma and Piacenza; the king promising, in return, that his subjects in Milan should be obliged to purchase their salt from the ecclesiastical states. It had also been proposed that the duke of Savoy should be authorized to inquire and determine whether the Florentines had infringed their treaty

with Louis XII.; in which case he should impose upon them such penalty as he might think reasonable, the king expressly declaring that this clause was introduced rather to satisfy his own honour than for any other cause. But although these propositions were assented to by Canossa, they were by no means satisfactory to the pope, who had flattered himself with the expectation of retaining the states of Parma and Piacenza; and would gladly have postponed the ratification of the treaty, in the hopes of hearing the determination of the Helvetic diet assembled at Zurich, for the purpose of debating on the expediency of giving fresh succours to the duke of Milan. But Canossa having assured the pope, that the French monarch had already made preparations for attacking the papal dominions in Lombardy, and despatching a body of troops into the Tuscan states, the pope had no alternative but to conclude the treaty. He did not, however, ratify it without some modifications, the principal of which was, that the Florentines should not be subjected to any penalty or inquiry with respect to their pretended breach of faith to Louis XII. It was also expressly agreed that the king should not protect any feudal tory or subject of the ecclesiastical state against the just rights of the Roman see; a stipulation which, although expressed as a matter of course, and in such vague and general terms as perhaps not to be fully understood by the king, had objects of no inconsiderable importance in view, which a short time sufficiently disclosed.[66]

Francis was well aware that the pope had suffered great mortification in being deprived of the territories of Parma and Piacenza, and he therefore endeavoured to justify himself for the part which he had acted, by alleging that

[66] Du Mont, Corps Diplomat. tom. iv. par. i. p. 214. The treaty bears date the 13th day of October, 1515. The editor remarks, that it was concluded at a single conference, so greatly was the pope alarmed in consequence of the battle of Marignano; but in this he is mistaken, as the proposed terms gave rise to much negotiation, and were considerably modified. It is remarkable, also, that in the title of the treaty, the editor styles Lorenzo de' Medici, *duke of Urbino*, although he certainly did not obtain that title until the following year. There is reason to suspect that even the treaty, as there given, is erroneous or imperfect. In the course of the discussion, the pope's envoy, Canossa, bishop of Tricarica, hastened to Rome and had an interview with the pope, when some modifications were proposed, and Leo wrote to the king to conciliate his favour. Fabron. Vita Leon. X. in Adnot. No. 40.

they were a portion of the states of Milan which he could not, consistently with his honour, relinquish. In order, however, to reconcile the pope to this sacrifice, and to lay the foundation of a lasting amity between them, he requested to be admitted to an interview with him, which on the part of Leo X. was assented to not only with willingness but alacrity. It is not improbable, that on this occasion the pontiff conceived that he might be enabled, by his eloquence and personal address, to influence the young sovereign to admit of some relaxation in the severity of the terms agreed on; or at least that it might afford him an opportunity of idemnifying himself for his losses, and providing for the establishment of his family in some other quarter. He did not, however, think it prudent to admit the king into either Rome or Florence, but named for that purpose the city of Bologna, where he promised to meet him as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made for their reception.

Embassy from the Venetians to Francis I.

Encouraged by the success of Francis I. the Venetians began to entertain hopes that they should be enabled to recover their continental possessions, of which they had been dispossessed by the Imperialists and the Spaniards, in consequence of the league of Cambray. They therefore despatched to the king at Milan an embassy, consisting of four of their most respectable citizens, to congratulate him on his success, and to concur with him in such measures as might appear conducive to the mutual interests of himself and the republic. The ambassadors were accompanied by the learned Battista Egnazio, who by his extraordinary acquirements had raised himself from a humble rank to great consideration among his countrymen, and who upon this occasion gave an additional proof of his talents, in the composition of a Latin panegyric on Francis I. in heroic verse, celebrating his arrival in Italy, and his victory over the Swiss. This poem he soon afterwards published, with a dedication to the chancellor Du Prat, and the king, as a mark of his approbation, gave the author a medallion of gold with his own portrait.[67]

[67] This piece, which greatly increased the reputation of its author, was again printed in the year 1540, with considerable additions, commemorating the heroic actions of the ancestors of Francis I. against the Saracens and common enemies of

Death of Bartolommeo D'Alviano.

Whilst the Venetians were thus soliciting the king, and preparing their own forces for the recovery of their continental possessions, the sudden death of their chief general, Bartolommeo D'Alviano, which happened at Gheddi on the first day of October, 1515, retarded for a while their efforts and dispirited their troops. During twenty-five days, the Venetian soldiers, then proceeding to the attack of Brescia, carried along with them in great pomp the body of their favourite commander, determined to convey it to Venice for interment. Nor would they condescend to ask a passport from Marc-Antonio Colonna, who then commanded the Imperial troops, it having been gallantly observed by Teodoro Trivulzio, cousin of the marshal, that such a request ought not to be made after his death, for a man who, whilst living, had never feared his enemies.[68] His remains were accordingly interred at Venice, by a decree of the senate, with extraordinary honours. His funeral oration was pronounced by the celebrated Andrea Navagero, then very young, in a strain of eloquence which may be considered as the earnest of his future celebrity. If we assent to the opinion of Guicciardini, D'Alviano was rather a brave soldier than a skilful general. He was not only frequently defeated, but it had been observed that whenever he held the chief command he had never obtained the victory. Yet it must be confessed that the man who by his activity, courage, and perseverance, could frustrate the efforts of such a powerful alliance as had been formed against the Venetian states, had no slight pretensions to the applause and gratitude of his country. In the elegant Latin oration of Navagero which yet remains[69],

the Christian faith; but instead of inscribing this new edition to the chancellor, the author thought proper to dedicate it to the king himself. Agostini, Notizie di Batt. Egnazio, negli Opuscoli di Calogerà, vol. xxxiii. p. 65.

[68] Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 106. In the former editions of this work, I had denominated Teodoro Trivulzio, the *son* of Gian-Giacopo, instead of his *cousin*; an error which has been pointed out by the Cav. Rosmini. In admitting the propriety of his correction, I cannot, however, admit that of the epithet by which it is accompanied; and have, I hope, been cautious, in pointing out some slight inadvertencies in his valuable work, not to imitate the same style of criticism. *Vide* Rosm. vol. i. p. 506.*

[69] Printed, with other works of Navagero, at Venice, by Tacuini, in 1530, under the title, "Andreæ Naugerii Patricii Veneti Orationes duæ, Carminaque nonnulla," 4to; and again in the enlarged edition of the works of Navagero, by Cominio, Padua, 1718, 4to.

are briefly enumerated the principal transactions of his life; and we learn from the same authority, that his few hours of leisure were sedulously devoted to the cultivation of literature, in which he had made a much greater proficiency than could have been expected from a person devoted to the ceaseless duties of a military profession.[70] Of the solidity of his judgment a sufficient proof may be found in the early patronage which he afforded to Girolamo Fracastoro, who was destined to be one of the principal literary ornaments of the age, and who was chiefly indebted to this celebrated commander for those opportunities of improvement which have conferred immortality on his name.[71]

Wolsey raised to the dignity of cardinal.

The important changes which had taken place in the affairs of Italy, naturally led to some alteration in the conduct of the pontiff towards the other sovereigns of Europe, and particularly towards Henry VIII.; between whom and Francis I. a degree of emulation had arisen, which was already sufficiently apparent. On the death of Cardinal Bambridge, Wolsey had succeeded him as archbishop of York; but this preferment, although it increased the revenues, did not gratify the ambition of this aspiring ecclesiastic, who had flattered himself with the hope of obtaining also the hat of a cardinal lately worn by his predecessor. In soliciting from the pope this distinguished favour, Wolsey had relied on the assistance of Adrian de Corneto, bishop of Bath, and cardinal of S. Crisogono, the pope's collector in England, under whom, as the cardinal resided at Rome, Polydoro Virgilio, acted as sub-collector.[72] The cardinal was either unable or unwilling to render the service expected; and such was the

[70] Naugerii Orat. in funere Bart. Liviani, p. 7. Ed. Tacuin. 1530.

[71] Further notices of this distinguished commander and eminent patron of literature are given by Count Bossi. Ital. Ed. vol. iii. p. 204, and vol. v. p. 182.*

[72] Polydoro Virgilio was a native of Urbino, and distinguished himself by several well-known works, particularly his Latin collection of proverbs, published in 1498, and by his treatise "De Inventoribus Rerum," published in 1499, which has since been frequently reprinted. He was sent to England in the pontificate of Alexander VI. and at the request of Henry VII. undertook, in the year 1505, his history of England, which he wrote in Latin, but which has not gained him the suffrages of posterity, either for ability or impartiality. He was afterwards appointed archdeacon of Wells, but in consequence of the Reformation, he quitted this kingdom and retired to his native place, where he lived to an advanced age, and died in 1555. Bayle, Dict. art. Pol. Virgile.

resentment of Wolsey, who conceived that he had been betrayed by him, that under some trivial pretext he seized upon his deputy Polydoro, and committed him to the Tower.[73] This violent measure had been the subject of frequent representations from the court of Rome; but although the cardinal Giulio de' Medici and the pope himself had written to the king, requesting the liberation of their agent, he still remained in confinement.[74] The apparent disrespect thus manifested by the English monarch to the holy see, had induced the pontiff to listen to the representations of Francis I., who was extremely earnest to obtain the restoration of Louis Guillard, ex-bishop of Tournay, to that rich benefice, of which he had been deprived by the intrusion of Wolsey. Whilst the pope was yet hesitating, not perhaps as to the rights of the respective claimants, but as to which of the rival sovereigns it would be most expedient to attach to his interests, the success of the French arms effected a speedy decision, and Leo immediately granted a papal bull for restoring Guillard to his benefice, and even authorizing him to make use of the secular arm for obtaining possession. It may well be conceived that this measure gave great offence, not only to Wolsey, but to Henry VIII., who had lately incurred an immense expense in fortifying the city of Tournay; and warm remonstrances were made upon it to the court of Rome, in consequence of which the business was referred to the decision of two cardinals, who shewed no great disposition to bring it to a speedy termination. In the mean time Francis, who was well apprized where the chief difficulty lay, conceived that if he could obtain for Wolsey an equivalent for the loss of his bishopric, he should find no further obstacles from that quarter. He therefore gave him to understand that he should promote his interests at Rome to the utmost of his power.[75] In the weighty discussions now depending between Francis and the pontiff, the appointment of a cardinal was an object of small comparative importance. The promotion of Wolsey to that

[73] Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. p. 51.
[74] Rymer's Fœdera, tom. vi par. i. p. 105.
[75] Lord Herbert's Life of Hen. VIII. p. 51. Ed. Lond. 1740.

dignity was determined on, of which Francis took care to send Wolsey the first intelligence;[76] and at a consistory held for that purpose on the tenth day of September, 1515, he was the sole person raised to that high rank, his title being that of *S. Cecilia trans Tiberim.* About the same time the pope's agent in England was liberated from his confinement; but Wolsey, having obtained his object, still refused to relinquish his claims to the bishopric of Tournay; and is supposed to have stimulated his sovereign to a new quarrel with Francis, for the purpose of affording himself a pretext for retaining the emoluments of his see.

Leo X. visits Florence.

The arrangements for the intended interview between Leo X. and Francis I. at Bologna, being now completed, Leo communicated his intention to the college of cardinals, some of whom ventured to insinuate that it would be derogatory to the dignity of the pontiff to receive the king in any other place than Rome. Without regarding their suggestions, he directed the cardinals to meet together at Viterbo on the approaching festival of All Souls; and to the absent cardinals he addressed a circular letter to the same effect. On his quitting the city, with the intention of paying a visit to Florence, before he proceeded to Bologna, he intrusted the chief authority to the cardinal Soderini, brother of the late Gonfaloniere, as his legate; not on account of his own attachment to him, but, as it was supposed, because he was apprehensive that if the cardinal accompanied him to Florence, his presence might remind the citizens of their former liberties. It was the intention of the pontiff to have proceeded from Rome to Siena, but the number of his followers, consisting of twenty cardinals with their attendants, and an immense train of prelates and officers of the court, alarmed the inhabitants of that place, who sent a deputation to him whilst yet on the road, to apprize him, that in the scarcity of provisions under which they laboured it would be impossible for them to provide for such a multitude. He therefore changed his route, and proceeded towards Cortona, where he was magnificently entertained for three days in the house

[76] Lord Herbert's Life of Hen. VIII. p. 51. Ed. Lond. 1740.

of Giulio Passerini, one of the nobles attendant on his court, and gave audience to six of the principal inhabitants of Florence, who were deputed to meet and to pay him homage in the names of their fellow citizens. On leaving Cortona he passed through Arezzo, and arrived on the twenty-sixth day of November, in the vicinity of Florence, where he took up his residence for a few days at Marignolle, the villa of Jacopo Gianfiliazzi, until the preparations making for his reception within the city could be completed. These preparations were much impeded by a long continuance of rainy weather, but the inclemency of the season did not prevent the inhabitants from displaying their usual magnificence and invention; and the exhibitions upon this occasion employed the talents of the first professors, in a city which was the centre of the arts, and at a period when they had attained their highest excellence.[77]

Rejoicings and exhibitions on that occasion.

At the approach of the pontiff the gates and part of the walls of the city were thrown down,[78] and the exultation of the populace was unbounded, whilst his presence reminded them, at the same time, of the honour which his high rank conferred on them, and of the happiness which they had enjoyed under the mild and paternal authority of his ancestors. At the entrance of the city was erected a triumphal arch, richly decorated with historical sculpture, the workmanship of Jacopo di Sandro, and Baccio da Montelupo. Another arch in the Piazza di S. Felice was completed by Giuliano del Tasso; in which was placed the statue of Lorenzo the Magnificent, the father of the pontiff, with a motto pathetically appropriate, although, perhaps, profanely applied;[79] at the sight of which the pope appeared to be deeply affected. The same artist also exhibited at the S. Trinità a bust of Romulus and several beautiful statues, and erected in the Mercato nuovo a column resembling that of Trajan at Rome. Antonio da S. Gallo built, in the Piazza de' Signori, an octangular temple, and Baccio Bandinelli placed in the Loggie, a colossal figure of Her-

[77] Cambii. Hist. Flor. ap. Moreni.

[78] The pope entered the city by the gate of S. Piero Gattolini (Vasar. Ragionam. p. 92); over the portal of which is placed an inscription commemorating the event.

[79] Hic est filius meus dilectus.

cules. Between the monastery and the palace a triumphal arch was erected by Francesco Granacci, and Aristotile da S. Gallo; and another in the quarter of the Bischeri by Rosso Rossi, with great variety of ornaments and figures, and with appropriate inscriptions in honour of the pontiff.[80] But the work which was chiefly admired was the front of the church of S. Maria del Fiore, which was covered with a temporary *façade*, from the design of Jacopo Sansovino, who decorated it with statues and *bassi rilievi;* in addition to which the pencil of Andrea del Sarto enriched it with historical subjects in *chiaro-scuro*, executed in such a manner as to produce a most striking effect; a mode of ornament, the invention of which is attributed, by Vasari, to Lorenzo, father of the pontiff, and which was highly commended by Leo X., who declared, that the structure could not have appeared more beautiful if the whole had been built of marble.[81] Many other works of art are commemorated by contemporary writers, some of which were executed from the designs of Baccio Bandinelli, and were displayed in such profusion as almost to fill the streets through which the pontiff had to pass.[82]

Procession of the pope.

The ceremonial order of the procession was arranged with great attention by Paris de Grassis,[83] from the inferior ranks of valets, heralds, and horsemen, to the great officers of the pope's household, nobles, ambassadors, and independent princes of Italian states. In this task he found, however, no small

[80] Vasari, Vite de' Pittori, vol. ii. p. 224. in Vita di Andrea del Sarto.

[81] Tomaso Tamanza, nella vita del Sansovino, ap. Bottari, Nota al Vasari, vol. ii. p. 225.

[82] A very particular account of these splendid preparations is given by a contemporary writer, whose narration yet remains unpublished, but from which a passage is extracted by Dom. Moreni, in his annotations on the work of Paris de Grassis, mentioned in the following note. For this passage, *Vide* App. No. XLV.

[83] On this occasion, Paris de Grassis accompanied the pope to Florence, as his master of the ceremonies, during which he continued his diary; in which he inserted, as usual, every circumstance that occurred. His narration has been given to the public by Domenico Moreni, under the title, "De ingressu Summi Pont. Leonis X. Florentiam Descriptio Paridis de Grassis Civis Bononiensis Pisauriensis Episcopi. Ex. Cod. MS. nunc primum in lucem edita et notis illustrata a Domenico Moreni Academiæ Florentinæ nec non Columbariæ Socio." As both the matter and the manner of the diary of this officer, who attended on the person of the pope, and regulated his equipage and dress, to the minutest particulars, is highly curious, the reader will find his account of the pope's entry into Florence, from which the above information is chiefly derived, in App. No. XLVI.

difficulty; for as there were three ambassadors from France, and only one from Spain, the Spanish envoy insisted on being placed next to the first of the French envoys, so that the other two should follow him. To this the French envoys positively objected; alleging that, on a former occasion, when there were three Spanish ambassadors and one from England, and the English envoy claimed the privilege of following after the first of the Spaniards, they refused to allow themselves to be separated, and insisting that the same rule should be applied to them which they had applied to others; whereupon the Spaniard quitted the procession in disgust. To the ambassadors succeeded the magistrates of Florence, on foot, the guards of the pope, and Lorenzo de' Medici with fifty followers. The host was preceded by tapers, and placed under a canopy supported by canons of the church. Next appeared the cardinals, according to their distinctions of deacons, priests, and bishops, who were succeeded by one hundred young men of noble families, superbly and uniformly dressed. The master of the papal ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, bishop of Pesaro, with his assistants, immediately preceded the pope, who appeared under a canopy, which was carried by the Gonfaloniere, and chief magistrates of Florence, and followed by the chamberlains, physicians, secretaries, and other officers of the pope's household. Among these was his treasurer, who, during their progress, distributed money among the crowd; for which purpose the pope had appropriated a sum of three thousand ducats. A long train of prelates and ecclesiastics followed, and the horse-guards of the pope brought up the rear. In this manner the procession passed towards the church of S. Maria del Fiore, the pope frequently stopping to observe the inscriptions and trophies which appeared in his way. On his arrival at the church, he found an elevated path prepared, on which he proceeded, with a few attendants, from the entrance to the high altar, whilst the rest of his followers remained in the church below. Here he continued in prayer a longer time than usual; after which, the cardinal, Giulio de' Medici, as archbishop of Florence, chanted the service, and recited

the oration. The pope then gave his benediction and plenary indulgence to all present, after which he retired to relax from his fatigues, in the adjacent monastery of S. Maria Novella, whilst the evening was passed by the populace in joyful acclamations. The repose of the night was disturbed by the firing of cannon, which the prudent master of the ceremonies had strictly prohibited during the day, lest the horses of the secular attendants and the terrified mules of the ecclesiastics should throw their riders on the pavement.

Leo X. visits the tomb of his father.

On the following day, the pope visited the church of the Annunciata, where, having some doubts whether he should unveil the celebrated image of the Virgin, he consulted the cardinals present on this important question, by whose advice the veil was drawn aside at three short intervals. Thence he proceeded to take up his residence at his paternal mansion, where he found his brother, Giuliano, confined to his bed by a tedious and hopeless complaint. The third day after his arrival, being the first Sunday in Advent, was devoted to the performance of divine service in the chapel of the Medici family, dedicated to S. Lorenzo. On the conclusion of the ceremony, Leo X. turned to the spot where the remains of his father were deposited, and whilst he prostrated himself in the attitude of supplication, he was observed by his attendants to shed tears.[84]

The pope arrives at Bologna.

On the evening of the last-mentioned day, the pontiff quitted the city of Florence and proceeded to Bologna, where he met with a very different reception from that with which he had been honoured in his native place. The inhabitants, still attached

[84] Fabr. in Vita Leon. X. p. 95. The visit of the pontiff to the church of S. Lorenzo was commemorated in the following lines of Marcello Adriani Virgilio, chancellor of the republic, which were afterwards inscribed over the great door of the church:

"Divus Laurentius,
ad Leonem X. Pont. Max.

Hanc mihi, Sancte Pater, Cosmus cum conderet aedem,
Gaudebam, Proavi religione tui;
Delectavit Avus, delectavere Parentes,
Quorum ope creverunt Templa sacrata mihi.
Sed, Pronepos, majora dabis pietate: Parentes
Pontificem turpeest non superasse suos."

to their banished chiefs of the family of Bentivoli, and mindful of the severities exercised upon them by Julius II., received the pope in sullen silence; except when the sound of *Serra, Serra,*[85] resounded in his ears, as he passed in procession through the streets. This circumstance gave great offence to many of the cardinals, who thought that the pontiff should have manifested his displeasure on such an occasion. Leo, however, judged much better than his attendants, and availed himself of this opportunity of displaying his moderation and forbearance; qualities for which he was remarkable, and which in general not only disarm resentment, but often convert an unjust or mistaken adversary into a faithful friend.

Interview between Leo X. and Francis I.

Three days afterwards, Francis I., who had been accompanied from Parma by four prelates sent for that purpose by the pope, was received on the confines of the ecclesiastical state by the cardinals de' Medici and Flisco, and conducted to Bologna, where all the members of the sacred college proceeded to meet him beyond the gate of S. Felice.[86] After they had waited there a short time, the king made his appearance between the two pontifical legates, and was welcomed by a short address in Latin from the cardinal bishop of Ostia, who remained uncovered whilst he delivered it, as did also the other cardinals. To this the king, who was also uncovered, replied in French, assuring them that he considered himself as the son of his holiness, that he was thoroughly devoted to the apostolic see, and desirous of rendering every service in his power to the college of cardinals, as being his fathers and his brethren. Having addressed himself particularly to every one of the cardinals, they then approached him in succession, and gave him a fraternal kiss; the master of the pontifical ceremonies at the same time informing him of the name and quality of each cardinal as he approached. After this exhibition, they proceeded together towards the city, the king being placed between the cardinals Sanseverino and Este; but the

[85] A *saw*, the impresa, or arms, of the Bentivoli.

[86] The particulars of this interview are related by Paris de Grassis. Fabron. Vita Leon. X. in Adnot. 44, p. 280.

attendants of the monarch disregarded the admonitions of the officer whose duty it was to regulate the proceedings of the day, and followed in a disorderly and tumultuous manner. He was thus conducted to the apartments provided for him in the palace, where four cardinals remained as his companions and dined with him at the same table. The pope, having in the mean time been arrayed in his pontifical garments and seated in full consistory, expected the approach of the king, who was introduced by the master of the ceremonies between two cardinals, attended by six prelates, and followed by such an immense multitude, as well of the populace as of French and Romans, that great apprehensions were entertained for the safety of the building. The king was himself upwards of half an hour in making his way through the crowd; a circumstance which he seems, however, to have borne with great good humour. Arriving at length in the presence of the pope, he made his due genuflexions; and, having complied with the humiliating ceremony of kissing the foot and the hand of his holiness, was next allowed the more familiar honour of kissing his cheek. The king then expressed, in a few words in his native language, his great satisfaction in having been allowed a personal interview with the supreme pontiff, the vicar of Christ upon earth; professing himself desirous of obeying all his commands as his dutiful son and servant. The pope replied in Latin, with great gravity and propriety, attributing so happy and satisfactory an event entirely to the goodness of God. Francis then took a seat provided for him on the right hand of the pope, whilst his chancellor delivered a Latin oration, in which, in the name of his sovereign, he acknowledged the supremacy of the holy see, and commended the fidelity of the French monarchs, and particularly that of his sovereign Francis I. to the church.[87] At the same time the king would have uncovered his head, but the pope prevented him. At the conclusion of the harangue Francis bowed in token of his assent, when the pope again addressed him in a few words, commending his dutiful fidelity. Such of the French nobility and attendants

[87] This oration of the chancellor du Prat is given in App. XLVII.

as could force their way through the crowd, were then admitted to kiss the feet of the pontiff, but the dukes of Bourbon and of Orleans, with Monsignor de Vallebrune, were the only persons who were allowed to kiss his hand and face. This ceremony being performed, the pope led the king into a chamber which commanded a view of the principal street of the city; where, having left him for a short time, he hastened to remove the incumbrance of his pontifical robes, and on his return entered with him into familiar conversation. On this occasion, the vigilant master of the ceremonies cautioned his holiness against touching his cap in token of respect to the monarch, whilst they were seen together by the populace; a mark of attention which it seems Alexander VI. had imprudently shewn to Charles VIII. on their interview; this ecclesiastical Polonius contending that it did not become the vicar of Christ to exhibit any reverence towards a sovereign, even if he were the emperor himself.

Particular occurrences on that occasion.

During the continuance of the two potentates in Bologna they resided together in the palace of the city, and had frequent conferences on the important subjects which had been the occasion of their interview. The endeavours of the king were exerted to prevail upon the pope to unite his arms with those of France, for the expulsion of the Spaniards from Italy; but as these efforts, if successful, would have enabled Francis to have seized upon the crown of Naples, and given him a preponderating authority in Italy, the pope, without a direct opposition, affected to postpone the measure; alleging that he could not, in so ostensible a manner, infringe the treaty which then subsisted between Ferdinand of Aragon and himself, and of which sixteen months were yet unexpired.[88] With no greater effect did the king employ his efforts to prevail on the pope to surrender the cities of Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara, or to moderate his resentment and relinquish his designs against the duke of Urbino. To the former he refused to assent, unless he was repaid the money which he had advanced to the emperor, on being

[88] Jovii, in Vita Leon. X. lib. iii. p. 70.

invested with the sovereignty of Modena; and with respect to the latter, he contended, that the duke of Urbino had forfeited his dominions, which he held as a vassal of the church, by not joining his arms when required with those of the pope, under the command of Lorenzo de' Medici.[89] But, although the pope firmly resisted every proposition which tended to the further abridgment of his power, he was indefatigable in his attention to his royal guest, whom he entertained with the utmost splendour and magnificence. He also bestowed on him, as a mark of his esteem, a cross ornamented with jewels, estimated at fifteen thousand ducats, and presented to the beautiful and accomplished Maria Gaudin a diamond of immense value, which has since been called the Gaudin diamond.[90] The numerous attendants of the king were also treated with particular honour and respect; the pontiff being no less desirous of obliterating in the minds of the French people the animosities which had been excited by the violence of Julius II. than of impressing them with an exalted idea of the resources and grandeur of the Roman see. Nor is it improbable that the genial warmth of pontifical kindness found its way into those bosoms which the frowns of his predecessor had hardened into animosity and resistance. In the midst of a solemn interview, one of the French nobles, apparently affected by a sentiment of contrition for the part which he had acted in opposition to the holy see, called out aloud in French, that he wished to make his confession to his holiness, and that as he could not be admitted to do it in private, he would in public acknowledge that he had fought against Julius II. with the utmost resentment, and had paid no regard to his spiritual censures. To this the king added, that he had himself been guilty of a similar offence. Many others of the French nobility made the same acknowledgment, and requested forgiveness from the pope; whereupon Leo, stretching out his hands, gave them his absolution and pontifical benediction. The king, then turning to the pope,

[89] Leoni, Vita di Fr. Maria Duca d'Urbino, lib. ii. p. 170.

[90] "Ce joyau est appellé, par tradition domestique, le diamant Gaudin."—Amelot, Mém. Hist. ap. Fabron. Leon X. not. 42.

said, "Holy father, you must not be surprised that we were such enemies to Julius II. because he was always the greatest enemy to us; insomuch that in our times we have not met with a more formidable adversary. For he was, in fact, a most excellent commander, and would have made a much better general of an army than a Roman pontiff."[91]

Abolition of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, and establishment of the *Concordat*.

In addition to these proofs of liberality and good will on the part of the pontiff, an opportunity also occurred of rendering the monarch a much more important service, in a matter which he had greatly at heart. For several centuries the French clergy had claimed, and frequently exercised, an exemption in particular cases, from that general control in ecclesiastical affairs which was assumed by the holy see: an exemption which is the foundation of what have been called the liberties of the Gallican church. Pretensions of this nature are on record as early as the reign of S. Louis, and are probably of still greater antiquity; but in the year 1438, the council of Basil, then acting in direct opposition to Eugenius IV., who had assembled another council at Florence, formed several canons for the future regulation of the church, which greatly restricted the power of the supreme pontiff, and abolished many of the most glaring abuses in ecclesiastical discipline. In consequence of the rejection of these canons by Eugenius, the council passed a decree, deposing him from his pontifical dignity; but Eugenius triumphed over his opponents, and these regulations were not confirmed by the head of the church; notwithstanding which they were approved by Charles VII., who expressly recommended them to the adoption of the assembly of divines then met at Bourges, under the title of the Pragmatic Council.[92] By this assembly, these regulations were admitted as the general rules of ecclesiastical discipline in France, and its decision has been distinguished by the name

[91] This anecdote is related on the authority of P. de Grassis. Fabron. Vita Leon. X. in Adnot. 41.

[92] S. S. Concilia, tom. xii. p. 1430. Ed. Labbei et Cossartii. Par. 1672. The history of the council of Basil is written by Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pius II. who was present on the occasion, and is published in the Fasicul. Rerum expetend. et fugiend. tom. i. p. 1.

of *the Pragmatic Sanction*. Notwithstanding the attempts of succeeding pontiffs to abrogate these canons as impious and heretical, they were firmly adhered to by the French clergy and people, as highly conducive to the welfare and repose of the kingdom. Nor had the sovereigns of France been less attached to a system which freed them in a great measure from the influence of the Romish see, submitted the nomination of benefices to the approbation of the king, prohibited the payment of *annates* and other exorbitant claims of the Roman court, and abolished the scandalous custom of selling ecclesiastical dignities, which was practised not only as they became vacant, but during the life of the possessor, as a reversionary interest. Hence, notwithstanding the authority of the advocates of the Romish see, who have asserted or insinuated that these canons were abrogated by succeeding monarchs, and in particular by Louis XI. and Louis XII., the claims of the French clergy under the Pragmatic Sanction were still considered as in full force.[93] In agitating this important question, the object of Francis was not only to obtain a formal concession of the jurisdiction exercised by the monarchs of France in the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom, but to transfer to the crown some of those privileges which had been claimed and exercised by the French clergy, and to vest in the king a right to those presentations to ecclesiastical benefices which had heretofore been claimed by the Roman see. On the other hand, Leo was not less desirous to accomplish an object which had frustrated the efforts of his predecessors, and to abolish a code of laws which had been so long regarded as the opprobrium of the church; and although the pretensions of the king went beyond the claims of the Pragmatic Sanction, yet, as the destruction of that system

[93] In the rebellious efforts of Louis XI. to seize upon the crown of France during the life of his father, he had assured Pius II. that when he had obtained possession of the kingdom, he would abolish the Pragmatic Sanction. When that event occurred, the pope did not forget to remind him of his promise, in consequence of which that crafty prince issued a decree for its abrogation, which he sent to the parliament of Paris for its approbation; but at the same time he secretly directed his attorney-general to oppose it, and prevent its being registered; which that officer accordingly did; and the legate, whom the pope had despatched to France on this subject, returned without having effected the object of his mission. S. S. Concilia, Labbei et Cossartii, tom. xii. p. 1432.

would overturn the independence of the French clergy, and as the rights of the sovereign were to be exercised under the express sanction of the holy see, and not in direct opposition to its authority, as had theretofore been done, the pontiff willingly listened to the representations made to him by the king on this head, and the discussion was soon terminated to their mutual satisfaction. It was in consequence agreed that the Pragmatic Sanction should be abolished in express terms, both by the pope and the king, but that its chief provisions and immunities should be revived and extended by a contemporary act, which should invest the king with greater power in the ecclesiastical concerns of the kingdom, than he had before enjoyed. Hence arose the celebrated *Concordat*, by which the nomination to all ecclesiastical benefices within the French dominions was expressly granted to the king, with a reservation of the *annates* to the Roman see; besides which, the right of deciding all controversies respecting the affairs of the church, excepting in some particular instances, was conceded to the judicature of the sovereign without appeal.[94] Both the king and the pope have been accused, on this occasion, of having mutually bought and sold the rights of the church, and betrayed the interests of that religion which it was their duty to have protected. That their conduct excited the warmest indignation of the French clergy, appears by the bold appeal of the university of Paris, in which the proceedings of the council of Basil, in opposition to Eugenius IV., are openly defended, the rights of the Gallican church courageously asserted, and the character of Leo X. impeached with great freedom.[95] Even the laity were jealous of the authority which the king had thus unexpectedly obtained; conceiving that by this union of the spiritual and temporal power in his own person, he would find it an easy task to eradicate

[94] Hist. S. Lateran. Concil. p. 184. S. S. Concilia, Labbei et Cossartii, tom. xiv. p. 288. Dumont, Corps Diplomat. iv. par. i. p. 226. By art. xxix. of this Concordat, the clergy are prohibited from keeping concubines, under the penalty of forfeiture of their ecclesiastical revenues for three months, and loss of their benefices if they persevered. The laity are also exhorted to continence; and it is very gravely and very truly observed, "Nimis reprehensibilis est, qui uxorem habet, et ad aliam uxorem, seu mulierem accedit; qui vero solutus est, si continere nolit, juxta Apostoli consilium, uxorem ducat."

[95] Fasciculus Rerum expetend. et fugiend. tom. i. p. 68.

the few remaining germs of liberty which had escaped the destructive vigilance of Louis XI., and which, under the milder government of his successors, had begun to put forth no unpromising shoots.[96]

After these important arrangements, the king returned from Bologna to Milan, and soon afterwards repassed the Alps, to prepare for new contests, with which he was threatened by the emperor elect, and the kings of England and Aragon. The pope, after having, by the desire of the king, conferred on Adrian Boissi the hat of a cardinal, quitted a place where he had been treated with disrespectful coldness, and, accompanied by twelve cardinals, repaired to Florence, where he arrived on the twenty-second day of December, 1515. Being now freed for a while from the cares of state, he had here an opportunity of indulging his natural disposition in splendid representations and acts of munificence towards his fellow-citizens. The day of the nativity was celebrated in the church of S. Maria del Fiore, with unusual exultation; and, on the first of the new year, he presented to the Gonfaloniere Pietro Ridolfi, who then resigned his authority to his successor, a cap of state and a sword, which had been previously sanctioned by the apostolic benediction. On the same day he also assembled in the cathedral the archdeacon and canons of Florence, and being himself seated in state, in the midst of his cardinals and prelates, he gave to the chapter, the members of which were then prostrate before him, a mitre ornamented with jewels of the estimated value of ten thousand ducats.[97] At the same time, as a proof of the

Leo returns to Florence.

[96] The Parisians, who hated the Concordat, attributed it to the pope, the duchess of Angoulême, mother of Francis I., and the chancellor du Prat. The following lines are said to have been affixed in different parts of the city:

"Prato, Leo, Mulier, frendens Leo rodit utrumque;
Prato, Leo, Mulier, sulphuris antra petant;
Prato, Leo, consorte carent, Mulierque marito;
Conjugio hos jungas; Cerberus alter erunt."

Such was the tumult, that a leader only seemed wanting to induce the people to revolt, and the streets of Paris resounded with seditious ballads, &c. *Vide* Seckendorf. Comment. de Lutheranismo, lib. i. p. 32. The Abbé Mably, in his "Observations sur l'Histoire de France," (*vide* Fabr. in. not. Leon. X. 44,) considers the authority thus obtained as a powerful engine of oppresion in the hands of the sovereign. *Et vide* Thuani Histor. lib. i. p. 18. Ed. Buckley.

[97] Ammirato, Hist. Fior. lib. xxix. chap. iii. p. 319.

affection which he bore to the church, of which he had himself, from his infancy, been a canon, he enlarged the incomes of the ecclesiastics attached to it, and directed that the canons should rank as protonotaries of the holy see, and should wear the habit of such dignity on all public occasions.[98]

Raffaello Petrucci obtains the chief authority at Siena.

Having thus distributed his bounty, and left to seven altars in the principal church, the less expensive favour of his pontifical indulgence, Leo returned to Rome. The first object that required his attention was the state of Siena; where the inability of Borghese Petrucci, who at the age of twenty-two years had succeeded to the government, on the death of his father, Pandolfo, was so apparent as to give just cause for dissatisfaction among the inhabitants. This circumstance induced his cousin, Raffaello Petrucci, then bishop of Grosseto, and keeper of the castle of S. Angelo, to aspire to the chief dignity, to which he was also encouraged by Leo; who, in consideration of his long attachment and services, and with the view of placing in so important a station a person attached to his own interests, furnished him with two hundred lances, and two thousand infantry, under the command of Vitello Vitelli, with which the bishop proceeded towards Siena.[99] The rumours of these hostile preparations having reached the city, Borghese assembled the chief inhabitants for the purpose of interesting them in his favour, and preparing for their defence; but the indications of displeasure and animosity which he there perceived, induced him to relinquish all hopes of maintaining his authority.

[98] Notwithstanding the liberality of the pontiff, the Florentines, who were affected by the general scarcity of provisions which then prevailed in most parts of Italy, were well pleased when he and his numerous attendants took their final departure. Paris de Grassis protests, that he neither could nor would remain any longer in a place, where the inhabitants seemed inclined to famish their Roman visitors. He therefore left the pontiff, and hastened to his brother, the cardinal Germano de Grassis, at Bologna; where he seems to have made himself amends, by his good living, for the penance which he underwent at Florence. He afterwards returned to that city, to accompany the pontiff to Rome, but Leo dismissed him to attend the host, whilst he made a circuitous tour of about twelve days; and although Paris was greatly scandalized that the pontiff should travel without the host, yet he confesses that he did not remonstrate on the occasion, lest the pope should give him orders to wait for him in such a miserable place, but hastened with it as quickly as possible to Rome. Par. de Grassis, de ingressu, &c. p. 41.

[99] Jovius denominates him, "vir stabili fide, sed ignarus literarum et probris omnibus coopertus." Vita Leon. X. lib. iii. p. 71. *Et vide* Fabroni, Vita Leon. X. p. 115, *et* not. p. 48.

He therefore privately effected his escape from the city, and fled towards Naples, accompanied by Fabio, his younger brother; but leaving behind him his wife, his child, his friends, and his fortunes, to the mercy or the resentment of his adversaries.[100]

The satisfaction which the pontiff had experienced in the success of his measures was, however, speedily interrupted by domestic calamities and personal dangers. In the month of March, 1516, he received information of the loss of his brother Giuliano, who died at Florence on the seventeenth day of that month, after having supported his indisposition with great patience and resignation. His death was a subject of real regret to the citizens of Florence, who had the fullest confidence in his sincerity and good intentions, which they contrasted with the qualities of his nephew Lorenzo in a manner by no means favourable to the popularity of the latter. His obsequies were celebrated with great magnificence; but the noble monument erected to his memory by Michael-Agnolo, in the chapel of S. Lorenzo, at Florence, may be considered as a far more durable memorial of his fame.[101]

1516. Æt. 41. Pont. IV.

Death of Giuliano de' Medici.

A few days after he had received intelligence of this event, Leo retired to Civita Lavinia, a town of great antiquity, situate between Ostia and Antium, at the distance of about three miles from the sea. At this juncture a horde of barbarian

Escape of the pope from the barbarian corsairs at Civita Lavinia.

[100] Jovius, Vita Leon. X. lib. iii. p. 71. Fabron. Vita Leon. X. p. 114.

[101] To a correct and unimpeachable moral character, Giuliano united no inconsiderable portion of literary talent, as appears from his writings, in which he followed, though not with equal vigour, the steps of his father. He is, however, enumerated by Crescimbeni among those writers who were superior to the corrupt taste of the age. Of his sonnets a specimen is given in App. No. XLVIII. On the death of Giuliano, his widow, Filiberta of Savoy, returned to her sister Louisa, mother of Francis I. taking with her all her jewels and bridal ornaments, to an immense value. Jov. Vita Leon. X. lib. iii. p. 70. Their short union was not productive of any offspring, but Giuliano left an illegitimate son, who was born at Urbino, in the year 1511, and after having been educated in the Roman court, became the celebrated cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, and the munificent patron of all the learned men of his time. By the treaty between Leo X. and Francis I. Giuliano was to be honoured with a title in France, which it was understood should be that of duke of Nemours; and, although his death prevented his being formally invested with that honour, yet he is frequently mentioned by that title. On his death Ariosto wrote an ode, not inferior to any of the productions of his exquisite pen, in which he introduces the shade of Giuliano as apostrophizing, in the most elegant and affectionate terms, his widowed bride.

corsairs suddenly disembarked from their vessel, and, after committing great depredations on the coast, captured a considerable number of persons, whom they carried off with them as prisoners. It was supposed to have been their intention to have seized upon the person of the pope, of whose temporary residence they had probably been apprized; but Leo was aware of the danger in sufficient time to escape their pursuit, and hastened in great terror to Rome. Muratori, who relates this incident on the authority of a manuscript history, by an anonymous writer of Padua, exclaims, "What horrors, what dreadful consequences would have ensued, if these barbarians had succeeded in their project!" It would, indeed, have been a singular circumstance, if Leo had in one moment descended from the height of his authority, and the first station in Christendom, to the degrading condition of a slave. To form conjectures as to the probable consequences of such an event, is, however, as useless as it is difficult; but we may with certainty decide, that however humiliating such a circumstance would have been to the christian world, it would not have shaken the belief of the faithful, either in the sacred character of the pontiff, or in the infallibility of the holy see.

Medal of Leo X.

The conspiracy of the cardinals to poison the pope, detected

CHAPTER XIV.

1516—1517.

Proposed alliance of England, Spain, and Austria—Death of Ferdinand of Spain—His character—Francis I. forms designs upon the kingdom of Naples—The emperor elect, Maximilian, enters Italy in great force—His ineffectual attempt against Milan—Francis I. suspects the pope of having favoured the enterprise—Leo intends to aggrandize his nephew Lorenzo—Excommunicates the duke of Urbino, and expels him from his dominions—Confers the title and authority on Lorenzo—The Venetians recover the city of Brescia—Verona successfully defended by Marc-Antonio Colonna—Negotiations for the general pacification of Europe—Treaty of Noyon—Leo endeavours to counteract its effects—Treaty of London—Motives of the pope for opposing the pacification—The exiled duke of Urbino recovers his dominions—Leo requires the aid of all Christendom against him—The duke of Urbino challenges his rival Lorenzo to single combat—War of Urbino—The duke resigns his dominions—Conspiracy of Petrucci and other cardinals against the pope—Conspirators discovered—Arrest of the cardinal Riario—Several other cardinals confess their guilt—Execution of Petrucci and his subordinate accomplices—Conduct of Leo towards the other conspirators—Observations on this event—Leo creates in one day thirty-one cardinals—Splendour of the Roman See—Leo promotes the happiness of his subjects.

After twenty years of warfare and desolation, Italy began at length to experience some respite from her calamities. The contest was not indeed wholly terminated; but it was chiefly restricted to the Venetian territories, where the senate were struggling to recover from the emperor the important cities of Brescia and Verona, which, by the aid of their

Proposed alliance of England, Spain, and Austria, against France. 1516. Æt. 41. Pont. IV.

successful allies the French, they now expected speedily to accomplish. The conquest of Milan and the progress of the French arms were not, however, regarded with indifference by Ferdinand of Aragon, who was well apprized of the warlike disposition and ambitious designs of Francis I., and fully aware how much the possession of the Milanese might facilitate the success of his hostile attempts against the kingdom of Naples. These apprehensions were increased by the strict alliance lately formed between Francis and Leo X., the latter of whom, if he was not become the adversary of Ferdinand, was, at least, no longer his associate in the war; and his neutrality was scarcely less dangerous than his hostility. Induced by these considerations, Ferdinand determined to provide the active sovereign of France with employment in another quarter. To this end he renewed his applications to the emperor Maximilian and to Henry VIII., to join him in a league against France. These propositions were willingly acceded to by Maximilian, who earnestly desired the assistance of the Spaniards in divesting the Venetians of their continental possessions; and were also listened to by Henry VIII., who, notwithstanding his late dissatisfaction with the conduct of his father-in-law, and his treaty with Francis I., had been induced by Wolsey to look with an hostile eye on the proceedings of the French monarch. The motives of this powerful favourite, in thus inciting his sovereign to a new contest, are too obvious to be mistaken. By the aid of Francis I. he had lately obtained the hat of a cardinal; and he well knew that the expected compensation for this favour was his relinquishing the revenues arising from his bishoprick of Tournay, which, in case of hostilities between the two countries, he could still retain. He was therefore indefatigable in forwarding the negotiations with the emperor.[1] The Spanish ambas-

[1] This treaty, the professed object of which was to raise Francesco Sforza to the government of Milan, which had been relinquished by his brother Maximilian, occasioned great debates in the English councils, which are fully stated by Lord Herbert. "Leo had a hand herein," says that historian, "as knowing how much safer it was for Italy, that a single duke should govern Milan, than such a potent prince as Francis I." At this time the emperor amused Henry VIII. with promises of granting to him the duchy of Milan, and resigning to him the empire, by which means he extracted from him considerable sums of money. *Vide* Lord

sador, who had of late experienced great neglect in the English court, was again received into favour; and the ancient treaties between Spain and England were revived and confirmed; but whilst the proposed alliance between the three sovereigns was thus on the point of being accomplished, its further progress was prevented by the death of Ferdinand, who, after a lingering illness, and at an advanced age, terminated his mortal career on the twenty-third day of January, 1516.[2]

Death of Ferdinand of Spain.

The reign of Ferdinand may be considered as having laid the foundation of the power of the Spanish monarchy; and he may justly be regarded, if not as one of the greatest, as one of the most fortunate, sovereigns on historical record. His marriage with Isabella eventually united the people of Castile and of Aragon under one sovereign, and formed them into one powerful nation. To the encouragement which, however tardy and imperfect, was afforded by Ferdinand and his queen to Colombus, may be attributed the discovery of the great continent of America; undoubtedly one of the most important events in the history of mankind. The expulsion of the Moors from his dominions is another incident which adds lustre to his reign. By the valour and conduct of his great general, Gonsalvo, he had obtained the peaceful sovereignty of the kingdom of Naples, and thereby restored to the legitimate branch of the house of Aragon their long-asserted rights. The acquisition of Navarre, and the conquest of several important places on the shores of Africa, were also highly honourable to the Spanish arms. These uncommon successes, together with the reputation which Ferdinand had acquired for moderation, prudence, and piety, gave him an extensive influence among the crowned heads of Europe; but notwithstanding these splendid achieve-

His character.

Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. p. 51, &c. From a document preserved in Rymer's Fœdera, it also appears, that Francesco Sforza had promised to pay Wolsey a pension of ten thousand ducats from the time of his obtaining possession of his dominions. Rapin's Hist. of Eng. b. xv. vol. i. p. 732; Rymer's Fœdera, tom. vi. par. i. p. 109.

[2] Guicciardini places this event in January. "Nel mese di Gennajo." Robertson more particularly, on the twenty-third day of January. Life of Charles V. b. iii. p. 21. Muratori, who is in general accurate in his dates, on the fifteenth of January, 1516. Annali, vol. x. p. 122.

ments, Ferdinand was himself no hero. Whilst Louis XII. and Francis I., and even the emperor elect, Maximilian, took the field, he was, for the most part, satisfied with acquiring by proxy what they lost in person. Those talents which were dignified by the name of wisdom and prudence would have been better characterised by the appellations of craft, of avarice, and of fraud. His treacherous conduct towards his near relation, Ferdinand, king of Naples, and the young prince of Calabria, his son, leaves a stain on his character which cannot be varnished even by the brilliancy of success. In England his name was odious for breach of faith, and the French had still greater cause to complain of his perfidy. To reproaches of this kind he was himself indifferent: and provided he could accomplish his purpose, he rather gloried in his talents than blushed for his crime. To his secretary, Quintana, who informed him that Louis XII. had complained that he had twice deceived him, "The drunkard lies," he exclaimed, "I have cheated him upwards of ten times."[3] The disgrace and infamy of this conduct he endeavoured to cover by pretensions to extraordinary piety, and an invariable obedience to the injunctions of the Roman see. To him is to be referred the introduction into Spain of the horrible tribunal of the inquisition, which was first intended to compel the Moors and the Jews to enter the pale of the church, but was afterwards extended to all those who presumed to differ in opinion from the infallible doctrines of the holy see. The bigotry of Ferdinand descended to his successors. After tarnishing the character of Charles V. it was concentrated in that of Philip II., and became the scourge of Europe during the greater part of the sixteenth century.

Francis I. forms designs upon the kingdom of Naples.

The death of Ferdinand of Aragon was an event which had been impatiently waited for by Francis I., who was ambitious of adding the conquest of Naples to that of Milan. During his interview with Leo X. at Bologna, there can be no doubt that this subject had been discussed; nor is it improbable that the pontiff, instead of directly opposing the

[3] Ligue de Camb. liv. v. vol. ii. p. 535.

views of the king, had advised him to postpone any hostile attempts until the death of Ferdinand; an event which, from his advanced age and infirm state of health, it was supposed could not be far distant. Having therefore complied with the advice of the pontiff, Francis might reasonably expect that he would now favour his pretensions; and as he well knew that the archduke Charles was threatened with some impediments in his succession to the crown of Aragon, he conceived that it might not be impracticable, either by negotiation or by force, to deprive him of the dominion of Naples.[4]

The emperor elect, Maximilian, enters Italy in great force.

In the midst of these dreams of aggrandizement, Francis was suddenly awakened by the alarm of hostilities on the part of the emperor elect, Maximilian, who seemed at length to have roused himself from his lethargy, and to have formed the resolution of repairing by his own efforts the disasters of his allies. By the seasonable aid of one hundred and twenty thousand crowns, which had been sent to him from Spain shortly before the death of Ferdinand, he was enabled to subsidize a body of fifteen thousand Swiss mercenaries, to which he had united at least an equal number of troops collected from various parts of the Austrian dominions. His preparations were hastened by the critical situation of the cities of Brescia and Verona, in consequence of a body of three thousand men, sent as an escort with supplies for the relief of those garrisons, having been intercepted by the Sieur de Lautrec, the commander of the French troops in the Venetian service, and defeated with great slaughter.[5] With a promptitude which astonished all Europe, Maximilian took the field in person early in the year, and passing through the Tyrol, arrived at Verona. The united arms of the French and Venetians were unable to oppose his progress;[6] and Lautrec, after having threatened in vain that he would arrest his course, was obliged to relinquish successively the passes

[4] Charles derived his pretensions to the crown of Aragon from his mother Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella; and as it was a maxim, that a female could not succeed to the crown of Aragon, so it was contended, that she could transmit no right to her descendants. *Vide* Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 112.

[5] Ligue de Camb. lib. v. vol. ii. p. 539.

[6] Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 124.

of the Mincio, the Oglio, and the Adda, and eventually to take shelter within the walls of Milan.[7]

His ineffectual attempt against Milan.

This sudden and unexpected alteration in the aspect of public affairs once more awakened in the mind of Leo X. the hopes of a speedy expulsion of the French from Italy; and, notwithstanding his alliance with Francis I., he immediately despatched the cardinal da Bibbiena as his legate to the emperor; at the same time directing his general, Marc-Antonio Colonna, then at the head of a small body of Roman troops, to join the imperial army.[8] The government of Milan had been intrusted by Francis I. to Charles duke of Bourbon, who avowed his resolution of defending the city to the last extremity. With the most vigilant attention he suppressed the symptoms of tumult among the inhabitants; he imprisoned such of them as he suspected of disaffection to his cause; he even set fire to the suburbs of the city, to the great dissatisfaction and injury of the inhabitants, who attributed this measure to the advice of the Venetian *Provveditori* and the effects of national jealousy;[9] and finally he omitted no measures that were likely to harass the emperor in providing supplies for his numerous troops. The imperial army had now arrived in the vicinity of the city, and was increased by a considerable party of the Milanese exiles. Colonna had possessed himself of Lodi; where, contrary to his intentions, and notwithstanding his precautions, a great number of the French and their adherents were put to the sword; but whilst Maximilian was preparing for the attack of Milan, the arrival at that city of a body of ten thousand Swiss, whom Francis had, in consequence of a recent treaty with the Helvetic states,[10] engaged

[7] Guicciard. Hist. d'Ital. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 113.

[8] Ligue de Camb. liv. v. vol. ii. p. 543.

[9] The Venetian commissioners on this occasion were Andrea Gretti and Andrea Trivigiano. *Vide* Rosmini, Hist. di Gian-Jacopo Trivulzio, vol. i. p. 521, where the reader will find a more particular account of these transactions, in which Trivulzio acted an important part.*

[10] By this treaty, which was effected on the seventh day of November, 1515, Francis agreed to advance to the Swiss four hundred thousand crowns in lieu of the terms stipulated by the treaty of Dijon, and three hundred thousand more for the expenses which they had incurred in Italy. Du Mont, Corps Diplomat. vol. iv. part i. p. 218.

in his interests, suddenly arrested the prosperous career of the imperial arms, and induced Maximilian to hesitate as to his further proceedings. The mercenary character of the Swiss, if not already sufficiently notorious, was now manifested by their being engaged in nearly equal numbers on opposite sides of the question. The emperor, at this critical juncture, could not avoid calling to mind the fate of Lodovico Sforza, who under similar circumstances had been betrayed by the Swiss, and delivered up to Louis XII. A letter written by Trivulzio to the commander of the Helvetic troops in the imperial service, for the express purpose of being intercepted, and referring to the speedy execution of some preconcerted plan, confirmed the suspicions of the emperor.[11] No manifestations of a favourable disposition were shewn by the inhabitants of Milan; the circumstances in which the emperor was placed would not admit of long hesitation, and his only choice was either to attack the united forces of the French, the Venetians, and the Swiss, in the fortifications of Milan, or to consult his safety by a timely retreat. In adopting the latter alternative, Maximilian only acted that part which, from his former conduct, might safely have been predicted. Disgraced, although not defeated, he withdrew to Lodi, encumbered with an immense army of different nations which he was unable either to feed or to pay.[12] After having been reduced to the necessity of plundering those cities which, as their sovereign, he ought to have protected, he hastened with all possible expedition to Trent; whilst the Swiss in his service, being obliged on their way to levy contributions on the inhabitants, returned through the Valteline to their mountains. Thus ended the expedition of the emperor Maximilian against Milan; a memorable instance of that imbecility which frustrates all expectation, and sets at defiance every effort of good fortune to crown it with either honour or success.

The conduct of Leo through these transactions was viewed with a jealous eye by Francis I., who began to entertain

[11] A more particular account of the motives and effect of this letter is given by the Cav. Rosmini, in his "Hist. of Trivulzio," vol. i. p. 523.*

[12] Guicciard. Hist. d'Ital. liv. xii. vol. ii. p. 115.

suspicions that he had incited Maximilian to this enterprise. These suspicions were greatly strengthened by the hesitation which Leo had shewn in complying with the terms of the treaty concluded between them; by which it had been agreed, that in case of an attack on the states of Milan, he should provide for its defence five hundred men at arms, and should subsidize and maintain for the same purpose a body of three thousand Swiss mercenaries. When, however, the king required the stipulated aid, Leo had excused himself on account of his inability; but had promised to send to the assistance of the king a body of Florentine troops, which had at length taken the field and proceeded by slow marches to Bologna, without having effected the slightest service to the cause of the French. As the fortunes of the emperor declined, the pontiff manifested a more decided adherence to his former engagements. The cardinal da Bibbiena had indeed departed on his embassy, but he had stopped at Rubiera under pretext of sickness; and Leo, with great apparent punctuality, directed his nephew, Lorenzo, to advance the first month's pay for three thousand Swiss. Francis, on condescending to receive the money, coldly observed, that as his treaty with the pope was of no service to him in the moment of war and danger, he would negotiate a new one with him which should only relate to times of peace.[13]

Francis I. suspects the pope of having favoured the enterprise.

For a long course of years prior to the time of Leo X. the principal object of those who had filled the chair of S. Peter had been the aggrandizement, or rather the founding of a family, which should hold a respectable rank among the princes of Italy. Of this common character of the Roman pontiffs, Leo strongly participated. The person on whom he had placed his fondest hopes was his brother Giuliano; but the pacific and unambitious temper of this estimable young man had prevented those exertions which the pope was inclined to make in his favour; and an untimely death had blighted the expectations which had been entertained of

Leo forms designs for the aggrandizement of his nephew Lorenzo.

[13] Guicciard. Hist. d'Ital. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 116.

him. After this event the favour of the pope was principally turned towards his nephew Lorenzo, who felt no scruples in availing himself of any advantages which, through his near kindred to the pontiff, he might be likely to obtain. So evidently did the death of Giuliano contribute to the advancement of Lorenzo, that the nephew has been accused of having treacheously accelerated the death of the uncle, in order to prepare the way to his own promotion ;[14] but accusations of this nature, which rest merely on presumption, deserve no credit; and miserable indeed would be the lot of humanity, if such motives could countervail that love of kindred which is one of the strongest safeguards of society.

The temporary cessation of hostilities, occasioned by the retreat of the imperial troops, afforded the pope a favourable opportunity of attempting to carry into effect his long meditated design against the duchy of Urbino, and of raising his family to a sovereign rank. It is probable, however, that in this design Leo was actuated not only by motives of ambition, but by his resentment against the duke, who had on several occasions manifested a disposition hostile to his views, and particularly at the time of the restoration of the Medici to Florence, when he had refused to afford them his assistance as general of the church; although he had been directed by his uncle, Julius II., to grant them all the support in his power. These private reasons of dislike were, however, cautiously suppressed, and motives of a more public nature were alleged by the pontiff, in justification of the violent measures which he had in contemplation. Among these Leo did not forget to enumerate the assassination of the cardinal of Pavia, in the streets of Ravenna, perpetrated by the duke with his own hand, in a season of tranquillity and confidence; the animosity shewn by the duke against the papal troops, as well on other occasions as after the battle of Ravenna, when he expelled the unfortunate fugitives who had escaped that dreadful day from his dominions; his treacherous negotiations with foreign powers, and his contumacy as a vassal of the holy see, in refusing those

Excommunicates the duke of Urbino, and expels him from his dominions.

[14] Leoni, Vita di Francesco Maria duca d'Urbino, lib. ii. p. 165.

supplies which it was his duty, and which he had positively stipulated, to provide. For these ostensible reasons, Leo issued a monitory to the duke, of which he was no sooner apprized than he quitted his capital and retired to Pesaro. Here he endeavoured by all the means in his power to appease the resentment of the pontiff; for which purpose he despatched to Rome the duchess Elizabetta, the widow of his predecessor, by whose intercessions he hoped to avert the danger with which he was threatened. The reception of the duchess was not, however, such as, from her rank, her accomplishments, and the services rendered by her husband and herself to the family of the Medici, she was entitled to expect. In two audiences, obtained not without difficulty, she remonstrated with the pontiff on the severity of his conduct towards the representative of a family which had so long been connected by the ties of friendship with his own, and which had manifested the sincerity of its attachment, by the protection afforded to the Medici in the midst of their calamities, and when they had no other refuge. She reminded the pope of the intimacy which had so long subsisted between the duke and his late brother Giuliano, who had always avowed the warmest attachment towards the family of his protectors; and she declared that it would be an instance of ingratitude, which she could not believe would be countenanced by so generous and magnanimous a prince as his holiness was universally esteemed to be, if his nephew Lorenzo, who, when an infant, had so often been caressed in her arms, should now rise up against his benefactors, and expel them from the very place which had been the scene of their kindness to him.[15] These supplications had, however, little effect on the determination of the pontiff; who informed the duchess, in reply, that he expected the duke to make his appearance at Rome, according to the tenor of the monitory; the term of which being now nearly expired, he should, from his personal respect to her, enlarge for a few days. Instead, however, of proceeding to Rome, the duke retired from Pesaro to the court of his father-in-law, Francesco Gonzago, at Mantua, whither he had already taken

[15] Leoni, Vita di Fr. Maria duca d'Urbino, lib. ii. p. 171, *et seq.*

the precaution of sending his wife and family, having first garrisoned the citadel of Pesaro with three thousand men, the command of whom he intrusted to Tranquillo da Mondolfo, an officer in whom he placed great confidence. Availing himself of the disobedience of the duke to the paramount authority of the holy see, Leo issued a decree of excommunication, by which the duke was declared a rebel, and deprived of his titles and offices, and all the cities in the state of Urbino were placed under an interdict, as long as they avowed their allegiance to him. The princes of Christendom were admonished not to afford him any assistance, and even the duchess Elizabetta was deprived of her dowry, arising from the territories of her late husband.[16] At the same time Lorenzo de' Medici, as general of the church, accompanied by the experienced commander, Renzo da Ceri, entered the duchy of Urbino by way of Romagna, at the head of one thousand men at arms, one thousand light horse, and twelve thousand infantry. Vitello Vitelli, with upwards of two thousand men, attacked the dominions of the duke on the side of Lamole, and Giovan-Paolo Baglione, attended by an apostolic commissary, proceeded towards the city of Urbino, by way of Gubbio.[17] Such an attack was irresistible; and the duke himself, being apprized of the forces brought against him, conceded to his subjects, in express terms, the liberty of entering into such stipulations with the conquerors as they might think conducive to their own safety.[18] The city of Urbino immediately surrendered to the pontifical arms, and this example was followed by all its dependent cities and places, except the citadel of Pesaro, and the fortresses of Sinigaglia, San Leo, and Majuolo. After sustaining a cannonade of two days, Mondolfo, to whom the defence of the citadel of Pesaro had been intrusted, agreed to surrender the place, if effectual assistance did not arrive within twenty days; but when the time had expired, Mondolfo, instead of complying with the terms of the treaty, again attacked the besiegers with his artillery. The straits to which the garrison was reduced,

[16] Leoni, Vita di Fr. Maria duca d'Urbino, lib. ii. p. 180. [17] Ibid.
[18] Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 117.

soon, however, gave rise to mutiny and disorder; and the soldiers, seizing upon their leader, delivered him up, as the price of their own security, to the commanders of the papal troops, who executed him on the gallows as a traitor.[19] The fortresses of Majuolo and Sinigaglia were immediately surrendered; but that of S. Leo, being well garrisoned, and situated on a precipitous rock, was deemed impregnable.[20] After a siege of three months, its conquest was, however, accomplished by the contrivance and exertions of a master-carpenter, who, having ascended by night the steepest part of the rock, and concealed himself by day under its projections and cavities, enabled the besiegers to fix their ladders, by means of which one hundred and fifty chosen men arrived, early in the morning, at the summit; a part of whom, carrying six standards, having scaled the walls, the garrison, conceiving the placed was stormed, abandoned its defence, and the gates were opened to the besiegers.[21]

Lorenzo assumes the title of duke of Urbino.

The conquest of the whole state being thus accomplished, Leo invested his nephew Lorenzo with the duchy of Urbino, and its dependent states of Pesaro and Sinigaglia; and in order to give greater validity to the act of investiture, he caused it to be authenticated by the individual signatures of all the cardinals, excepting only Domencio Grimani, bishop of Urbino, who refused to concur in despoiling the duke of his dominions. Fearful, however, of having incurred the indignation of the pope, Grimani, a few days afterwards, prudently withdrew from Rome, and did not return until after the death of the pontiff.[22]

The pope refuses to absolve the exiled duke.

The exiled duke, thus deprived of his dominions, requested the pontiff that he would at least liberate him from his ecclesiastical censures; but Leo refused him even this consolation, although the duke entreated it "for the salvation of his soul."[23] Thus the man, who appears to have felt no remorse for the assassination

[19] Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 118. But Leoni asserts, that Mondolfo was executed contrary to his capitulation with Lorenzo. Vita di Fran. Maria duca d'Urbino, lib. ii. p. 189.

[20] Bonamini, Mem. Istor. di Guido Postumo Silvestri. Nuova Raccolta d'Opuscoli, vol. xx. par. ii. p. 19.

[21] Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p 118. [22] Ibid. [23] Leoni. p. 191.

of another, and that too a cardinal of the church, professed his anxiety in labouring under the displeasure of the pope; and thus the pontiff, to whom the care of all Christendom was intrusted, after despoiling the object of his resentment of all his possessions in this world, refused to pardon him even in the next.

Soon after the retreat of Maximilian, and the dispersion of his immense army, the duke of Bourbon relinquished the government of Milan, and that important trust was committed to Odet de Foix, Sieur de Lautrec, who had greatly distinguished himself by his important services in Italy. The cities of Brescia and Verona yet retained their fidelity to the emperor, or rather, the inhabitants were kept in subjection by the powerful garrisons of German and Spanish troops, by which they were defended. On the disgraceful return of the emperor elect to Vienna, the Venetians resolved to attempt the recovery of these important places. They increased the number of their troops, the chief direction of which was intrusted to Andrea Gritti, who was joined under the walls of Brescia by Lautrec, at the head of five hundred lances, and five thousand French infantry. After bombarding that city for several days with forty-eight pieces of heavy artillery, the French and Venetian generals compelled the besieged to a capitulation, by which it was agreed, that if effectual assistance did not arrive within eight days, they should surrender the place. The vigilance of the besiegers having prevented the approach of the expected succours, this city, on the day appointed, once more passed under the dominion of the Venetians, to the great joy of the major part of its inhabitants.

The Venetians recover the city of Brescia.

The attack of the united armies upon the city of Verona was not attended with equal success. Their forces were now indeed increased to twelve hundred men at arms, two thousand light horse, and twelve thousand foot. But the place was defended by Marc-Antonio Colonna, who, with the consent of the pope, had quitted his service for that of the emperor elect, and had garrisoned the place with a force little inferior to that of his

Verona successfully defended by M. A. Colonna.

enemies. So numerous a body within the walls, whilst it discouraged the besiegers from an immediate attack, suggested to them the expedient of reducing the place by famine. They, therefore, took their position before the city, the inhabitants of which endured with exemplary patience all the extremes of hunger, of oppression, and of misery. The besiegers, however, soon began to find that the inconveniences which they themselves experienced from the want of supplies, were scarcely inferior to those of the besieged. After having been obliged to plunder and desolate for their support the surrounding country, they resolved, at the expiration of two months, to attempt to storm the city. The artillery was therefore employed with unceasing activity; the walls were frequently destroyed so as to admit of an assault; the French and the Venetian troops emulated each other in the courage which they displayed on this occasion; but the firmness and perseverance of Colonna resisted the shock. With incredible assiduity he repaired the breaches in the fortifications; he repulsed the besiegers in many severe engagements; and frequently, instead of waiting the approach of his enemies, led out his troops, and attacked them in their intrenchments. From the month of August to that of October, the fate of the city remained in suspense; when information being received that a strong reinforcement was on its march from Trent, to the assistance of Colonna,[24] the besiegers suddenly broke up their camp, and, retiring in separate bodies, relinquished their undertaking.

Negotiations for the pacification of Europe.

During these occurrences in Italy, negotiations had been carrying on among the European states, which, in the event, not only appeased these contests, but laid the foundation of that general tranquillity which soon afterwards ensued. The suspicions entertained by Francis I. of the dispositions of Leo X. had received confirmation from many concurring circumstances; nor can it be doubted, that in his aversion to the establishment of a French government in Italy, Leo was uniform and unalterable. This aversion had been increased by the conduct of the French monarch, who, by

[24] It was also rumoured, that fifteen thousand Swiss, in the pay of the king of England, were expected at Milan. Murat. Annal. vol. x. p. 127.

depriving the pope of the sovereignty of Parma and Piacenza, had done him an injury which, from motives of good policy, he ought to have avoided, and for which all his other concessions were not considered by Leo as an equivalent. The papal troops, which, since the departure of Marc-Antonio Colonna, had been intrusted to the command of his near relations Prospero and Mutio Colonna, yet remained in the vicinity of the Milanese; whence, in order to prevent suspicion, they at length retreated to Modena. Here an interview took place between those commanders and Girolamo Morone, which was conjectured to be for the purpose of arranging the preliminaries for an attack upon some part of the state of Milan. At the same time, Leo had sent as his legate to the Swiss cantons, Ennio, bishop of Veruli, for the purpose, as Francis rightly conjectured, of inducing them to engage their services to his enemies.[25] Under these impressions, the king manifested some hesitation in permitting the pope to receive the emoluments arising from the tenths of the benefices in France, as agreed on by the Concordat; but afterwards, either suppressing his displeasure, or being yet desirous of obtaining the favour of the pontiff, he not only assented to this claim, but endeavoured to secure his friendship by other acts of kindness. He relinquished his pretensions to a revenue from the states of Mirandola, Carpi, and Correggio, as lord paramount of those places, on being informed that the pope had received them under his protection. He also affected to enter into the views of the pope, with respect to his favourite object of an attack upon the infidels, and offered to equip a powerful armament at Marseilles, under the command of Pietro Navarro,[26] for the purpose of attacking the states of Barbary, whose corsairs infested the Mediterranean, and who had probably increased the pious hatred of the pontiff by their sacrilegious attack upon his person. Well aware, however, that all attempts to reconcile the pontiff to the permanent establishment of the French in Italy might prove fruitless, he turned his views towards another quarter, and determined to secure his Milanese possessions by accommodating his differences

[25] Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 119. [26] Ibid.

with the young king of Spain. The advantages to be derived to both parties from such a treaty were obvious. The accession of Charles to the dominions of his ancestors was not unattended by difficulties, and in particular his Neapolitan dominions were yet subject to the rival claims of the house of Anjou and of the illegitimate branch of the house of Aragon. The basis of this negotiation was, therefore, the quieting and defending each other in the possessions which they respectively held in Italy. On the thirteenth day of August, 1516, it was solemnly agreed at Noyon,[27] that the treaty of amity concluded between the two monarchs at Paris, in the year 1514, should be renewed and confirmed, and that they should assist each other as well in the defence of their respective territories on both sides the Alps, as in any just conquest which either of them might undertake. In order to confirm this connexion, it was further concluded, that Francis should give his daughter Louisa, then only one year of age, in marriage to Charles, at a stipulated period, and that on such marriage, Charles should be invested with all the rights and pretensions of the family of Anjou to the crown of Naples. By the same treaty the rights of the family of D'Albret to the kingdom of Navarre, and the discordant interests of the Venetians and the emperor elect, were particularly attended to and arranged; and a power was reserved for Maximilian to accede to the league at any time within the space of two months. The pope was particularly named as the ally of both parties; but this was well understood to be merely in respect of his dignity, and not under any expectation that he was likely to assent to the treaty.

Treaty of Noyon.

No sooner was Leo apprized of these negotiations, than he employed all his art and all his influence to prevent the Spanish monarch from acceding to the terms proposed to him; but finding that his interference for this purpose was not likely to avail, he resolved to counteract, if possible, the effects of this treaty, by another alliance, equally formidable. To this end he pre-

Leo endeavours to counteract its effects.

[27] Du Mont. Corps. Diplomat vol. iv. par. i. p. 224. Bossi, Ital. Ed. vol. vi. p. 158.*

vailed on the king of England, and the emperor elect, to unite with him in a league, to which he had also the address to prevail on the Spanish monarch to accede. But although Leo had been the original promoter of this measure, he declined being nominated as an ostensible party, and requested that power might be reserved to him to join in it at a future time. By this treaty, which was concluded at London on the twenty-ninth day of October, 1516,[28] the emperor elect, and the kings of England and of Spain, agreed to defend each other against any power that should attack their respective states; and the contingency of each party was settled at five thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. It was further stipulated that all potentates and states, that might be desirous of entering into the league, should be admitted; and as the confederates acknowledged they had reason to expect that the pope would become a party, they declared him principal and chief of the league. Such were the avowed and ostensible objects of this alliance; but, by a separate article,[29] it was further agreed, that endeavours should be used for disengaging such of the Swiss cantons as were in alliance with France, from the interests of that crown; and it was also settled what amount each of the allies should pay towards the pensions which should be distributed among the Swiss, as well to the public as to private persons.[30] The consequences which Leo expected from this formidable combination were, however, frustrated by the instability or duplicity of the emperor elect; who at the same instant that he was negotiating the treaty of London, availed himself of the opportunity afforded him of becoming a party to that of Noyon, which was intended as a definitive arrangement of the affairs of Italy. In consequence of this treaty

Treaty of London.

[28] This treaty is given by Lünig, Codex Ital. Diplomat. vol. i. p. 149. Rymer, Fœdera, vol. vi. par. i. p. 121. Du Mont, Corps Diplomat. tom. iv. par. i. p. 240; also *vide* Supplem. au Corps Diplomat. tom. iii. par. i. p. 40, where this treaty is more correctly given, from an ancient copy, apparently written at the time of its conclusion.

[29] Supplem. au Corps Diplomat. tom. iii. par. i. p. 47.

[30] The proportions of the kings of England and Spain were fixed at fifteen thousand gold florins each, and Maximilian was to discharge the stipulations already entered into by him with the Swiss in this respect. Supp. au Corps Diplomat., *ut. sup.*

the city of Verona was again surrendered to the Venetians. A further agreement was soon afterwards concluded between the Venetian senate and the emperor elect, which terminated for a time the other objects of their dispute. On the twenty-ninth day of November, in the same year, Francis I. concluded the memorable treaty of Fribourg with the Swiss cantons, known by the name of the perpetual alliance, which has been the foundation of the close connexion that has since subsisted between the two countries.[31] By these alliances the peace of Europe was guaranteed by its most powerful sovereigns; and Leo was compelled to be a reluctant spectator of that tranquillity which he had certainly, on this occasion, done all in his power to prevent.

Motives of the pope for opposing the general pacification.

It would, however, be unjust to the character of the pontiff to conclude that he was averse to the repose of Italy. On the contrary, there was, perhaps, no object that he had more at heart; but this repose he conceived to be ill-secured whilst the northern and southern states of that country were held by two powerful foreign potentates, whose dissensions or whose closer alliance might equally prove fatal to the rest. This, therefore, was not such a peace as Leo wished to see effected; and if he did not manifest his open disapprobation, it was only because he was for the present precluded from all means of interrupting it with any hopes of success. Nor can it be denied, that in this respect he manifested a regard for the true interests of his country, and a degree of political sagacity which does credit to his discernment; subsequent events having sufficiently demonstrated, that the apprehensions of the pontiff for the safety and repose of Italy were too well founded; that country having, soon after his death, exhibited scenes of contention and of carnage between the rival monarchs of France and of Spain, yet more horrible than any that had before occurred; and the city of Rome itself having become the prey of a horde of Christian barbarians, who sacked it, with circumstances

[31] Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 130. Ligue de Camb. liv. v. vol. ii. p. 561.

of ferocious cruelty scarcely to be paralleled in the history of mankind.[32]

The exiled duke of Urbino recovers his dominions. 1517. Æt. 42. Pont. V.

One of the immediate consequences of the general pacification was the disbanding of a great number of the Italian *Condottieri;* who, being now out of employment, were ready to engage in any enterprise which might afford them emolument or support. Availing himself of this circumstance, and of the pecuniary aid of his father-in-law the marquis of Mantua, the exiled duke of Urbino had begun to collect a military force, for the purpose of attempting the recovery of his dominions.[33] In the month of January, 1517, he assembled his troops, which then amounted to five thousand Spanish infantry, most of whom had been employed in the defence of Verona, three thousand Italian stipendiaries, and fifteen hundred horse, commanded by Federigo Gonzago, lord of Bozzolo, who avowed a mortal enmity to Lorenzo de' Medici, on account of a personal affront which he had received from him. With this army the exiled duke began his march; having, as a justification of his conduct, addressed a letter to the college of cardinals, in which he declares himself a faithful and obedient son of the church; complains of the unexampled severity with which he had been treated; asserts that he had not only been pursued with all the violence of ecclesiastical censures, but that his life had been frequently attempted, both by poison and by force; and disavows any intention of disturbing the states of the church further than might be necessary to the recovery of his just rights.[34] He then took the route of Romagna, and arriving at Cesena, passed the river Savio under the walls of that place, without interruption from Lorenzo de' Medici, who was then with a considerable force within the city. The rapidity of his movements anticipated the vigilance of the papal commanders. A few

[32] A succinct account of these shocking transactions may be found in Robertson's History of Charles V., book iv. vol. ii. p. 286.

[33] Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 131. Leoni, Vita di Fr. Maria duca d'Urbino, lib. ii. p. 198.

[34] This letter, which is well written, and may be considered as the manifesto of the duke, has been preserved by Leoni, Vita di Francesco Maria duca d'Urbino, Ven. 1605.

fortresses of little importance, which had opposed his progress, were stormed, and the garrisons treated with great severity. Arriving in his own dominions, he found his capital defended only by a small body of troops, which was instantly put to flight, and in the space of a few weeks the duke, without a single engagement of any importance, found himself as suddenly restored to his authority as he had been, a short time before, deprived of it.

Leo requires the aid of all Christendom against him.

This unexpected reverse of fortune was a cause of inexpressible chagrin to the pope, not only on account of the loss of a territory which he had considered as effectually secured to his family, but as it indicated a hostile disposition on the part of those sovereigns whose commanders and troops had engaged in the service of the duke. On this account he warmly remonstrated with the ambassador of the French monarch on the conduct of Lautrec, who had permitted Federigo da Bozzolo, one of his stipendiaries, to enter into the service of the duke.[35] He also complained to the emperor elect, Maximilian, and to the young monarch of Spain, that their troops had been engaged in opposition to the cause of the church, which he strongly insinuated would not have been done without their privity and assent. Not satisfied, however, with these remonstrances, he resorted to his pontifical authority, and issued his briefs, requiring the assistance of all the princes of Christendom against a rebel and a traitor, who had not only opposed himself in open arms against his paramount lord, but had thrown off all reverence to the holy see.[36] These representations were not without their effect. The friendship of a pontiff, who by his talents and vigilance, no less than by his high office, had obtained so considerable an influence in the affairs of Europe, was, without long hesitation, preferred to the disinterested task of vindicating the rights of a petty sovereign, whose conduct had on several occasions undoubtedly given just cause for reprehension. The Spanish king not only

[35] Guicciard. lib. xiii. vol. ii. pp. 127, 130.

[36] On this occasion Leo wrote in a particular manner to Henry VIII., representing the church as in a situation of great difficulty and danger, and entreating his immediate and effectual assistance. *Vide* App. No. XLIX.

exculpated himself from all share in the transaction, but immediately admonished his subjects to quit the service of the duke of Urbino. He also directed the count of Potenza to proceed from Naples with four hundred lances to the aid of the pope, and as a proof of the sincerity of his intentions, he deprived the duke of Urbino of the ducal territory of Sora, which had been purchased by his father within the kingdom of Naples. Francis I., although justly suspicious of the intentions of the pontiff, sent also to his assistance a body of three hundred lances; but this reinforcement was accompanied by many complaints of the non-observance by the pope of the treaty concluded between him and the king at Bologna. The unjustifiable severity exercised by Leo against the exiled duke of Urbino, and particularly his cruelty, in depriving both the dowager duchess and the wife of the reigning duke of the revenues appointed for their support, had also been warmly animadverted on by the duchess of Angoulême, mother of the French monarch, who possessed great influence with her son, and resented with commendable spirit the injury done to those of her own sex. Leo, being privately informed of this circumstance, and conscious that he had given just occasion for complaint, hesitated whether it would be prudent to accept the assistance offered to him by the king. These difficulties were not, however, of long continuance. In complying with the request of the pope, by giving to his cause the credit of his name, and the assistance of his arms, Francis proposed that a new confederation should be entered into between them, by which they should reciprocally bind themselves to the defence of each other's dominions, and to the advance, for that purpose, if it should appear necessary, of a monthly sum of twelve thousand ducats. The Florentines were also included as auxiliaries in the league, and Lorenzo de' Medici was expressly recognised as duke of Urbino.[37] The king further consented to assist the pope, whenever he was required, against the vassals and feudatories of the church;

[37] This treaty does not appear either in the Codex Italiæ Diplomaticus of Lünig, or in the Collections of Dumont; yet, as it is stated in express terms by Guicciardini, lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 132, and is recognised by the accurate Muratori, Annali d'Ital. x. 132, there can be no doubt that it was concluded.

but the pontiff engaged by a separate brief not to require the aid of the French monarch against the duke of Ferrara. On this occasion Francis again insisted with great earnestness on the restitution of Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara; but the pope sought to evade the discussion, under the pretext that it was not a proper time to make such a request, when he was engaged in a dangerous contest with another of the vassals of the church. Such, however, was the perseverance of the king, that Leo at length consented, by a written engagement, to restore those places to the duke at the expiration of the term of seven months; a promise which there is too much reason to believe he never intended to perform, although conceded to the importunity of the king; relying on the change of circumstances which might arise within that period for a sufficient reason to justify him in the breach of it.[38]

The duke of Urbino challenges his rival Lorenzo to single combat.

During this negotiation, Leo had used his utmost efforts to increase the forces under the command of his nephew, Lorenzo; which soon amounted to one thousand men at arms, fifteen hundred light-horse, and eighteen thousand infantry, composed of an heterogeneous assemblage of Gascons, Germans, Swiss, Spaniards, and Italians,[39] the immediate command of which, under the direction of Lorenzo, was intrusted to Renzo da Ceri. Of this force a considerable part was concentrated at Pesaro; but at the time when hostilities were expected to commence, a herald arrived at Pesaro, to demand a safe conduct for two persons who were authorized by the duke of Urbino to impart a message to Lorenzo de' Medici. The necessary credentials were accordingly given, when Suares di Lione, a Spanish officer, and Oratio Florida, secretary to the duke, were introduced in a public audience; but instead of announcing any proposition of submission or accommodation, as was probably expected from them, the secretary read aloud a

[38] On this subject, Muratori bluntly observes, "l'osservare la parola non fu mai contato fra le virtù di questo pontefice." Annali d' Ital. x. 132.

[39] Leoni, Vita di Fr. Maria duca d'Urbino, lib. ii. Guicciardini states the amount at one thousand men at arms, one thousand light-horse, and fifteen thousand infantry. Storia d'Ital. lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 133.

challenge from the duke, addressed to Lorenzo; by which he proposed, that in order to prevent the effusion of blood and the calamities of a protracted warfare, the contending parties should terminate the contest by an equal number of soldiers on each side, such number to be at the choice of Lorenzo; from four, to four thousand; concluding with an offer to Lorenzo, in case he preferred it, to meet him at a time and place to be appointed for that purpose, and to decide their differences by single combat.[40]

The only reply which Lorenzo made to this message, which he affected to consider as a personal affront, was to commit the bearers of it to prison.[41] In a few days, however, he liberated the Spaniard; but he sent the secretary of the duke to Rome, for the purpose of being examined respecting the measures and intentions of his master, and particularly as to the persons who had stimulated and abetted him in the prosecution of the war. To the indelible reproach of the pope and his advisers, the use of torture was resorted to, for the purpose of obtaining information from a person who had relied on the express sanction of a safe conduct; but the result of this atrocious act is said to have served only to confirm the pope in the suspicions which he already entertained of the hostile disposition of the French monarch.[42]

War of Urbino.

The opposing armies now took the field, that of the duke being inferior in number to that of his adversaries. After several movements and partial contests on the banks of the river Metro, in the vicinity of

[40] This singular document is preserved by Leoni, in his life of Fr. Maria, duke of Urbino, and may be found in App. No. L.

[41] Ammirato informs us that Lorenzo offered to accept the challenge, and meet the duke in single combat, provided he would first restore matters to their former footing. Ammir. Ritratti d'Uomini illustri di Casa Medici, in Opusc. vol. iii. p. 105. If by this proposal it was meant that the duke should relinquish to Lorenzo the sovereignty of Urbino before the combat took place, it was not likely that the duke would accede to it, and the evasion will not save the credit of the papal commander, which, however, might perhaps be defended on better grounds.

[42] It appears from Guicciardini, that the Roman casuists pretended that the passport was void, because Florida was not expressly named as a subject of the church and secretary of the duke; but the historian justly treats this as a miserable cavil. Storia d'Ital. lib. xiii. vol. i. p. 133. The secretary did not, however, lose his life on this occasion, but was liberated in consequence of a stipulation for that purpose, in the treaty afterwards concluded between the contending parties. Leoni, Vita di Fr. Maria duca d'Urbino, lib. ii. p. 261.

Fossombrone, in which the celebrated commander, Giovanni de' Medici, then very young, gave an earnest of those military talents which he afterwards more fully displayed,[43] the armies arrived within a mile of each other near Monte Baroccio. A decisive conflict now seemed inevitable, but Lorenzo lost a favourable opportunity of bringing his adversaries to an engagement, and suffered them to withdraw from a situation of acknowledged danger, into a place where they might either accept or decline the combat. Instead of appealing to arms, the duke of Urbino had recourse to a stratagem for creating dissensions among his adversaries, and particularly for detaching the Gascons from the service of Lorenzo. To this end he transmitted to their commanders certain letters, said to have been found in the apartments of the secretary of Lorenzo at Saltara, which place had been occupied by the duke immediately after the departure of the papal troops. By these letters it appeared that the pope had complained of the extravagant expense of supporting his auxiliaries, and had expressed his wishes that they would return to France. Hence a considerable ferment arose in the army, which, combining with the disadvantages of their situation, the difficulty of obtaining provisions, and perhaps the reluctance of the commanders to hazard an engagement, induced them to change their position, and to retire, in the presence of an inferior force, into the Vicariato. After attacking the castle of S. Costanza, which was carried by storm, and delivered up to be plun-

[43] He was the son of Giovanni di Pier-Francesco de' Medici, by Caterina Sforza, the heroine of her age, and was born at Forli, in 1498. If we may credit Ammirato, he manifested, in his infancy, a most savage ferocity of disposition, which could only be gratified by slaughtering brute animals, and insulting and abusing his companions. In the paroxysms of his fury, he had even assassinated several persons, and had been banished from Florence before he arrived at manhood. His early crimes were, however, too soon forgotten in the splendour of his military exploits; and his incredible courage, and unbounded generosity, gained him numerous friends and adherents, and are said to have occasioned great apprehensions to Leo X., who sent for him to Rome at an early age, and endeavoured to secure his attachment by continual favours. The descendants of Giovanni, who was the father of the grand duke Cosmo I. swayed the sceptre of Tuscany for two centuries. *Vide* Ammirato, Ritratti d'Uomini illustri di Casa Medici. Opusc. vol. iii. p. 176. Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, vol. ii. p. 297, 4to ed. A letter from this young man to the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, written at this juncture, when he was leaving Florence to join the army under his kinsman Lorenzo, is yet preserved, and is now first published in Appendix, No. LI.

dered by the Gascons, the papal troops encamped before Mondolfo, the strongest fortress in that district. Here an event occurred which had nearly proved fatal to one of the leaders. On planting the artillery for the attack of the place, it appeared that the engineers of the papal army, either through ignorance or negligence, had chosen such a station as exposed the soldiery to the fire of the garrison, in consequence of which one of the captains and several other men were killed. Exasperated at this misconduct, Lorenzo hastened to the spot, contrary to the earnest remonstrances of his officers; where, after having with great labour and perseverance provided for the defence of his followers, he was, when retiring, struck by a ball from the garrison, which wounded him on the back part of his head, and not only rendered him incapable for some time of further exertion, but greatly endangered his life.[44]

On the arrival of this information at Rome, Leo instantly despatched the cardinal Giulio de' Medici to take upon him the chief command of the papal army. On his arrival he found it in a state of the utmost disorder. The private disputes and personal quarrels of the soldiers of different nations had been espoused by their respective commanders, and the Germans, Spaniards, and Italians, instead of opposing the enemy, had armed against each other; in consequence of which several affrays had taken place, in which some of the parties had lost their lives. The first measure adopted by the papal legate, was to divide the troops of each nation from those of the others, and to order them into separate cantonments. This task, although highly proper, was not carried into effect without considerable personal danger to the cardinal, and gave such dissatisfaction, that several considerable bodies of troops quitted the service of the pontiff, and repaired to the standard of the duke of

[44] Ammirato, Ritratti d'Uomini illustri di Casa Medici, in Opusc. vol. iii. p. 105. Guicciard. lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 137. Leoni, in his Life of Fr. Maria, duke of Urbino, lib. ii. p. 230, informs us, more particularly, that Lorenzo was wounded by a Spanish soldier, named Robles, who having observed, from the garrison, that he frequently visited the artillery without being sufficiently attentive to his safety, took aim at his head, whilst he was stooping to examine a cannon, and struck him between the neck and the shoulder; to which the author adds, that the wound was thought so dangerous, that Lorenzo was carried to Ancona, with little hopes of his recovery.

Urbino. If, at this juncture, the duke had hastened to the attack of his adversaries, he would in all probability have obtained an easy and decisive victory; but, if we may judge of the intention of the commanders from a general view of the contest, it seems to have been equally the policy of both these rivals to decline an engagement, and rather to circumvent each other by deceit, than to trust to the open decision of arms. Instead of opposing his enemies in the field, the duke of Urbino marched towards Perugia, leaving his own territories exposed to the ravages of his adversaries. Having obtained the surrender of this place through the treachery or cowardice of Gian-Paolo Baglioni, the Florentine commandant, he began to threaten the states of Tuscany; but on receiving information of the progress of the papal troops in Urbino, he changed his purpose, and hastened to the defence of his capital. After an unsuccessful attack on the fortress of Pesaro, he again returned towards the Florentine state, and attempted to carry by storm the citadel of Anghiari; but being repulsed by the courage of the garrison rather than by the strength of the place, he withdrew his troops under the Appenines between Borgo and Castello, uncertain what course he should next pursue, and exhausted with the expense of a contest, which by one great effort he might have terminated both to his honour and advantage.

The duke of Urbino resigns his dominions.

In the hopeless situation to which the duke was reduced, surrounded by an army clamorous for subsistence, and apprehensive at every moment of being betrayed into the hands of his enemies, he consented, at length, to listen to terms of accommodation. The negotiation was, however, entered into on his part under the most unfavourable auspices. The sovereigns of Spain and of France had seen with mutual jealousy the commanders and troops of each other employed as auxiliaries in the war, and began to entertain apprehensions that the continuance of this contest might endanger the possessions which they respectively held in Italy. The remonstrances of the pope to those monarchs, to recall their subjects from the service of the duke of Urbino, were also urged with a degree of earnestness that could no longer be resisted

without giving open cause of offence, and Don Ugo de Moncada, viceroy of Naples, was directed to mediate between the contending parties. His efforts to this effect were seconded by those of the French commander L'Escù, and as the duke appeared unwilling to submit to the terms proposed, orders were immediately given to the French and Spanish troops, then in his service, to quit his standard, and to repair to that of their respective sovereigns. Under these circumstances, the duke was required to relinquish his dominions, and accept from the pope a compensation for his claims; but although he was compelled to assent to the former, he rejected the latter with becoming spirit, as a measure that would be subversive of his rights. He stipulated, however, that he and his followers should, on his relinquishing his territories to the pope, be freed from all ecclesiastical censures; that his subjects should not be liable to punishment on account of their adherence to him; that the dowager duchess, and his own wife, should be allowed to enjoy their possessions in the state of Urbino, and that he should be at liberty to remove all his furniture, arms, and personal effects, among which, it was expressly agreed, there should be included the celebrated library collected by his grandfather Federigo, duke of Urbino. With these terms the pope did not hesitate to comply, and the duke having been allowed to repair to Urbino for the purpose of carrying into execution the articles agreed to in his favour, there assented to the treaty.[45] On the same day he quitted the city under an escort of French cavalry, and passing through Cento, again took up his residence with his father-in-law, the marquis of Mantua, "to enjoy," says his biographer Leoni, "the admiration and applause of mankind, and the reward of his labours. Thus," continues the same

[45] We are informed by Guicciardini, that on the conditions of the treaty being reduced into writing, the duke required the insertion of certain words, importing that the Spaniards had conceded the dominions of Urbino to the pope, which not being assented to, the duke refused to affix his signature, and hastening from the place, accompanied by Federigo da Bozzolo and others of his followers, proceeded through Romagna and the Bolognese to Mantua. Storia d'Ital. lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 151. I have, however, preferred the authority of Leoni, who allows that the duke assented to the treaty; nor, indeed, without such assent, could he have been entitled to the advantages for which he had stipulated. Vita di Fr. Maria duca d'Urbino, lib. ii. p. 262.

writer, "did Leo, after a contest of eight months, terminate the war of Urbino, with the expense of a million of crowns, which it was said throughout Italy had only purchased for him disgrace and insult to his soldiers, his states, and his commanders; and with the acquisition of the duchy of Urbino, lost indeed by the trial of arms, but obtained by the influence of his authority." Without wholly agreeing with this author in his commendations of the conduct and character of the exiled duke, it must be confessed that the motives of the pope in this undertaking were as culpable as the conduct of his commanders was disgraceful; whilst the enormous expenses which he incurred exhausted his treasury, and induced him to resort to those measures for replenishing it which were shortly afterwards productive of such disastrous consequences to the Roman church.

Conspiracy of the cardinals to poison the pope.

During the war of Urbino, an alarming conspiracy was discovered at Rome, the object of which was to destroy the pope by poison; and if the name of religion had not been already sufficiently prostituted, the Christian world might have shuddered to hear that the authors of this crime were found among the members of the sacred college. The chief instigator of this attempt was the cardinal Alfonso Petrucci, the brother of Borghese Petrucci, who had lately been deprived of his authority in Siena, and expelled from that place by the interference of the pope. This total subversion of the dignity and fortunes of his family, which had been accompanied with the confiscation of his own hereditary revenues, sunk deep into the mind of the cardinal. He considered the conduct of the pope in this transaction as in itself highly oppressive and unjust; but when he compared it with the services rendered by his father Pandolfo to the family of the Medici, as well on their restoration to Florence as on other important occasions, and recollected the very active part which he had himself taken, with the rest of the younger cardinals, in raising the pope to his high dignity, his resentment rose to such a degree as could not be restrained either by the sense of guilt or the fear of punishment. In the first paroxysms of his anger he determined

to assassinate the pope with his own hand; but from this he was deterred by the difficulty of effecting his purpose, rather than by the horror of such a crime, or the scandal that must have arisen to the church from the murder of a pope by the hands of a cardinal.[46] Changing, therefore, his means, but not his object, he resolved to destroy the pope by poison, for which purpose he engaged, as the partner of his guilt, Battista da Vercelli, a celebrated practitioner of surgery at Rome. The manner in which this was to be accomplished was agreed upon.[47] During the absence of the surgeon who usually attended the pope, on account of a dangerous and painful complaint, with which he had long been afflicted, Battista was introduced to him as a person of superior skill; and if Leo had not, by a fortunate delicacy, and contrary to the entreaties of his attendants, refused to discover his complaint to a stranger, it was intended to have mingled the ingredients of poison in the medicaments to be applied. The impatience of Petrucci could not, however, brook delay, but frequently and involuntarily burst forth in complaints against the ingratitude of the pontiff, and in expressions of enmity and revenge. This conduct soon attracted notice, and Petrucci, being aware of the danger which he had incurred by his imprudence, thought it expedient to retire for a short time from Rome. He did not, however, relinquish his project, which he had communicated to his secretary, Antonio Nino, who was to accelerate its execution in his absence, and with whom he maintained a frequent interchange of letters.[48] Some of these being intercepted, sufficiently disclosed the criminal nature of the correspondence; and Leo, under the pretext of consulting with Petrucci on the arrangement of his family concerns, required his presence in Rome. Conscious of his guilt, Petrucci manifested some reluctance in complying with this request, but Leo removed his apprehensions by granting him a safe conduct, at the same time undertaking, by his solemn promise to the Spanish ambas-

[46] Guicciard. lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 144.
[47] Fabron. Vita Leon. X. p. 115. *Et vide* Jovii, Vitâ Leon. X. lib. iv. p. 76.
[48] Jovii, Vita Leon X. lib. iv. p. 76. Fabron. Vita Leon. X. p. 116.

sador, not to violate his own act. Confiding in assurances so solemnly sanctioned, Petrucci instantly repaired to Rome. On his arrival he was introduced, in company with the cardinal Bandinello de' Sauli, into the chamber of the pope, where they were both secured by the guards, and committed prisoners to the castle of S. Angelo.[49] Against these proceedings the Spanish ambassador loudly remonstrated, asserting, that as he had pledged his faith for the safety of Petrucci, it must be considered as the engagement of his sovereign.[50] Leo was not wanting in arguments to justify his conduct. He alleged in reply, that no instrument of safe conduct, however full and explicit, could be allowed to avail a person who had conspired against the life of the supreme pontiff, unless the crime was therein expressly mentioned. He contended that the same rule was applicable to the crime of murder by poison; a species of guilt abhorred by all laws, human and divine. By evasions of this nature the pontiff did not scruple to violate that good faith, of which he ought to have been the first person to set an example, and condescended to use against his adversary the same treachery which had been employed against himself. The measures thus adopted Leo communicated by official letters to the other European potentates, well knowing that great interest would be made by the cardinals to screen their offending brethren from a punishment which would reflect disgrace on the whole college.[51]

The conspirators discovered.

The surgeon Battista, who had retired to Florence, was soon afterwards apprehended and sent to Rome. Another person named Pocointesta, who had long served the family of Petrucci in a military capacity, was also taken into custody; and the delinquents were rigorously examined by the procurator fiscal, Mario Perusco.[52] From the confessions of these wretched men, the guilt of

[49] 19th May, 1517. Par. de Grass. Diar. inedit. ap. Bib. Pub. Paris. p. 458.

[50] Guicciard. lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 145.

[51] The letter of Leo to Henry VIII. on this occasion, is given in the Appendix, No. LII.

[52] Guicciard. lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 145. Fabron. Vita Leon X. p. 116. Count Bossi, on the authority of the French writers, seems to think it probable that some of the cardinals were also put to the torture; but of this there exists no evidence. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. vi. p. 154.*

Petrucci was apparent, and there was also great reason to suspect, that not only the cardinal de' Sauli, but several other members of the college, had been privy to his designs. Leo, therefore, resolved to call a meeting of the cardinals in full consistory, to inform them of the reasons of his conduct, and to obtain, if possible, a public confession from such of them as he suspected to be implicated in the crime.

Before the day arrived for this assembly, which had been fixed for the twenty-second of May, Leo became so greatly alarmed at the extent to which the conspiracy had been carried among the cardinals, that he durst not trust himself in the midst of them. He determined, however, to secure the person of Raffaello Riario, cardinal of S. Georgio, who since the time of the memorable conspiracy of the Pazzi, in which he had acted a principal, though perhaps an involuntary part, had now sat in the college nearly forty years, and from his great wealth and splendid manner of life, was considered as the principal person in the college. The particulars of his arrest, and of the dismission of the other cardinals from the consistory, are minutely related by Paris de Grassis, and may give a sufficient idea of the personal conduct of the pontiff on this trying occasion.[53] "The consistory being assembled, the pope sent for the cardinal of Ancona, who continued with him about an hour. As we were surprised at this long interview," says this vigilant master of the ceremonies, "I looked through an opening of the door, and perceived in the chamber of the pope the captain of the palace, and two of the guards under arms. I was apprehensive of some untoward circumstance; but I remained silent. Seeing, however, the cardinals S. Georgio and Farnese enter the pope's chamber with great cheerfulness, I concluded that the pope had called them to consult with him respecting a promotion of cardinals, of which he had spoken in the morning; but scarcely had the cardinal S. Georgio entered, than the pope, who commonly walked very deliberately between two of his chamberlains, hastened out of the room with great precipitation, and, shutting the door, left the cardinal S. Georgio

Arrest of the cardinal Riario.

[53] Notices des MSS. du Roi, tom. ii. p. 599. Par. 1789.

with the guards. Greatly astonished at his haste, I inquired from the pope the reason of it, and asked whether he meant to enter the consistory without his stole. We arrayed him with the stole. He was pale and much agitated He then ordered me, in a more positive tone than usual, to send all the cardinals from the consistory, and afterwards, with a still louder voice, to shut up the consistorial chamber. I obeyed; and no longer entertained a doubt that the cardinal S. Georgio was arrested. The other attendants and myself then began to form conjectures as to the cause of these proceedings; but the pope soon afterwards explained them himself, by informing us that the two cardinals in prison had declared that the cardinal S. Georgio was their accomplice; that they had agreed to poison the pope, and nominate that cardinal as his successor. We could scarcely believe that the cardinal of S. Georgio, whose prudence and abilities were so well known, could have engaged in such a plot; or, if he had been guilty, that he would not have made his escape. We were therefore inclined to think that this accusation was made by the pope as a pretext to revenge himself for former injuries. However this may be, all that the other cardinals could obtain was, that he should not be sent to the castle of S. Angelo, but should remain under arrest at the palace. A few days afterwards he was, however, ordered into closer custody."

Several other cardinals confess their guilt.

On the eighth day of June the pope again assembled the cardinals; and after bitterly complaining that his life should have been so cruelly and insidiously attempted, by those who, having been raised to such high dignity, and who, being the principal members of the apostolic see, were bound beyond all others to defend him; and after lamenting that the kindness and liberality which he had uniformly shewn to every individual of the sacred college, even to a degree which had been imputed to him as a weakness, had met with so ungrateful a return;[54] he proceeded to inform them that two others of their members were concerned in the conspiracy, and called upon the guilty to make their peace by a prompt confession,

[54] Guicciard. lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 145.

threatening, that otherwise he would immediately order them into custody. By the advice of three of the cardinals, Remolini, Accolti, and Farnese,[55] each cardinal was called upon to answer, on oath, the interrogatory whether they were guilty. When the question was put to Francesco Soderini, cardinal of Volterra, he denied the fact; but upon further admonition he fell prostrate, and with many tears acknowledged his offence, yielding his life to the discretion of the pontiff. Leo then observed, that there was yet another concealed traitor, when the three cardinals before mentioned, turning to Adrian di Corneto, cardinal of S. Crisogono, advised him in like manner to humble himself. With great reluctance he too confessed his guilt. It was then determined that the penitent cardinals, after paying a heavy fine, should be restored to favour. This fine was settled at twenty-five thousand ducats;[56] but when they had raised that sum by joint contributions, Leo insisted that it was intended they should each pay that amount, whereupon they availed themselves of the earliest opportunity to effect their escape from the city. The cardinal of Volterra retired to Fondi, where he remained under the protection of Prospero Colonna, until the death of the pontiff;[57] but what became of Adrian is wholly unknown, no tidings having been received of him after his flight from Rome.[58]

[55] Fabron. Vita Leon. X. p. 116.

[56] Par. de Grassis, Diar. inedit. ap. Bib. Pub. Paris. Guicciard. lib. xiii. vol. ii. pp. 145, 146.

[57] Guicciard. lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 146.

[58] It was supposed, however, that Adrian was murdered by one of his servants, for the sake of the gold which he had secreted in his flight. "Constans tamen opinio est, eum insuto in interiorem thoracem auro oneratum, comitis famuli perfidia oppressum; auroque surrepto, cadaver in solitarium aliquem locum abjectum occultari." Valerian. de Literat. Infelic. lib. i. p. 17. Adrian was an accomplished Latin scholar, as appears by such of his pieces as are preserved in the Carm. Illustr. Poet. Ital. tom. v. p. 397; *et vide*, chap. vii. In the reign of Henry VIII. he was the pope's collector in England, and stood high in the favour of the king, who conferred on him the see of Hereford, and afterwards that of Bath. *Vide* Bacon. Hist. Regni Henry VII. in Op. vol. iii. p. 560. "Certè," says that eminent author, "vir magnus fuit Adrianus, et multa eruditione, prudentia, et in rebus civilibus dexteritate, præditus." He afterwards relates the part which Adrian took in the conspiracy of Petrucci, and attributes it to an ambitious and vain desire of obtaining the papacy; which it seems had been promised by an astrologer to a cardinal named Adrian, which he conceived applied only to himself; but which was intended to refer to Adrian of Utrecht, the preceptor of Charles V., and successor of Leo X. A few months after the cardinal had absconded, he was deprived of his dignities and benefices, as appears by a letter

The painful task of punishing the authors and principal promoters of this conspiracy yet remained, and seems to have affected the pontiff with real concern. Of the guilt of the cardinals Petrucci and de' Sauli no doubt was entertained; yet the conduct of the latter excited general surprise; as he had shared in an eminent degree the favour and liberality of the pontiff, which he had secured by the elegance of his manners and conversation, insomuch as to have been the frequent companion of the pontiff in his hours of leisure and relaxation. It was, however, conjectured, that the prosperity which he thus enjoyed, had only served to excite in him those ambitious expectations which no reasonable kindness could gratify, and that he resented the preference shewn by the pope to the cardinal Giulio, in conferring upon him the episcopal see of Marseilles.[59] Whatever was the cause of his animosity, it was sufficiently apparent, as well from written documents, as the evidence of the surgeon Battista, that he had taken an active part in the machinations of Petrucci, and had supplied him with money for carrying them into effect. During his examination he is said to have hesitated, trembled, contradicted himself, and given evident symptoms of his guilt; whilst Petrucci, almost frantic with rage, poured out his execrations against the pontiff;[60] but little reliance is to be placed on the conduct of persons examined under the immediate terrors of the rack, where hardened intrepidity may be mistaken for innocence, and the natural dread of corporal sufferings for the struggling of conscious guilt.

Execution of the cardinal Petrucci and others.

On the day of Pentecost, Leo having again assembled the cardinals, addressed them in a long and pathetic oration, in which he intimated, that although he might legally and properly have proceeded to degrade and punish the guilty, yet he had determined to pardon them. The cardinals present acknowledged his clemency towards their offending brethren, whereupon

from the cardinal Giulio de' Medici to Wolsey, requesting that Henry VIII. would signify his intentions to the pontiff, as to the disposal of the vacant bishoprick. *Vide* App. No. LIII.

[59] Jovii, Vita Leon. X. lib. iv. p. 76. Fabron. Vita Leon. X. p. 119.

[60] Fabron. Vita Leon. X. p. 119.

Leo was melted into tears. He then went to attend the celebration of mass, after which his dispositions and intentions seemed to be astonishingly changed, and it was thought that he had been instigated to convert the punishment of the offenders into a source of gain. On the twentieth day of June he proceeded to degrade the cardinals Petrucci and de' Sauli, and also the cardinal Riario, from their dignities, and to deprive them of their goods and ecclesiastical preferments; after which, to the terror and astonishment of all the members of the sacred college, he delivered them over to the secular power. During this meeting of the consistory, which continued thirteen hours, great dissensions and tumults arose, as well between the pope and some of the cardinals, as among the cardinals themselves, of whom only twelve were present, being all who then remained in the city. The sentence of deprivation was read by Pietro Bembo.[61] On the following night Petrucci was strangled in prison.[62] The subordinate instruments of this treachery, Battista da Vercelli and Antonio Nino, were also sentenced to death, and after suffering excruciating torments, were finally strangled, and their bodies quartered.[63] The life of the cardinal de' Sauli was spared on the entreaty of Francesco Cibò, the brother-in-law of the pontiff;[64] and although he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, yet he was soon afterwards liberated on payment of a sum of money, and making an humble submission, which the pope received in a most ungracious manner, and answered by a severe remonstrance.[65] As the cardinal died in the ensuing year, it was insinuated that he perished by a slow poison administered to him whilst in custody by the

Conduct of Leo towards the other conspirators.

[61] Par. de Grass. Diar. ap. Fabron. Vita Leon. X. p. 120.

[62] Guicciard. lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 146. Another author, however, relates, that Petrucci was decapitated, having refused to confess his sins, alleging, that if he lost his body, he cared nothing about his soul. Ex relat. Titii, ap. Fabron. Leon. X. in adnot. p. 285.

[63] Jov. Vita Leon. X. lib. iv. p. 78.

[64] Fabron. Vita Leon. X. p. 120. It is not, however, improbable, that the cardinal was chiefly indebted for his safety to the interference of Francis I., who represented him to the pope as one of his Genoese subjects, and of a family which he highly esteemed. Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p. 21.

[65] Par. de Grass. Diar. inedit. ap. Bib. Pub. Paris.

order of the pontiff;[66] an accusation which has no foundation, but in the horrible frequency with which crimes of this nature were then resorted to, and in the idea, that as the pope had always treated the cardinal with distinguished kindness, he could not forgive the injury meditated against him. The cardinal of S. Georgio experienced greater lenity; and although he had been included in the degree of deprivation, was, on the payment of a certain sum, and without any apology, immediately restored to all his ecclesiastical functions, except the power of voting in the college; which incapacity was also removed before the expiration of a year. On the reconciliation between them, Leo used expressions of particular kindness and respect; solemnly assuring him, that whatever offences the cardinal had committed against him, he had wholly pardoned and obliterated from his mind.[67] Riario, however, either humiliated by this transaction, or not confiding in the assurances of the pontiff, soon afterwards quitted the city of Rome, where he had so long resided in the greatest splendour and respectability, and took up his residence at Naples, where he terminated his days in the month of July, 1520.

Observations on this event.

This extraordinary transaction, in which so great a proportion of the members of the sacred college conspired against the life of the supreme pontiff, gave rise to much discussion and great diversity of opinion.[68] The motives of Petrucci were indeed sufficiently obvious, and his guilt was universally admitted; but the reasons which actuated the other cardinals, who were regarded as his confederates, are not so apparent, and it is highly probable that the crime of some of them merely consisted in their not having revealed to the pope those expressions of resentment which Petrucci had uttered in their presence.[69] By some it was supposed that the duke

[66] Guicciard. lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 146.

[67] Par. de Grass. ap. Fabron. Vita Leon. X. p. 117. The lenity experienced by Riario at different periods of his life, from the pontiff and his father, is commemorated by Angelo Colocci, Colocc. Op. Lat. p. 88.

[68] Vasari, who has given some account of this transaction in his own manner, mentions six cardinals as involved in the conspiracy, having erroneously enumerated S. Georgio and Raffaello Riario as different persons. *Vide* Ragionam. p. 102.

[69] This conjecture is confirmed by a letter from several dignified ecclesiastics

of Urbino, who had already attempted by his letters to interest the college of cardinals in his favour, had prevailed on a part of its members to engage in this hazardous attempt; whilst others did not hesitate to represent it as merely a contrivance of the pontiff to extort large sums of money from the richer cardinals; but to the last supposition the confession of several of the delinquents in open consistory is a sufficient answer. Upon strict grounds of positive law the execution of Petrucci may perhaps be justified; almost all countries having concurred in punishing a projected attempt against the life of the sovereign, in the same manner as if the crime had been actually committed; but the shameful violation of every principle of humanity, exemplified in the execution of the subordinate instruments of his guilt, can never be sufficiently execrated. Are such punishments intended as a retribution for the crime? Justice then degenerates into revenge. Are they for the purpose of deterring others from like offences? Care should then be taken not to render the offenders objects of compassion, and to prevent that re-action of opinion which loses the guilt of the criminal in the cruelty of the judge.[70] Are they intended to correct the excesses and to improve the morals of a people? How can this be effected by spectacles that outrage humanity, and which, by their repetition, steel the heart against all those sentiments by which the individual and general safety of mankind are secured, much more effectually than by gibbets and halters, racks and chains.[71]

In punishing the authors and abettors of this insidious attempt against his life, Leo was well aware that he had created new enemies among their friends and supporters,

and noblemen at Rome, to Henry VIII. requesting his interference in behalf of the cardinal Riario. The letter, which throws considerable light on this transaction, is given in App. No. LIV.

[70] Sallustii Catil. cap. 51.

[71] Mr. Henke, in a long note on this passage, has quoted the authority of Jacob Ziegler, of Vienna, in his "Hist. of Clement VII." (published by Schelhorne, in his "Amœnitat. Hist. Eccl. et Liter." vol. ii. p. 210,) to shew that Clement, whilst known as the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, was the chief instigator of all the severities practised by the pope in the course of this affair; for the purpose of forwarding, by the ruin of so many of the cardinals, his own avaricious and ambitious designs; whilst Leo, devoted to his pleasures, permitted such unjust and cruel judgments to be executed in his name. *Vide* Germ. Ed. vol. ii. p. 316.*

whose resentment was not to be disregarded; nor had he observed without alarm the conduct of the other members of the college, almost all of whom had interested themselves with great warmth in behalf of their guilty brethren. He therefore took additional precautions for his safety, and was usually surrounded by his guards, who attended him even during the celebration of divine service; not to protect him against a foreign enemy, but to secure the chief of the Christian church against the more dangerous attempts of the members of the sacred college. In this disgraceful and melancholy state of the Roman see, Leo had recourse to an expedient on which he had for some time meditated, and which, in a great degree, relieved him from his apprehensions. In one day he created an additional number of thirty-one cardinals.[72] Among these were several of his relations and friends, some of whom had not yet obtained the habit of prelacy; a circumstance which gave rise to no small dissatisfaction amongst the more rigid disciplinarians of the Roman see. On the whole, however, it must be acknowledged, that in point of talents, rank, experience, and learning, the persons now called to support the dignity of the Christian church, were not surpassed by any of those who had of late enjoyed that honour. Of these, one of the most distinguished by the solidity of his judgment, the extent of his acquirements, and the sanctity of his life, was Egidio of Viterbo, principal of the order of Augustines, who had long lived on terms of familiarity with the pontiff. Of the elegance of his taste he had in his youth given a sufficient specimen in his poetical writings; but his riper years had been devoted to more serious studies; and Leo, who had long consulted him in matters of the first importance, availed himself greatly of his advice in selecting the other persons on whom it might be proper so confer this high dignity. The principal of the Dominicans, Tomaso de Vio, and of the Franciscans, Cristoforo Numalio, were also at the same time received into the college; and although this might be attributed to the wish of the pope to avoid the appearance of partiality to the

Leo creates in one day thirty-one cardinals.

[72] 26th June, 1517.

Augustines, by the choice made of Egidio, yet it is acknowledged that they were men whose personal merits well entitled them to this distinction;[73] and the former of them, who from the place of his birth was denominated the cardinal of Gaeta, or *Cajetanus*, soon afterwards acted an important part in the religious controversies which agitated the Christian world. Another distinguished person now elected into the college, was Lorenzo Campeggio of Bologna, who had already served the pontiff on several important embassies, and who was afterwards appointed legate to England, to decide, in conjunction with Wolsey, the great question of divorce between Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon; where he obtained, by the favour of that monarch, the episcopal see of Salisbury.[74] Among those whom Leo selected from his personal knowledge of their virtues and their acquirements, may also be enumerated Giovanni Picolomini, archbishop of Siena, a near relation of the pontiffs, Pius II. and Pius III.; Niccolo Pandolfini of Florence; Alessandro Cesarini, bishop of Pistoja; Giovanni Domenico de' Cupi, and Andrea della Valle, both distinguished citizens of Rome; and Domenico Jacobatio, author of the celebrated treatise on the councils of the church, which is usually annexed to the general collection of those proceedings. Nor did Leo on this occasion forget his own relations, many of whom had long anxiously looked up to him for preferment, nor those stedfast friends, to whom, in the course of his eventful life, he had been so highly indebted. Among the former were Niccolo Ridolfi, Giovanni Salviati, and Luigi Rossi, the sons of three of his sisters, all of whom afterwards distinguished themselves as men of superior talents and munificent patrons of learning; but the last of these was the particular favourite of the pontiff, having been educated with him under the same roof, and his constant attendant through all his vicissitudes of fortune. In conferring the dignity of a cardinal on Ercole Rangone, of Modena, Leo not only did credit to his judgment, on account of the eminent qualifications of

[73] Fabron. Vita Leon. X. p. 121.

[74] Ariosto denominates him the ornament and honour of the Roman senate; and Erasmus has addressed to him several letters, in terms of great respect.

that young nobleman, but gave a striking proof of his gratitude for the kindness shewn him by Bianca Rangone, the mother of Ercole, when he was hurried by the French as a prisoner through Modena. Nor was this the only remuneration which that lady received from the pontiff; as he had already provided her with a suitable residence in Rome, and assigned to her use extensive gardens near the castle of S. Angelo. From a like grateful sense of favours, and on account of long attachments to his interests, Leo is supposed, on this occasion, to have distinguished Francesco Armellini of Perugia, Sylvio Passerini of Cortona, Bonifazio Ferreri of Vercelli, and Francesco de' Conti, and Paullo Emilio Cesio of Rome. Nor did he forget Raffaello Petrucci, whom he had lately established as chief of the republic at Siena, and on whom he had lavished many favours which might have been elsewhere much better bestowed.

In order, however, to give greater splendour and celebrity to this extensive nomination, as well as to gratify the more distant states and sovereigns of Christendom by the adoption of their relations, or more illustrious citizens, into the sacred college, Leo selected from different parts of Europe several additional members, who were distinguished by their high birth or acknowledged talents. Of the royal family of France, he conferred this dignity on Louis of Bourbon; of whom it has been said, that the splendour of his virtues would have rendered him illustrious, had he been of the humblest origin. Emanuel, king of Portugal, was gratified by the adoption into the college of his son Alfonso, then only seven years of age; but this was accompanied by a restriction that he should not assume the insignia of his rank until he should attain his fourteenth year. The high reputation acquired by Adrian of Utrecht, the preceptor and faithful counsellor of Charles of Spain, afterwards emperor by the name of Charles V., recommended him on this occasion to the notice of the pontiff; whom, by a singular concurrence of favourable circumstances, he succeeded in the course of a few years, in the apostolic chair. Gulielmo Raimondo Vick,[75] a native of Valencia, was selected from

[75] Fabron. Vita Leon. X. p. 125.

the kingdom of Spain. The families of Colonna and Orsini, which had been so frequently dignified with the honours of the church, received the highest proof of the pontifical favour in the persons of Pompejo Colonna and Franciotto Orsino. A yet more decisive partiality was shewn to the family of Trivulzio, of which two members, Scaramuccio bishop of Como, and Agostino, were at the same time received into the college. The citizens of Venice and of Genoa were honoured by the nomination of Francesco Pisani, from among the former, and of Giovan-Battista Pallavicini, from the latter. For similar reasons, in all probability, Ferdinando Ponzetto, a Florentine citizen, was added to the number. An eminent historian has indeed informed us, that in many instances the pope had no other motive for conferring this high honour than the payment of a large sum of money;[76] and if we consider the exhausted state of his treasury, by the expenses incurred in the war of Urbino, and other causes, it is by no means improbable that this information is well founded.

Splendour of the Roman see.

This important and decisive measure, by which the pontiff diminished the influence of the cardinals then in the college, and called to his society and councils his confidential friends and relatives, may be regarded as the chief cause of the subsequent tranquillity and happiness of his life, and of the celebrity and splendor of his pontificate. Until this period, he had been constantly engaged in adverse undertakings or negotiations of peculiar difficulty, and surrounded with persons on whom he could place no well-founded reliance; but his contests with foreign powers were now terminated, if not wholly to his wishes, at least in such a manner as to allow him that relaxation which he had never before enjoyed; whilst his apprehensions of domestic danger were removed, or alleviated, by the constant presence

[76] Guicciard. lib. viii. vol. ii. p. 146. It was also supposed, that in this measure Leo selected the friends of his family, that he might prepare the way for his cousin, Giulio de' Medici, as his successor in the pontificate. *Vide* Jacob. Ziegler, in Historia Clementis VII. ap. Fabron. Vita Leon. X. in adnot. 52. In his series of historical pictures in the palace of the grand duke at Florence, Vasari has introduced the portraits of all these cardinals, whom he has also described in his "Ragionamenti," or dialogue, with the duke Francesco de' Medici.

of those friends whose fidelity he had before experienced. In the gratification of his natural propensity to liberality, and in the aggrandizement of his friends and favourites, he found an additional satisfaction, by contributing towards the respectability and honour of that church, of which he was the chief, and which from this time displayed a degree of magnificence which had never before been equalled The revenues of the numerous benefices, rich abbeys, and other ecclesiastical preferments bestowed upon each of the cardinals and great dignitaries of the church, frequently amounted to a princely sum, and a prelate was considered as comparatively poor, whose annual income did not amount to eight or ten thousand ducats. On the death of Sixtus della Rovere, the nephew of Sixtus IV.,[77] in the year 1517, Leo appointed his cousin Giulio de' Medici vice-chancellor of the holy see; which office alone brought him the annual sum of twelve thousand ducats. Nor was it only from within the limits of Italy that the cardinals and prelates of the church derived their wealth and their dignities. All Europe was then tributary to the Roman see; and many of these fortunate ecclesiastics, whilst they passed their days amidst the luxuries and amusements of Rome, supported their rank, and supplied their dissipation, by contributions from the remotest parts of Christendom. The number of benefices held by an individual was limited only by the will of the pontiff; and by an ubiquity, which although abstractedly impossible, has been found actually and substantially true, the same person was frequently at the same time an archbishop in Germany, a bishop in France or England, an abbot or a prior in Poland or in Spain, and a cardinal at Rome.

Leo X. promotes the happiness of his subjects.

By the example of the supreme pontiff, who well knew how to unite magnificence with taste, the chiefs and princes of the Roman church emulated each other in the grandeur of their palaces, the sumptuousness of their apparel, the elegance of their entertain-

[77] The annual income of this debauched ecclesiastic amounted to upwards of 40,000 ducats, although Paris de Grassis informs us that he was so ignorant as not to be able either to write or read; to which he adds, in allusion to the disease under which he laboured, "ab umbilico ad plantas pedum totum perditus, ut nec stare nec incedere posset." *Vide* Fabron. Leon. X. in adnot. 53, p. 287.

ments, and the number and respectability of their attendants;[78] nor can it be denied, that their wealth and influence were frequently devoted to the encouragement of the fine arts, and the remuneration of men of genius in every department of intellect. Soon after the creation of the new cardinals, such of them as resided in Rome were invited by the pontiff to a sumptuous entertainment in the apartments of the Vatican, which had then been recently ornamented by those exquisite productions of Raffaello d'Urbino, which have ever since been the theme of universal applause.[79] The Roman citizens, who partook of the affluence of the church, in a general abundance of all the necessaries of life, re-echoed the praises of the pontiff; who by a liberal policy abrogated the monopolies by which they had been oppressed, and allowed all kinds of merchandise to be freely imported and exported throughout his dominions. Hence the city of Rome became a granary, always supplied with provisions, and was frequently chosen as a residence by mercantile men from other parts of Italy, who contributed by their wealth and industry to the general prosperity.[80] Nor was this prosperity less promoted by the security which the inhabitants enjoyed from a strict and impartial administration of justice; it having been a maxim with the pontiff, not to endanger the safety and tranquillity of the good, by an ill-timed lenity towards the guilty. The happiness enjoyed by the Roman people during the remaining part of the life of Leo X. forms indeed the truest glory of his pontificate. That they were sensible of this happiness, appears not only from the sentiments of admiration and regret with which the golden days of Leo were referred to, by those who survived to experience the calamities of subsequent times, but from a solemn decree of the inhabitants, to perpetuate the remembrance of it by a statue of the pontiff, which was

[78] Mat. Herculanus, ap. Fabron. Vita Leon. X. in adnot. 51, p. 286.

[79] A great storm is said to have happened on this day, which was supposed to portend some disaster to the church. Fabron. Vita Leon. X. adnot. 52, p. 286.

[80] The inhabitants of Rome, at this period, are enumerated by Jovius at 85,000 persons, including strangers; but after the dreadful sackage of the city, in the pontificate of Clement VII., and the other calamities which that place experienced, they were reduced, at the time Jovius wrote, to 32,000. Jovii, Vita Leon. X. lib. iv. p. 83.

ccordingly executed in marble by Domenico Amioa, adisfiple of Sansovini, and placed in the Capitol, with the ollowing inscription :

OPTIMO . PRINCIPI . LEONI . X.
MED . IOAN . PONT . MAX.
OB . RESTITVTAM . RESTAVRATAMQ.
VRBEM . AVCTA . SACRA . BONASQ.
ARTES . ADSCITOS . PATRES.
VBLATUM . VECTIGAL . DATVMQ.
CONGIARIVM . S . P . Q . R . P.

Medal of Leo X.

Interview between Luther and the cardinal of Gaeta.

CHAPTER XV.

1517—1518.

*Leo X. dissolves the council of the Lateran—Commencement of the Reformation—The earlier promoters of literature arraign the misconduct of the clergy—Dante—Petrarca—Boccaccio and others expose the clergy to ridicule—Accusations against the clergy justly founded—Attempts made to restrain the freedom of publication—Effects of the revival of classical literature on the established religion—And of the study of the Platonic philosophy—Restraints imposed by the church on philosophical studies—General spirit of inquiry—Promulgation of indulgences—Impolicy of this measure—Luther opposes the sale of indulgences—They are defended by Tetzel—By Eccius—And by Prierio—Leo inclines to temperate measures—The emperor Maximilian calls on the pope to interfere—Leo cites Luther to appear at Rome—Luther obtains a hearing in Germany—He repairs to Augsburg—Interview between Luther and the cardinal of Gaeta—Luther appeals to Leo X.—Papal decree against the opinions of Luther—He appeals from Leo. X. to a general council—Two circumstances which contributed to the success of Luther—*I. *He combines his cause with that of the promoters of learning.*—II. *He offers to submit his doctrines to the test of reason and scripture.*

Leo dissolves the council of the Lateran. 1517. Æt. 42. Pont. V.

The council of the Lateran, which commenced under the pontificate of Julius II., having now sat for nearly five years, approached the termination of its labours. Were we to insinuate that the motive of Julius in convoking this assembly, was that it might operate as his justification, in refusing to submit to the adverse decrees of the council of Pisa, we might incur the imputation, although we should now escape the penalties

of heresy. It may, however, with confidence be asserted, that this council was chiefly intended to counteract the proceedings of the *Conciliabulum*, and in this respect its triumph was complete; the cardinal Carvajal, who had been the leader of the refractory ecclesiastics, having not only made his submission in the seventh session of the council of Lateran, but having accepted the humiliating honour of performing divine service on its final dissolution, which took place on the sixteenth day of March, 1517. On this occasion a solemn excommunication was denounced against all persons who should presume to comment upon, or interpret its transactions, without the special license of the holy see.[1]

Commencement of the Reformation.

The peace of the church thus restored, by the labours of the council, was not, however, destined to remain long undisturbed. Scarcely had the assembly separated, before the new opinions and refractory conduct of Martin Luther, a monk of the Augustine order, at Wittemberg, attracted the notice of the Roman court, and led the way to that schism, which has now for nearly three centuries divided the Christian world, and introduced new causes of alienation, discord, and persecution, among the professors of that religion which was intended to inculcate universal peace, charity, and good-will.

Early promoters of literature arraign the misconduct of the clergy.

In the fourteenth century, when the human mind began to be emancipated from its long thraldom, one of the first indications of liberty appeared in the bold and presumptuous manner in which the fathers and promoters of literature penetrated into the recesses, and arraigned the conduct of the Roman pontiffs and chief dignitaries of the church. Whatever might have been the crimes of the priesthood, the voice of censure had hitherto been effectually suppressed; and their transactions, like those of the ancient heroes, were buried in eternal silence for want of due celebration. The hardy genius of Dante shrunk not, however, from the dangerous task; and after having met with pope Anastasius in the depths of hell, it is no wonder that he represents the church as sunk under

Dante.

[1] S. S. Concil. tom. xiv. p. 335.

the weight of her crimes, and polluted with mire and filth.[2] The milder spirit of Petrarca appears upon this subject to be roused to a yet higher pitch of indignation. In one of his sonnets he assimilates the papal court to Babylon, and declares that he has quitted it for ever, as a place equally deprived of virtue and of shame, the residence of misery and the mother of error; and in another he seems to have exhausted on this theme every epithet of reproach and abhorrence which his native language could afford.[3] If the genius and character of these two great men secured them whilst living from the effects of ecclesiastical resentment, the increasing celebrity which their works acquired after their death, gave additional weight to the opinions which they had so freely expressed. Even the populace, under the sanction of such authority, began to open their eyes to the abuses of the church, and to doubt of that infallibility which had before been as willingly conceded as it was arrogantly assumed.

Petrarca

Whilst these and similar productions were calculated to bring the church into odium and disgrace, those of the celebrated Boccaccio were at least equally calculated to expose the priesthood to ridicule and contempt. The debaucheries of the religious of both sexes, form the most general theme of his very

Boccaccio and others expose the clergy to ridicule.

[2] Inferno, cant. xi. v. vi. &c,; also the whole nineteenth canto, where Dante finds Nicholas III. (Orsini) in hell, planted with his heels upwards, waiting till Boniface VIII. arrives, who is to take his place; and who is to be again relieved, in due time, by Clement V. "*Un pastor senza legge.*" Count Bossi, like a faithful son of the church, reminds me that "I have too often confounded together the church and the clergy; that the censures and invectives I have cited are merely personal, and affect only the characters of individuals in the highest stations of the church, and not the church itself. That it is possible the ministers may be vicious, and exposed to censure, or even to contempt, without derogating from the sanctity of religion, and the respect due to the church." *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. vi. p. 88. My reply is, that as the visible church is seen only in its ministers, so the bringing of these into contempt has generally been justly thought to bring the Roman church itself into contempt; and on this idea the Protestant writers have sometimes endeavoured to maintain charges against the Roman pontiffs, without attending to the extenuations or exculpations of which the subject in some cases admits.*

[3] *Vide* the sonnets of Petrarca, beginning,

"Dell' empia Babilonia ond' è fuggita,

and

"Fiamma dal ciel su le tue treccie piova,"

printed in some editions of his works. Should it be contended, that these sonnets relate only to the papal court at Avignon, it will not invalidate the purpose for which they are here cited.

popular and entertaining work. That Boccaccio was the most dangerous adversary of the papal power, cannot, indeed, be doubted. What we violently abhor, we may still justly dread; but that which we have learnt to despise ceases to be an object of terror. To Boccaccio succeeded several writers, whose works, considered in other points of view, are of little importance; but which, as contributing to sap the foundations of the Roman power, and to weaken in the minds of the people the influence and authority of the holy see, have greatly contributed to the emancipation of the human race. Such are the "Facetiæ" of Poggio, and the writings of Burchiello, Pulci, and Franco. To some of these works the newly invented art of printing gave a more general circulation. Of the "Facetiæ," upwards of ten editions were printed in the last thirty years of the fifteenth century. They were also published at Antwerp and Leipsic; an evident proof, in that early state of the art of printing, that the work had obtained great celebrity, not only in Italy, but throughout the whole extent of Christendom.[4]

Accusations against the clergy justly founded.

If the foregoing instances of a rising spirit of opposition to the Roman see were not sufficient to shew the decided hostility which already subsisted between literature and superstition, it would be easy to multiply them from the works of other writers; but it must not be supposed that the animadversions, or the ridicule, of all the learned men of the time could have brought the priesthood into contempt, if its members had not by their own misconduct afforded substantial grounds for such imputations. That a very general relaxation not only of ecclesiastical discipline, but of the morals and manners of

[4] The French translator has increased the number of editions of the fifteenth century to twenty, for which he has been reproved by Count Bossi, who asserts, that it would scarcely be possible to find the ten editions which I have mentioned. Ital. Ed. vol. vi. p. 90. On the contrary, Henke, on the authority of Panzer, asserts, that there were above twenty editions up to the year 1500. Germ. Ed. vol. ii. p. 333. The latter author adds, that some wits in England composed satires upon the clergy still earlier than in Italy. "Towards the end of the twelfth century lived Walther Mapes and Nigel Wireker, whose bitter sallies were learnt by heart. The "Speculum Stultorum" of the latter was printed more than six times up to the year 1500. But Germany, above all, in the last five years preceding the Reformation, was very fruitful in compositions of this kind. Hemmerlin, Murner, Brandt, Kaisersperg, and others, were favourite and much read authors." Germ. Ed. vol. ii. p. 333.*

the clergy had taken place, is a fact, for the proof of which it is not necessary to search beyond the records of the church itself. Even in the council of the Lateran, Giovanni Francesco Pico, the nephew of the celebrated Pico of Mirandula, delivered an oration under the sanction of that assembly, in which he inveighed, with great bitterness, against the avarice, the luxury, the ambition, and the misconduct of those ecclesiastics who ought to have supported the dignity of the church, not only by their intrinsic merit and virtue, but by the regularity and decency of their deportment.[5] Yet more remarkable are the acknowledgments contained in the decree of the eleventh session of the same council, by which it appears, that the ministers of religion were accustomed not only to live in a state of public concubinage, but even to derive a part of their emoluments from permitting to others a conduct similar to that in which they themselves indulged.[6]

Attempts made to restrain the freedom of publication.

The dangerous consequences that would inevitably result from so full an exposure of the misconduct and crimes of the clergy were early perceived. But instead of applying the only radical and effectual remedy to the evil, by introducing a reformation in their morals and their lives, the pontiffs and cardinals of the church thought it more expedient to endeavour to silence reproach by severe denunciations and exemplary punishment. During the pontificate of Sixtus IV. regulations were established for preventing the printing of any work, except such as was previously licensed by an officer appointed for that purpose; and in the tenth session of the council of Lateran, it was decreed, that no one, under the penalty of excommunication, should dare to publish any new work without the approbation either of the ordinary jurisdiction of the place, or of the holy inquisition; injunctions which clearly demonstrate, that the promulgation of such works was sup-

[5] This piece is given in the Fascic. Rerum Expetend. et Fugiend. tom. i. p. 417.

[6] "Quia vero in quibusdam regionibus nonnulli jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam habentes, pecuniarios quæstus a concubinariis percipere non erubescunt, patientes eos in tali fœditate sordescere, sub pœna maledictionis æternæ præcipimus, ne deinceps sub pacto, compositione, aut spe alterius quæstus, talia quovis modo tolerent, aut dissimulent." S. S. Concil. tom. xiv. p. 302.

posed to have a powerful tendency towards alienating the minds of the people from the Roman see; although it may well be doubted, whether the coercive measures adopted to prevent their dispersion, did not increase the evil which they were intended to correct.

Effects of the revival of literature on the established religion.

The important schism which occurred at this period was also preceded, and perhaps in some degree promoted, by another circumstance not hitherto explicitly noticed. With the restoration of ancient learning, the doctrines of the ancient philosophers, and the mythology of the pagan world, were again revived. In almost all the universities and public schools of Italy, the studies of divinity and ecclesiastical jurisprudence were rivalled by, or intermixed with, the acquirements of poetry and classical literature. In proportion as the beauties of style displayed by the authors of antiquity began to be perceived, the Italian scholars rejected as barbarous the Latinity of the middle ages, and in all their compositions attempted to emulate those elegances which they had learnt to admire. The abstruse mysteries and peculiar dogmas of the Christian faith were elucidated, or enveloped, in the language of Cicero, or of Virgil; and even the divine persons of the Trinity and the Holy Virgin were identified with the divinities of ancient Greece and Rome. The Father was denominated Jove, or Jupiter *Optimus Maximus;* the Son, Apollo, or Æsculapius; and the Virgin, Diana. Of the great extent to which this extraordinary practice was carried, a competent idea may be formed from the specimen given by Erasmus of a sermon at which he was himself present, and which was preached before Julius II. and the cardinals and prelates of his court.[7] The subject of the discourse was the sufferings and death of Christ. The orator commenced with an eulogium on the pope, whom he designated as Jove, and represented as vibrating in his omnipotent right hand the inevitable lightning, and regulating the concerns of the universe by his nod. In adverting to the death of Christ, he reminded his audience of the examples of the Decii and of Curtius, who for the

[7] Erasmi Ciceronianus, p. 43. Ed. Tolosæ, 1620.

safety of their country devoted themselves to the infernal gods; nor did he omit to mention with due honour Cecrops, Menæcius, Iphigenia, and others who preferred the welfare of their country to their own existence. In moving his audience to compassionate the fate of the great Author of their religion, he reminded them that the ancients had immortalized their heroes and benefactors by erecting statues to their memory, or decreeing to them divine honours; whilst the ingratitude of the Jews had treated with every degree of ignominy the Saviour of mankind, and finally doomed him to the cross. The death of Christ was then compared with that of other excellent and innocent men who had suffered for the public benefit, and reminded the orator of Socrates and of Phocion, who, without being guilty of any crime, were compelled to perish by the fatal draught; of Epaminondas, who, after all his glorious deeds, was reduced to the necessity of defending himself as a criminal; of Scipio, who was rewarded for his incalculable services by exile; and of Aristides, who was compelled to relinquish his country because he had been dignified with the title of the just.[8] When such was the conduct of the public preachers of religion, it can excite no surprise that Pontano Sanazzaro, and other distinguished Latin writers of the times, should have admitted throughout all their poetical works, as well on sacred subjects as profane, a constant reference to the mythology of the pagan world; or that Marullus should have written a series of hymns, addressed, with every sentiment of piety and veneration, to the deities of ancient Greece and Rome.[9]

The unfavourable effect which these circumstances must have produced, as well on the minds of the populace, as on the great scholars and dignified ecclesiastics of the time, may readily be conceived; but the injury thus done to the cause of the Romish religion

And of the study of the Platonic philosophy.

[8] Erasmi Ciceronianus, pp. 38—40.

[9] "'This taste of the age had a perceptible influence, even upon the style of the official documents which Bembo drew up for Leo X. It avoided many modern Latin expressions, which are become usual in ecclesiastical language, and employed in their stead others of genuine Roman diction, which referred to heathen religious notions and customs." Henke, Germ. Ed. vol. ii. p. 337.*

by the mixture of paganism, was, perhaps, yet inferior to that which was occasioned by the revival of the Platonic philosophy; the doctrines of which were, at this period, embraced by many persons of great rank and learning with peculiar earnestness. Besides the various systems of ethics, physics, and metaphysics, which may be traced in the writings of Plato and his followers, they also contain a system of theology, differing, as may be expected, in many important points from that of the Romish church. As opposed to the Christian idea of the Trinity, the Platonists assert the notion of pure theism, expressly maintaining the unity of the Divine Being. Instead of the rewards of heaven, and the punishments of hell, the human soul is represented by them as having been united with imperfect matter, and placed here in a state of probation; where, by constant struggling to rise above the passions of sense, it is at length disengaged from its degrading combination, and restored to its original splendour. Even in admitting the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, the followers of Plato differ greatly from the received opinions of the Christian church. With the former, the soul is a portion of the Divinity himself. According to the latter, it is a distinct and peculiar being, the object of punishment or reward. The labours of Marsilio Ficino, of Pico of Mirandula, of his nephew Gian Francesco, of Girolamo Benivieni, and others, had contributed to diffuse these doctrines among the learned and polite; but the great patron, and perhaps the most powerful advocate of this sect, was Lorenzo de' Medici, the father of the pontiff, whose writings contain frequent allusions to the refined notions of the Platonists, and whose pieces on religious subjects, instead of conforming to the dogmas of the church, are evidently founded on, and greatly illustrate, the principles of this theology.[10]

As the opinions of these modern Platonists were, however, originally adopted only by speculative men, who had the

[10] This will appear from the admirable LAUDE, or *Hymn*, of Lorenzo de' Medici, given in the Appendix. Of this piece a translation is also there attempted; which is, however, very inadequate to convey to the English reader a full idea of the majestic grandeur and profound piety of the original. *Vide* Appendix, No. LV.

discretion not to attempt the formation of an ostensible sect, they were not only tolerated, but considered as favourable to many of the more mysterious doctrines of the Christian faith. A great number of persons, of considerable talents and learning, became the avowed teachers of these opinions, and the inculcation of them was established, as a branch of education, in almost every university in Italy. Even the supreme pontiff was himself supposed to be more favourable to them than to those sciences which, it has been observed, would better have become his dignity and his character. The scepticism and indifference which were thus introduced, relaxed in a great degree the severity of ecclesiastical discipline, and afforded a wider scope for those inquiries, the result of which was so injurious to the interests of the Roman church. The danger, however, became at length too evident to remain unnoticed, and in the eighth session of the council of Lateran, held under Leo X., it was declared by a solemn decree, that the soul of man is immortal, and that different bodies are not actuated by a portion of the same soul, but that each has a soul peculiar to itself. It was also ordered, that all persons professing to teach the doctrines of the ancient philosophers, should explain in what respects the same differed from the established faith, and particularly as to the immortality and the unity of the soul, the eternity of the world, and similar subjects; and should endeavour to inculcate the truths of religion, and invalidate the objections which might be raised against them, to the utmost of their power. In the same session it was also decreed, that no person intended for sacred orders should devote more than five years to the studies of poetry and philosophy; but, that at the end of that period, he should diligently apply himself to the sciences of theology and ecclesiastical jurisprudence; in order that he might be enabled, thereby, to correct the errors which he might have imbibed from his former pursuits.[11]

Restraints imposed by the church on philosophical studies.

Whatever might have been the effect of these and similar precautions, had they been early adopted and vigilantly enforced, they were now too late. A

General spirit of inquiry.

[11] S. S. Concilia, tom. xiv. p. 188.

general spirit of inquiry and dissatisfaction had already diffused itself throughout all Christendom; and a proper opportunity alone was wanting to call it forth and direct it to some certain point. With the causes before stated, as having contributed to excite this spirit, and which appear not to have been observed, or sufficiently insisted on, by former writers, many others undoubtedly concurred. Among these may be enumerated the long schism of the church of Rome in the fourteenth century, the misconduct of Alexander VI. and of Julius II., the usurpations and encroachments of the clergy on the rights of the laity, the venality of the Roman court; and above all, perhaps, the general progress of liberal studies, and the happy invention of the art of printing.[12] It would, indeed, be absurd to suppose, that without some powerful predisposing circumstances, the efforts of an obscure individual could have effected so important a revolution in the ecclesiastical world. But if Luther did not contribute all the materials of the immense blaze which now burst forth, he certainly applied the spark which called them into activity; nor could the great work of reformation have been intrusted to a more unconquerable spirit or a more intrepid heart.

Promulgation of indulgences.

The immediate occasion of this grand dissension has been generally attributed, by the protestant writers, to the misconduct and rapacity of Leo X., whose unbounded extravagance in the gratification of his taste for luxury, magnificence, and expense, as well as his liberality in promoting works of genius and of art, had exhausted the pontifical treasury, and induced him to have recourse to new methods for its replenishment. On the contrary, the adherents to the ancient discipline, anxious for the honour of the church, in the person of its chief minister, have endeavoured to shew that Leo had much more commendable objects in view; and that the real motive of soliciting the aid of the Christian world by the sale of indulgences, was for the purpose avowed in the brief itself, the

[12] These more obvious causes of the Reformation are fully enlarged upon by Fra. Paolo and other writers, and particularly by Dr. Robertson in his "History of Charles V." book ii.

completion of the immense fabric of S. Peter's, begun on so magnificent a scale by Julius II. That this was an object of his unremitting attention during the whole of his pontificate, appears, indeed, from authentic documents; and the astonishing expenses thus incurred had certainly contributed, with other causes before noticed, to increase the necessity for further supplies.[13] The grant, by the pontiff, of a portion of the profits to arise by the sale of indulgences to his sister Maddalena, asserted by Guicciardini and Fra. Paolo, as it would have convicted the pope of a direct and sacrilegious misapplication of the revenues of the church, has been the subject of particular examination by a Roman prelate, who had the custody of the papal archives, and who has positively asserted the falsity of this pretended donation; of which no memorial whatever appears in the records of that period.[14] That there was any degree of novelty in the method adopted by Leo, of obtaining a temporary aid to the revenues of the church by the dispensation of indulgences, may be denied with still greater confidence; it being certain, that these measures had been resorted to as early as the year 1100, when Urban II. granted a plenary indulgence and remission of sins to all such persons as should join in the crusades, to liberate the sepulchre of Christ from the hands of the infidels. Hence it became customary to grant them also to such, as without adventuring in their own persons, should provide a soldier for these expeditions; and from this origin, the transition was easy to any other purpose which the Roman church had in view.

In admitting, however, that Leo did not in this instance exceed the acknowledged limits of his authority, there is

[13] Maimburg. Hist. Lutheranismi. ap. Seckendorf, Commentar. de Lutheranismo. lib. i. sect. v. p. 11. Ed. Lipsiæ, 1694, fo.

[14] Felice Contelori, who wrote an express treatise on this subject, cited by Pallavicini, Istoria del Concilio di Trento, lib. i. cap. iii. p. 54. Ed. Rom. 1664, 4to. Mr. Henke has observed, that "archives were not likely to give any information respecting the fact so positively asserted by Guicciardini and Fra. Paolo;" and this he has followed up by a long note, the tendency of which is to implicate the pontiff in this act of misapplication of the property of the church; but as his opinion is founded rather on circumstances in the character and conduct of the pontiff, and the times, than upon any additional evidence of the *fact*, I shall not engage further in the debate, but refer the reader to the passage in Germ. Ed. vol. ii. p. 341.*

good reason to suppose that he did not sufficiently provide against the enormities and abuses to which the distribution of these indulgences was likely to give rise; and that his commissaries, Arcimboldo and Tetzel, who, under the authority of Albert of Brandenburgh, elector of Mentz, were intrusted with this critical employ, not only converted it to their own emolument, but by employing ignorant monks of loose lives and abandoned manners, brought the dispensations and indulgences of the church, and even the church itself and the supreme pontiff, into discredit and disgrace.[15] It must also be allowed, that if the measures thus adopted by Leo, intrinsically considered, afford no very serious imputation on his public or private character, the time at which he resorted to such an expedient is no additional proof of that prudence and that sagacity which all parties have so liberally conceded to him. After the efforts which had been made towards the improvement of the human mind, and to which Leo had himself so powerfully contributed, he ought to have been aware, that those gross pretensions to the exercise of divine powers, which had imposed on the credulity of the middle ages, were no longer likely to be tolerated. It is, indeed, very remarkable, that Luther himself, who was an excellent scholar, and well acquainted with the writings of the ancient philosophers, was a warm advocate of those very doctrines which Leo and his progenitors had introduced and encouraged, and that he publicly supported the opinions of Plato as opposed to those of Aristotle;[16] but probably Leo did

Impolicy of this measure.

[15] "Pudet referre," says Fabroni, speaking of Tetzel, "quæ ipse et dixit, et fecit, quasi Legatus e cælo missus fuisset ad quod libet piaculum expiandum atque purgandum." Leonis X. Vita, p. 132. The reformed writers accuse Leo X. of having exceeded all his predecessors in his rapacity upon this occasion. "On ne peut pas dire que Jules II. qu'Alexandre VI. ou qu'aucun autre de ses predecesseurs fût allé plus loin à cet égard; et je ne sai si les Quêteurs, qui sous l'inspection de son Nonce furent employés au recouvrement des déniers, n'effacerent pas, par leur excès, tous les desordres de ceux qui avoient fait avant eux le même métier." *Vide* Cha. Chais, Lettres historiques sur les Jubilés et les Indulgences, tom. iii. p. 707. Ed. La Haye, 1751. Mr. Henke has cited numerous other instances of the arrogance, rapacity, and blasphemy of Tetzel and his associates, on the authority of German authors. If the reader should be of opinion that the scandalous and abominable nature of such a traffic stands in need of further proof, he may find it abundantly in Mr. Henke's annotations on the above passage. Germ. Ed. vol. ii. p. 344.

[16] Pallav. Concil. di Trento, p. 69.

not suspect, that the inhabitants of a remote part of Saxony had attained a degree of illumination, which he considered as peculiar to a few men of eminence and learning in Italy. As all authority both civil and ecclesiastical is founded merely on opinion, regard must be had by those in power to the character and spirit of the times; a want of due attention to this important maxim brought Charles I. to the scaffold, and overturned no inconsiderable portion of the long-established fabric of the Roman church.

Luther opposes the sale of indulgences.

The first measures adopted by Luther,[17] who was then a young doctor of theology, and a preacher in the city of Wittemberg, in opposing the sale, or, as it was more decently called, the promulgation of indulgences, was the cautioning his hearers against the imposition attempted to be practised on their credulity; in which he professes, that so far from thinking that he should incur reproof, he expected to have found himself warmly patronized by the pope, who had in his decretals explicitly condemned the indecent rapacity of the collectors. On the same subject he addressed a letter to Albert of Brandenburg, elector of Mentz,[18] apprizing him of the consequences likely to result from the scandalous sale of indulgences, and requesting his interference in preventing them.[19] These remonstrances were, however, disregarded; nor was it likely that they would produce on the elector the effect intended, as he had stipulated with the pope, that he should retain one-half of the income derived from indulgences for his own use; a circumstance with which Luther was not at that time

[17] He was born at Isleben, in the county of Mansfeld, on the tenth day of November, 1483. His name, in his native language, was *Lutter*, which afforded some one of his numerous adversaries a subject for the following lines, more remarkable for their scurrility than their wit:

"Germanis *Lutter* Scurra est, est Latro Bohemis,
Ergo quid est *Lutter?* scurra latroque simul."

"*Lotter* has, perhaps, in some German dialects that signification. Our hero was properly denominated Lüder, Luder."—Henke, Germ. Ed. vol. ii. p. 347.

[18] "Igitur cum anno 1517, indulgentiæ in his regionibus venderentur (promulgarentur volui dicere) turpissimo quæstu, ego tum eram Concionator, juvenis (ut dicitur) Doctor Theologiæ, et cœpi dissuadere populis, et eos dehortari ne indulgentiariorum clamoribus aurem præberent, habere eos meliora quæ facerent, et in iis certus mihi videbar me habiturum patronum Papam, cujus fiducia tum fortiter nitebar, qui in suis Decretis clarissime damnat quæstorum, (ita vocat Indulgentiarios prædicatores) immodestiam." Lutheri, præf. ad Op. Lat. tom. i. ed. Jenæ, 1612.

[19] *Vide* App. No. LVI.

acquainted.[20] Finding these measures ineffectual, he published ninety-five brief propositions, which he had read in the great church at Wittemberg, on the eve of All Saints, in the year 1517,[21] the chief object of which was to shew, that the pope hath power to remit no other penalties than such as he hath power to impose,[22] and that every truly penitent Christian is released from his offences without the formality of an absolution.[23] Adverting to the pretext that the monies received were intended for the purpose of erecting and completing the church of S. Peter, Luther observed that the pope, out of his unbounded wealth, might, if he chose, finish it himself; and that he ought rather to sell the church to succour the distresses of those who were called upon to contribute, than to erect it with the flesh and blood of those committed to his charge.[24] These bold opinions were, however, rendered less offensive by the form in which they were expressed, as subjects of doubt rather than of positive assertion, as well as by the express avowal of the author, that he was ready on all occasions to submit himself and his opinions to the decision of the holy church; but at the same time he not only printed and dispersed his propositions throughout all Germany, but continued to enforce by his preaching the same sentiments which he had expressed by his pen.

They are defended by Tetzel.

No sooner had the propositions of Luther found their way to Franckfort, than John Tetzel, the Dominican monk who had been intrusted by the

[20] "Nesciebam tamen cujus usibus cederet pecunia, sed interim libellus edebatur sub insignibus Magdeburgensis Episcopi, quo quæstoribus predicatio illa demandabatur."—Lutheri, contra Henricum Ducem Brunsvicensem, Apologia ap. Seckend. Comment. lib. i. sec. vii. p. 15.

[21] To these propositions he gave the following title: "AMORE ET STUDIO ELUCIDANDÆ VERITATIS, Hæc subscripta Themata disputabuntur Wittembergæ, Præsidente R. P. Martino Luthero, Eremitano Augustiniano, Artium et Theologiæ Magistro, cjusdem ibidem ordinario Lectore. Quare petit ut qui non possunt verbis præsentes, nobiscum disceptare, agant id literis absentes. In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Amen. M.D.XVII."

[22] Prop. 5. "Papa non vult nec potest ullas pœnas remittere, præter eas quas arbitrio vel suo, vel canonum, imposuit."

[23] Prop. 37. "Quilibet verus Christianus, sive vivus, sive mortuus, habet participationem omnium bonorum Christi et Ecclesiæ, etiam sine literis veniarum a Deo sibi datam."

[24] Prop. 86. "Cur papa, cujus opes hodie sunt opulentissimis Crassis crassiores, non de suis pecuniis magis, quam pauperum fidelium, struit unam tantummodo Basilicam S. Petri?" *Et vide* Prop. pp. 50, 51.

elector of Mentz as his principal agent in the promulgation of indulgences, and who then executed the office of inquisitor in that place, endeavoured to counteract their effects; first, by publishing a set of counter propositions by way of reply,[25] and next, by burning those of Luther in public. These violent proceedings only served to excite an equal degree of violence in the friends of Luther at Wittemberg, who having collected together the publication of Tetzel, committed to the flames eight hundred copies in the public square of that city; a circumstance which Luther had the moderation to regret, and which he asserts occurred without his knowledge, or even that of the duke and the magistrates of the place.[26]

By Eccius.

The brief animadversions of Johannes Eccius, vice-chancellor of Ingoldstadt, as they consisted rather of reproaches and abuse than of argument, so far from tending to convince the adherents to Luther of their error, failed even in obtaining the approbation of his adversaries; many of whom have acknowledged that they were rather calculated to increase, than to remedy the evils which they were intended to prevent.

And by Prierio.

Another opponent to Luther appeared in Silvestro Prierio, master of the apostolic palace, but this officer, a part of whose duty it was to license the publication of books, could not divest himself of his professional importance; and, instead of answering the arguments of Luther, thought it sufficient to assert that they were heretical.[27] The reply of Luther to this work produced another publication from Prierio, in which he incautiously exalted the authority of the pope above both the councils and the canons of the church, and affirmed that the whole force of the sacred writings depended on his authority. This was more than the patience of Luther could support. In a short address to his readers,

[25] Entitled as follows: "Quo veritas pateat, Erroresque supprimantur, Redditaque ratione, contra Catholicam veritatem objecta solvantur, Frater Johannes Tetzel, ordinis Prædicatorum, Sacræ Theologiæ Baccalaureus, ac hæreticæ pravitatis Inquisitor, subscriptas Positiones sustinebit in florentissimo studio Franckfordensi, cis Oderam. Ad laudem Dei, pro fidei Catholicæ defensione, obque sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ honorem."

[26] Maimb. sec. xii. ap. Seckend.; *et addit.* lib. i. sec. xii. pp. 24, 25.

[27] Pallavicino, Concil. di Trento. cap. 6, p. 65.

he rudely asserts that the book of Prierio is such a compound of lies and blasphemies, that it can only be the work of the devil; and that if the pope and cardinals countenance such doctrines, Rome must be the seat of Antichrist.[28]

Leo inclined to temperate measures. 1518. Æt. 43. Pont. VI.

These disputations were regarded by Leo without any great apprehensions; and, perhaps, he might derive some amusement from the violence of the contending parties. Nor would this bring upon him the charge of either levity or inattention, for it can scarcely be allowed that he had hitherto any serious cause of alarm. After having just escaped with his life from the machinations of the college of cardinals, it is not surprising that he gave himself little concern at the proceedings of Luther in Germany, or that he rejoiced that the danger, whatever it might be, was at least removed to a greater distance. "We may now," said he, "live in quiet, for the axe is taken from the root, and applied to the branches."[29] In fact, the church was at this period in its greatest credit and respectability. The personal character of the pontiff stood high throughout all Europe. He was surrounded at home, and represented abroad, by men of the greatest eminence. The sovereigns of Christendom vied with each other in manifesting their obedience to the holy see; even Luther himself had written to the pope in the most respectful terms, transmitting to him, under the title of *Resolutiones*, a full explanation of his propositions, submitting not only his writings, but his life to his disposal, and declaring that he would regard whatever proceeded from him as delivered by Christ himself.[30] Under such circumstances, how was it possible for Leo, unless he had been endowed with a greater portion of the prophetic spirit than had been conferred on any of his predecessors, to foresee that the efforts of an obscure monk, in a corner of Germany, would effect a schism in the hierarchy which would detach

[28] Luth. Op. vol. i. p. 54, b.

[29] Segni, Storie Fior. lib. iv. Fabron. Leon. X. adnot. 55. Bandello, in the preface to one of his novels, (Parte iii. Nov. 25,) informs us, that Leo X. was blamed, because, when Silvestro Prierio pointed out to him the heresies in the works of Martin Luther, he coldly observed, *that Luther was a man of talents, and that these were only the squabbles of monks.*

[30] *Vide* App. No. LVII.

from its obedience to the Roman see one-half of the Christian world? When, however, Leo found his interference necessary, his first impulse was rather to soothe and pacify Luther, than to irritate him by severity to further acts of disobedience; for which purpose he wrote to John Staupitz, vicar-general of the Augustines, directing him to endeavour to reconcile his refractory brother by admonitory letters, written by some persons of integrity and good sense, which he did not doubt would soon extinguish the newly-kindled flame. The effect which might have been produced on the mind of Luther by the moderation of the pontiff was, however, counteracted by the violence and intemperance of the interested zealots who undertook to defend the cause of the church; and who also, as has been conjectured by more judicious writers, by prematurely representing Luther as a heretic, forced him at length to become one.[31] The scholastic disputations, or dogmatic assertions of Tetzel, Eccius, and Prierio, were ill calculated to oppose the strong reasonings on which Luther relied in his dissent; but if they did not discredit his doctrines by their arguments, they exasperated his temper by their abuse, to such a degree, that he was no longer satisfied with defending victoriously the ground which he had already assumed, but, carrying the war into the precincts of his adversaries, began with an unsparing hand to lay waste all that seemed to oppose his course.

But whatever might have been the moderation or the negligence of the pontiff, who from one or the other of these causes was certainly not disposed to use severity, he was not long permitted to regard these proceedings with indifference. The effect produced in Germany by the writings of Luther had already excited great alarm among the faithful adherents to the church. His opinions were espoused by many men of acknowledged integrity and learning, and several persons of high rank had manifested a partiality to his cause. Among the latter was his sovereign, Frederick, elector of Saxony, a

The emperor, Maximilian calls on the pope to interfere.

[31] Pallav. Concil. di Trento. p. 65. Erasmus favours the same opinion, when, speaking of Luther, he says, "Qui nunc bellando, bellator factus est."—Epist. lib. xxi. ep. vii.

prince of great personal worth, who not only tolerated Luther in his dominions, but was strongly disposed to protect him against the attacks of his adversaries. These daring innovations at length attracted the notice of the emperor elect, Maximilian, who, at a diet held at Augsburg, in the year 1518, inveighed against the promoters of them, and afterwards addressed a letter to the pope, requiring his immediate interference, and promising to give a full effect throughout his dominions to all such measures as the head of the church should think proper to adopt.[32] Before the arrival of this letter, Leo had, however, by the means of Girolamo de Genutiis, auditor of the chamber and bishop of Ascula, addressed a monitory to Luther, commanding him to appear at Rome within the space of sixty days, and defend himself from the imputations charged against him in respect of his doctrines.[33] But after the pope had been thus reminded of his duty by a secular prince, he thought it advisable to resort to more efficacious measures; and without waiting for the expiration of the sixty days, he sent instructions to Tomaso de Vio, cardinal of Gaeta, his legate at the imperial court, to call Luther personally before him, and in case he should persist in his heretical opinions, to detain him until he should receive further orders from Rome respecting him.[34] Of these hasty and inconsistent proceedings Luther complained with apparent justice; alleging, that instead of sixty days, only sixteen had intervened between the date of the monitory and that of the brief to the cardinal of Gaeta; and that he had not even had notice of the monitory before he was thus condemned.[35] The letter to the cardinal of Gaeta

Leo cites Luther to appear at Rome.

[32] This letter is dated the fifth of August, 1518. *Vide* App. No. LVIII. Pallavicini (Storia del Conc. di Trento, lib. i. cap. vi. p. 66) accuses Fra. Paolo of having intentionally omitted to notice this letter, which he considers as a refutation of the common notion that Leo had proceeded against Luther with too much haste and severity; but although the letter is of too important a nature to be overlooked in a narrative of these transactions, yet it certainly appears that proceedings had been commenced against Luther before its arrival at Rome, and that Maimburg is right in asserting that the citation of Luther was issued prior to the receipt of the letter by the pope.—Maimb. ap. Seckendorff. Comm. de Lutheranism. lib. i. sec. xvi. p. 41.

[33] This monitory was dated the seventh of August, 1518.

[34] *Vide* App. No. LIX.

[35] "— Ultimo et omnium suavissimum. Breve hoc datum est xxiii. Augusti,

was accompanied by another from Leo to the elector of Saxony, informing him that he had sent instructions to the cardinal how to proceed in this important business; and exhorting the elector to submit in a matter of an ecclesiastical nature to the suggestions of the cardinal, and use his endeavours, if required, that Luther should be delivered up to him to be sent to Rome; at the same time assuring him that if Luther was found innocent he should return home in safety; and that the pontiff was mercifully inclined, and would not refuse his pardon to a sincere penitent.[36]

Luther obtains a hearing in Germany.

Luther now found himself under considerable difficulties. On an open resistance of the pontifical authority he had not yet perhaps fully resolved; and the avowal of such an act of disobedience would infallibly deprive him of the support of a considerable part of his friends, who, in opposing the abuses of the Roman court, had not yet determined on a total separation from the church. On the other hand, to comply with the mandate, and to submit his opinions to the master of the pontifical palace, with whom he had carried on a controversy which had terminated in the most violent abuse, could only lead either to the total sacrifice of his conscience and character, or to his being prematurely associated to the glorious train of martyrs.[37] In this emergency he endeavoured to steer a middle course, and whilst he acknowledged the authority of the pope, entreated that he might be allowed to make his defence before a competent jurisdiction in some part of Germany. His request was enforced by a public letter to Leo X. from the university of Wittemberg,[38] and

Ego autem citatus et monitus fui vii. Augusti, et sic intra datum brevis & citationem cucurrerunt 16 dies. Calculum pone, Lector, et invenies Dominum Hieronymum Episcopum Asculensem, vel ante mihi insinuatam Citationem, aut intra decimum sextum diem post insinuatam, processisse contra me, judicasse, damnasse, declarasse. Si nunc quæram, ubi tunc sexaginta illi dies mihi dati in citatione mea, qui inceperunt a vii. Augusti, finiebantur autem circiter vii. Octobris? Est iste mos et stylus Romanæ Curiæ, ut eadem die citent, moneant, accusent, judicent, damnent, declarent, præsertim tanto spatio absentem et ignorantem? Quid respondebunt, nisi sese oblitos et elleboro purgandos fuisse, quando hoc mendacium adornare parabant."—Luth. Op. Lat. tom. i. p. 161.

[36] *Vide* App. No. LX.

[37] The persons appointed to hear him were his avowed adversaries, the bishop of Ascula and Silvestro Prierio. *Vide* Maimb. ap. Seckend. sec. xvi. p. 41.

[38] *Vide* App. No. LXI.

by the earnest application of the elector of Saxony to the cardinal of Gaeta; in consequence of which, the pope delegated to the cardinal full authority to hear the defence of Luther, and, on his retracting his errors with cordial penitence, to receive him again into the unity of the church.[39]

He repairs to Augsburg.

Having thus obtained his purpose, in being allowed an opportunity of defending his doctrines without repairing to Rome, Luther undertook his journey to Augsburg, poor and on foot, if we are literally to believe his own narrative.[40] On the eve of his departure on this expedition, so hazardous to himself, and so important in its consequences to the christian world, he wrote a short letter to his intimate friend Melancthon, which strongly marks the intrepidity of his character. "I know nothing new or extraordinary here," says he, "except that I am become the subject of conversation throughout the whole city, and that every one wishes to see the man who is to be the victim of such a conflagration. You will act your part properly, as you have always done; and teach the youth intrusted to your care. I go, for you, and for them, to be sacrificed, if it should so please God. I rather choose to perish, and what is more afflicting, to be for ever deprived even of your society, than to retract what I have already justly asserted, or to be the means of affording the stupid adversaries of all liberal studies an opportunity of accomplishing their purpose."[41]

After his arrival at Augsburg,[42] whither he brought recommendatory letters from the elector of Saxony, he remained three days before he had an interview with the cardinal, although frequently summoned by him for that purpose.

[39] Pallavicini, Conc. di Trento, lib. i. cap. ix. p. 76.

[40] "Veni igitur, pedester et pauper, Augustam," &c. Luth. in præf. Count Bossi is of opinion, that "if Luther went to Augsburg on foot, it was for his own pleasure, or to give *éclat* to his cause; as it can scarcely be supposed that in the situation he then stood, at the head of a powerful party, and under the protection of his sovereign, he could have wanted the means of travelling in such manner as he chose." What the motives of Luther might be I have not undertaken to divine, but the words, "*pedester et pauper*," admit of no dispute; and my quoting them will scarcely justify the remark of the annotator, that I have in my frequent citations depended too much on the narrative and representations of Luther. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. vi. p. 120.*

[41] *Vide* App. No. LXII.

[42] On the 12th day of October, 1518.—Maimb. ap. Seckend. lib. i. sec. xvi. p. 45.

This he did by the advice of several of his friends, who entreated him not to hazard a meeting until he should be furnished with a safe conduct from the emperor. On the third day, one of the officers of the cardinal called upon him, and requested to know why he had not yet made his appearance; and when Luther explained the reason, adding that he had already applied for a safe-conduct, which he soon hoped to receive, "What!" replied the messenger, "do you think the elector will take up arms in your defence?" Luther replied, "he did not wish to be the cause of it." "If you had the pope and cardinals in your power," said the messenger, "how would you treat them?" "I would shew them," said Luther, "all possible honour and reverence." The Italian snapped his fingers in the manner of his country, and cried *hem*, after which Luther saw no more of him.[43]

Interview between Luther and the cardinal of Gaeta.

The safe-conduct was at length obtained, and was formally communicated by the imperial senate to the cardinal, who, it appears, however, had been consulted by the emperor before he thought proper to grant it. On this important interview depended the event of the Reformation. The cardinal was a man of talents and moderation, and was, most probably, really desirous of restoring to the obedience of the church, one who had distinguished himself no less by the abilities which he had shewn in defending his cause, than by the novelty and boldness of his opinions. Hence, Luther, on his first visit, was received not only with kindness, but almost with respect by the cardinal,[44] who being unwilling to enter into any discussion, proposed to him that he should retract his erroneous propositions, and should in future refrain from asserting such doctrines, or any others, in opposition to the authority of the church.[45] To this Luther replied, that he was not conscious of any errors; and requested to be informed in what they were supposed to consist. It might, at this juncture, have occurred to the cardinal, that between an open opposition to authority, and

[43] These incidents are minutely related by Luther himself in the general preface to his works.

[44] Lutheri Op. tom. i. p. 164.

[45] Ibid.

a misconception of its decisions, there is a very evident distinction. The answer of Luther might have been considered as applicable only to the latter; and the cardinal might have been justified in inferring that Luther was an obedient son of the church, although he had mistaken its precepts; an error which he might have left to his own judgment, or to the future decisions of the church to correct. By this conduct the great point of supremacy and infallibility would have been secured; and the construction of the voluminous and contradictory dogmas of scriptures, and fathers, and councils, and popes, would have been referred to future decision, in which the church might have availed itself of a thousand resources to retain as much of its ancient influence as the spirit of the times would have allowed. Incautiously, however, the cardinal construed the answer of Luther, not into a submission to the church, but into a vindication of his own doctrines, and immediately objected to him two points on which he had advanced erroneous opinions. The first of these was, *That the spiritual treasure of the church, which it distributed in indulgences, did not consist of the merits of Christ and his saints.*[46] The second, *That in order to obtain the benefit of the sacrament, it was requisite to have an absolute faith in its efficacy.*[47]

What further could remain to be said on this occasion? Were the contending parties to try the weapons of controversy, and oppose authority to authority through the immense mass of all that related, or did not relate, to the subject? And, at last, who was to be the umpire between them? Or what could prevent either of the parties from claiming the honour of the victory?[48] The legate was not, however,

[46] Lutheri propos. 58. [47] Ibid. propos. 7.

[48] The cardinal maintained, on the authority of the church, "That one drop of the blood of Christ being sufficient to redeem the whole human race, the remaining part that was shed in the garden, and upon the cross, was left as a legacy to the church, and might be distributed by indulgences from the Roman pontiff." Luther, whilst he admitted that the merits of Christ were necessary to salvation, denied that the pope held them, *like money in a chest;* but allowed that he had power to distribute them *by virtue of the keys of S. Peter!* On the second question the Roman church has decided, that a *legal obedience,* or conformity in receiving the sacrament, when combined with *good works,* is sufficient for salvation; but Luther insisted, that the efficacy of the sacraments depended on the degree of *faith* with which they were received; an opinion which the cardinal treated with such ridicule as to raise a laugh among his Italian attendants against

aware of his error; but having cited, on his part, the decisions of the church, and in particular, one of the extravagants or decretals of Clement VI., called *Unigenitus*, Luther answered him with such full knowledge, both of the tenor of the decree and the commentaries upon it, as to convince him that nothing was to be obtained by a further controversy. He therefore endeavoured to recover the ground which he had lost; and, with a condescending smile, told Luther, that it was not his intention to enter into a dispute with him, but paternally to exhort him to disavow his errors, and submit himself to the judgment of the church. Luther had now felt his superiority, and was less inclined to comply with this request than before the interview began. Not choosing, however, and perhaps not thinking it safe to avow an absolute dissent, he requested further time to deliberate, with which the cardinal having complied, he took his leave.

On the following day, Luther, instead of attending on the cardinal, as was expected, to renew the deliberations, made his appearance, accompanied by four imperial senators, a notary and witnesses, and delivered to the cardinal a protest in writing; in which, after recapitulating the proceedings which had already taken place, he declares that he is not conscious of having advanced any thing against the holy scriptures, the ecclesiastical fathers, the decrees of the popes, or right reason; but that all which he has said is catholic, proper, and true. Being, however, a man, and therefore liable to error, he submits himself to the church, and offers himself personally, either there or elsewhere, to adduce the reasons of his belief, and to reply to all objections that may be made against it.[49]

Luther appeals to Leo X.

Luther. Luth. Op. tom. i. p. 164. This opinion, of the necessity of *faith* to salvation, was ever afterwards maintained by Luther with great firmness; and to such a length did he carry it, "as seemed, though perhaps contrary to his intention, to derogate not only from the necessity of *good works*, but even from their obligation and importance. He would not allow them to be considered either as the *conditions*, or the *means*, of salvation, nor even as a preparation for receiving it." *Vide* Maclean, note on Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 170. His disciple Amsdorff went still further, and maintained, *that good works were an impediment to salvation.* Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 172. Luther endeavoured to explain his notion of faith and works, by saying, "Bona opera non faciunt bonum virum; sed bonus vir facit bona opera. Mala opera non faciunt malum virum; sed malus vir facit mala opera."—Seckend. lib. i. sec. xxvii. p. 100.

[49] Pallavicini, Storia del Concilio di Trento, cap. ix. p. 79.

The cardinal again adverted to the objection which he had first made on the preceding day; but Luther, in reply, only referred to his protest, and promised to give a further explanation of his tenets in writing. Accordingly he drew up a full statement of his opinions on the points objected to him, with the reason on which they were founded, which he delivered in person on the following day to the cardinal, who affected to treat it as irrelevant to the purpose;[50] although he told him that he should send it to Rome, and still persevered in requiring an implicit assent to the authority of the holy see.

For the purpose of prevailing on Luther to relax in his opposition, the cardinal had recourse to the interference of John Staupitz, vicar-general of the Augustines,[51] and Wenceslaus Linceus, two of the intimate friends of Luther; by whose persuasions he was induced to address a conciliatory letter to the cardinal, in which he acknowledges that he has been indiscreet in speaking in disrespectful terms of the supreme pontiffs; and promises even to be silent in future respecting indulgences, provided his adversaries were also compelled to be silent, or were restrained in their abuse of him.[52] Conceiving, however, that in his appearance and conduct at Augsburg he had now shewn a degree of obedience sufficiently dangerous, he determined to quit the city. This resolution he communicated to the cardinal in another letter, written with great temper and moderation, and which, with the former, may be admitted as a sufficient proof, that of the personal conduct of the cardinal towards him, he had no just ground of complaint.[53] Before his departure, he prepared an appeal from Leo X. prejudiced and misled, to Leo X. when better informed on the subject;

[50] Those who are inclined to enter into this ample discussion of the doctrinal points in dispute, between Luther and the cardinal, may consult this document in the works of Luther, tom. i. p. 165, &c.

[51] Staupitz was in fact a warm adherent to the cause of Luther, and Pallavicini informs us, that it was supposed to have been at his instigation that Luther first opposed himself to the promulgation of indulgences: "non misurando il futuro giuoco di quella mina ch' egli accendeva." Pallav. Storia del Conc. di Trento. lib. i. cap. ix. p. 82. That Pallavicini was not mistaken in this conjecture sufficiently appears by a letter from Luther to Staupitz. *Vide* Lutheri Op. tom. i. p. 64, b.

[52] This letter, dated 17th October, is given in App. No. LXIII.

[53] *Vide* App. No. LXIV.

for the adoption of which daring measure he excuses himself in his last letter to the cardinal, by attributing it to the hardships of his situation and the advice of his friends. He did not, however, fail to give directions, that after his departure this appeal should be affixed in the great square of the city; which directions were punctually complied with.

Notwithstanding the disrespect shewn to the cardinal by the abrupt departure of Luther, he did not exercise the powers which had been intrusted to him, by excommunicating Luther and his adherents; but contented himself with writing to the elector of Saxony, expressing his disappointment in the conduct of Luther; and requesting, that if he still persevered in his opposition to the church, the elector would send him to Rome, or at least banish him from his dominions.[54] The reply of the elector, in which was enclosed a long justificatory epistle from Luther, was temperate, but firm; and whilst he expressed his unwillingness to approve of any erroneous doctrines, he refused to condemn Luther before such errors were proved.[55]

The important distinction, which seems not to have occurred to the cardinal of Gaeta, was, however, fully perceived at Rome. To the authority of the church Luther had professed his entire submission; but he had contended that this authority, rightly understood, did not sanction the opinions which he had opposed. The supreme pontiff could not enter into a theological controversy with Luther; but he could declare the sense in which the sacred writings, and the former decrees of the church, should be explained. Instead, therefore, of adopting the decisive measure of excommunicating the refractory priest, Leo resolved to put his sincerity to the test, by a step which, if he believed in the infallibility of the church, would afford him an opportunity of returning to his duty; and if not, would compel him to desert the ground which he had hitherto maintained as an obedient member of the church. He therefore published a bull, which bears date the ninth day of November, 1518, by which he

Papal decree against the opinions of Luther.

[54] As this letter contains the cardinal's account of his various interviews with Luther, it is given in App. No. LXV.

[55] *Vide* App. LXVI.

declared, in express terms, that the pope, as the successor of S. Peter, and vicar of Christ upon earth, hath an indisputable power of granting indulgences, which will avail as well the living as the dead in purgatory; and that this doctrine is necessary to be embraced by all who are in communion with the church.[56] Luther had now no resource but instant submission or open contumacy, and being thus driven to extremes, his bold genius prompted him to the latter. Instead of repeating his former professions, he now discovered that the Roman pontiff, like other men, might fall into error; and he appealed, by a new instrument, from the authority of Leo X. to that of a general council.[57] The bare mention of such a council is, to the court of Rome, equivalent to a declaration of war;[58] but the important events which occurred at this period, turned the attention of Europe from theological discussions to political debates; and Luther was suffered, without any great interference from the church of Rome, to proceed in that course of conduct from which every effort hitherto made to deter him had only served as an encouragement to him to persevere.

Luther appeals from Leo X. to a general council.

The success which Luther experienced is chiefly to be attributed to two circumstances, of which he availed himself

[56] *Vide* App. No. LXVII.

[57] *Vide* App. No. LXVIII.

[58] Although Luther, in his second appeal, which bears date the 28th day of November, 1518, has not expressly assigned, as a reason for it, the papal bull of the 9th day of the same month; yet it is highly probable that he was sufficiently informed of its purport, or at least was well aware that some measure of the kind would be taken against him; as he expressly states, that "he hears proceedings are already commenced against him in the Roman court, and that judges are appointed to condemn him," &c. So that there can be no doubt that this declaration of the pope respecting indulgences, compelled Luther to appeal from his authority to that of a general council. The apologists of the Roman See have indeed contended, that the appeal of Luther was not provoked by the bull of Leo X., and Maimburg expressly places the appeal before the bull; but this is sufficiently refuted by the dates of the respective instruments. *Vide* Maim. ap. Seck. p. 58. Pallavicini also attempts to invalidate the express assertion of Fra. Paolo, *that the bull gave rise to the appeal*, because, as he says, it must have required a month to send the former from Rome to Germany, (a slow progress in a business of such urgency,) and that it was not published at Lintz till the 13th day of December; but this affords no proof that Luther was not apprized of its contents; and, at all events, it is sufficient for the present purpose, that it appears from his appeal, that he knew such measures were in agitation. *Vide* Fra. Paolo. Storia del Concil. Tridentino, lib. i. p. 9. Pallavicini, lib. i. cap. xii. p. 92. It is with pleasure I add, that Archdeacon Coxe has also fully concurred in the opinion here expressed. *Vide* Hist. of the House of Austria, vol. i. p. 436, in note.

with uncommon dexterity, to increase the number of his adherents, and to give respectability to his cause. He was himself a man of considerable learning; and although his chief proficiency was in ecclesiastical and scholastic studies, yet he was not destitute of some acquaintance with polite literature, and was perfectly aware of the advantages which he should obtain by combining his own cause with that of the advancement of learning, and thereby securing the favour and assistance of the most eminent scholars of the time. In the letter already cited, written by him to Melancthon, on his leaving Wittemberg to repair to Augsburg, this object is apparent; and many other indications of it appear in his works. His friends are always represented by him as the friends and patrons of liberal studies; and his adversaries are stigmatized, in the most unqualified terms, as stupid, illiterate, and contemptible.[59] Notwithstanding the gravity of his cause, he is at some times sarcastically jocular; and his parody on the first lines of the Æneid, whilst it shews that he was not unacquainted with profane writers, contains an additional proof of his endeavours to mark his enemies as the enemies of all improvement.[60] On this account he sought with great earnestness, in the commencement of his undertaking, to attach Erasmus to his cause, as he had already done Melancthon.[61] And although, by the violence of his proceedings, and the overbearing manner in which he enforced his own peculiar

Two circumstances which contributed to the success of Luther.

I. He combines his cause with that of the promoters of literature.

[59] "Neque enim ignorantiorem Asinum ego vidi," &c. "gaudeo plane me damnatum abs te, tam tenebricoso cerebro," says Lutner, of Jac. Hoogstraten, a Dominican inquisitor, who had exhorted the pope to use no other remedies than fire and sword to free the world from such a pest as Luther. *Vide* Luth. Op. tom. i. p. 102, b.

[60] "*Adversus armatum virum Cochleum.*

Arma virumque cano, Mogani qui nuper ab oris,
Leucoream, fato stolidus, Saxonaque venit
Littora, multum ille et furiis vexatus et œstro,
Vi scelerum, memorem Rasorum cladis ob iram;
Multa quoque et Satana passus, quo perderet urbem,
Inferretque malum studiis, genus unde malorum
Errorumque Patres, atque alti gloria Papæ."

Luth. Op. tom. ii. p. 567.

[61] Melancthon, addressing Erasmus, (January, 1519,) says, "Martinus Luther studiosissimus nominis tui, per omnia tibi probari cupit."—Eras. Ep. lib. v. ep. 37 p. 339. Ed. Lond. 1642.

opinions, he afterwards lost, in a great degree, the support of that eminent scholar; yet he has himself acknowledged, that the credit and learning of Erasmus were of no inconsiderable service to him. This attempt to unite the cause of literature with that of reform is also frequently noticed by Erasmus. "I know not how it has happened," says he, "but it is certain that they who first opposed themselves to Luther, were also the enemies of learning; and hence its friends were less adverse to him, lest by assisting his adversaries they should injure their own cause." Erasmus could, however, have been at no loss to know how this was effected, for certainly no one contributed to it in so eminent a degree as himself; as may sufficiently appear from numerous passages in his letters, in which he has most forcibly inculcated these sentiments.[62] Afterwards, indeed, when the inflexible temper of Luther had given offence to Erasmus, and when, perhaps, the danger of adhering to him had increased, Erasmus endeavoured to frustrate the effects of his former labours, and to convince his friends that the cause of learning, of which he considered himself and Reuchlin as the patrons in Germany, had no connexion whatever with that of Luther.[63] But the opinion was now too deeply impressed on the public mind, and all his efforts served rather to establish than to obliterate it. The advantages which Luther derived from this circumstance are incalculable. His adversaries were treated with derision and contempt; and the public opinion was so strongly in his favour, that his opponents could scarcely find a printer in Germany who would publish their works.[64] Nor is it improbable, that the same

[62] Erasmus was accused of having laid the egg which Luther hatched. This appears in his letter to Joannes Cæsarius, 7 Kal. Jan. 1524. "Ego peperi ovum, Lutherus exclusit. Mirum verò dictum, Minoritarum istorum, magnaque et bona pulte dignum. Ego posui ovum gallinaceum, Lutherus exclusit pullum longe dissimillimum. Nihil miror ab istis ventribus talia dicta proficisci, te demiror cum illis sentire." Erasm. Ep. lib. xx. ep. 24, p. 989.

[63] "Esse video qui, quo magis communirent factionem suam, conati sunt causam bonarum literarum, causam Reuchlini, meamque causam cum *Lutheri* causa conjungere, cum his nihil sit inter se commune." Erasm. Ep. Leo. X. lib. xiv. ep. 5, p. 656. "Mihi semper studium fuit *Lutheri* causam a tua bonarumque literarum causa sejungere, quod ea res et nos vocaret in communem invidiam, et illum ne tantulum quidem sublevaret, sed aliis aliter est visum," &c.—Erasm. Ep. Joan. Reuchlino, lib. xii. ep. 16, p. 603.

[64] Erasmus, writing to Henry VIII. from Basle, says, "hic, opinor, nullus est

reasons which attached the most eminent scholars in Germany to the cause of Luther, operated also in Italy to prevent that opposition, which might otherwise have defeated his success, or at least have retarded his progress. For Sadoleti, Bembo, and the rest of the Italian scholars, kept aloof from the contest, unwilling to betray the interests of literature by defending the dogmas of religion; and left the vindication of the church to scholastic disputants, exasperated bigots, and illiterate monks, whose writings, for the most part, injured the cause which they were intended to defend.

The other method adopted by Luther, to increase the number and secure the attachment of his friends, appeared in his continual protestations that he was at all times ready to submit his opinions to the test of reason and scripture, and to the decision of enlightened and unprejudiced judges. Bold, and even sarcastic as his propositions were, he affected to offer them only as questions for disputation, of the truth of which he was not himself, in all cases, fully convinced; and whilst he challenged the strictest inquiry of his adversaries, he deprecated, as unjust and tyrannical, the adoption of any severe measures against him, until his errors were clearly demonstrated. Declarations apparently so just and reasonable gained him many powerful friends. Even his sovereign and great patron, the elector of Saxony, seems to have considered this as a decisive proof of the rectitude of his views. After assuring the cardinal Riario, in a letter which bears the date of August, 1518, that he had not even perused the controversial works of Luther, he adds, "I am informed, however, that he has always been ready to make his appearance before impartial and prudent judges, and to defend his doctrines; and that he avows himself willing, on all occasions, to submit to, and embrace those more correct opinions, which may be taught him on the authority of the holy scriptures."[65] In the axioms of Erasmus, in which he seems to have suggested to Luther some of the leading points

II. He offers to submit his opinions to the test of reason and scripture.

Typographus qui ausit excudere, quod verbulo attingat *Lutherum*. Contra Pontificem licet scribere quidvis."—Erasm. Ep. lib. xx. ep. 49, p. 1009.

[65] *Vide* Epist. Fred. Ducis Saxon. ad Cardin. S. Georgii, in Op. Lutheri, tom. i. p. 160.

on which he ought more particularly to insist, we find the same sentiment repeated.[66] It is also occasionally referred to in the letters of Erasmus, in such a manner as to shew that this part of the conduct of Luther had contributed, in a great degree, to secure the favour and concurrence of that eminent scholar. "The papal bulls may have more weight," says he, "but a book filled with good arguments, derived from the sacred writings, and which pretends to teach only and not to compel, will always be preferred by men of real learning; for a well-informed mind is easily led by reason, but does not readily submit to authority.[67] This conduct on the part of Luther, at the same time that it confirmed the attachment of his friends, depressed and injured the cause of his opponents; who, by declining the challenge, gave rise to suspicions that they were unable to defend by reason those doctrines which they wished to enforce by violence and by threats. Plausible, however, as this conduct may appear on the part of Luther, it must be confessed that its success was much beyond what might reasonably have been expected from it; and that it was, in fact, little more than a veil thrown over the eyes both of his enemies and his friends. Both parties might, without any extraordinary sagacity, have perceived that between an entire obedience to the decrees of the Roman church, and a direct opposition to them, there is no medium. To doubt the supreme authority of the holy see in matters of faith, to call upon her to defend her doctrines by arguments, to question the rectitude of those opinions which have been silently and respectfully assented to for ages, to assert those of a contrary tenor, to enforce them not only by reason and scripture, but by sarcasm and abuse, and finally to impeach the authority of the church herself, by requiring the dispute to be heard by impartial judges, is to throw off all obedience, and to appear in open rebellion. Could the supreme pontiff lay aside his infallibility, and, surrounded by the venerable college of cardinals, enter into a dispute with a German monk on questions which involved both the spiritual and

[66] Erasm. Axiom. in Luth. Op. tom. ii. p. 314.
[67] Erasm. Ep. Francisco Craneveldio, lib. xv. ep. 5, p. 690.

temporal authority of the holy see? Could the successor of S. Peter betray the interests of his high office, and consent to submit the decision of points of faith to any inferior tribunal? Was it to be tolerated, that an obscure individual should be allowed to range at large through the holy scriptures, the decisions of councils, and the decretals and bulls of two hundred successive pontiffs, in order to convict the church herself of error, and to combat her with her own weapons? If it had been possible that the pontiff and his advisers could have stooped to this humiliation, he must have appeared to the world as a self-convicted impostor, and the triumph of Luther would have been complete. But although the pope and his adherents were in no danger of disgracing themselves, by submitting their cause to the test of reason and scripture, yet they imprudently suffered themselves to be discountenanced and repulsed by the bold attitude and daring approach of their adversary; and Luther, individually, for a long time balanced the scale against the whole Christian world, and at length broke the beam which he could not wholly incline in his favour. Warmly as the protestant writers have inveighed against the arrogance and unbending pride of the cardinal of Gaeta, and the other opponents of Luther,[68] it is sufficiently clear, that the cause of the church was rather injured by the condescension and moderation which he experienced, as well as by the writers who entered with him into discussions on contested dogmas and intricate points of faith. The first measure adopted by Luther in the publication of his propositions at Wittemberg, was sufficiently hostile to have justified the pontiff in calling upon him for an unqualified submission, and in case of refusal or hesitation, to have separated him, as an infected limb, from the body of the church. Of the feeble conduct of the Roman see, both on this and on other occasions, Luther was well aware; and had employed his time to such advantage, that before Leo assailed him with the

68 "It was sufficient barely to mention the measures taken by *Cajetan*," (says the learned translator of Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 21,) "to draw Luther anew under the papal yoke, because these measures were indeed nothing more than the wild suggestions of superstition and tyranny, maintained and avowed *with the most frontless impudence.*"

thunders of the Vatican he was already prepared to obviate their effects; to retort violence for violence, and abuse for abuse. Throughout all his writings, this great reformer has represented his own cause as the cause of truth, of religion, of justice, and of sound learning; and by the skilful management of these topics, his efforts were, in a great measure, crowned with success. Being thus aware of the weapons to which he owed his victory, he was enabled, after he had once established himself in the public opinion, to defend himself against those who presumed to differ from him, as he had before differed from the church of Rome; and the conduct of Luther, in enforcing his own peculiar dogmas, and silencing those who opposed his tenets, may justify the assertion, that if he had been pope instead of Leo X., he would have defended the church against a much more formidable adversary than the monk of Wittemberg.

Medal of Luther.

Leo X. receiving Ariosto at Rome.

CHAPTER XVI.

1518.

Encouragement given to men of talents at Rome—Italian poets—Sanazzaro—Tebaldeo—Bernardo Accolti called L'Unico Aretino—Bembo—Beazzano—Molza—Ariosto—His apologue respecting Leo X.—Effect of his writings on the taste of Europe—Vittoria Colonna—Veronica Gambara—Costanza D'Avalos—Tullia D'Aragona—Gaspara Stampa—Laura Battiferra—La Poesia Bernesca—Francesco Berni—Character of his writings—His Orlando Innamorato—Teofilo Folengi—His Maccaronic poems and other works—Imitators of the ancient classic writers—Trissino—Introduces the Versi Sciolti, or Italian blank verse—His Italia Liberata da' Goti—Giovanni Rucellai—His didactic poem Le Api—His tragedy of Oreste—Luigi Alamanni—His poem entitled La Coltivazione—General classification of the Italian writers—The Italian Drama.

Encouragement given to men of talents at Rome. 1518. Æt. 43. Pont. VI.

The tranquillity which Italy now enjoyed, and the favour and munificence of the supreme pontiff, at length called forth and expanded those seeds of genius, which, although they had been sown by the provident hand of his father at the close of the preceding century, had, under the dark and stormy pontificates of his predecessors, narrowly escaped entire destruction. From the time of the elevation of Leo X. the city of Rome had become the general resort of men of talents and of learning from all parts of Italy; who being attracted, as well by the charms of that literary society which was there to be met with, as by the well-known disposition of

the pontiff to encourage and reward superior merit, either chose that place as their stationary residence, or paid it long and frequent visits. Nor was it only to the grave and the learned that Rome held forth its attractions. Whoever excelled in any art or accomplishment that could afford amusement; whoever, in short, could render himself either the cause, or the object, of mirth, was certain of receiving at Rome, and even in the pontifical palace, a hearty welcome, and often a splendid reward.

Italian poets.

In the gay tribe that exist only in the sunshine of prosperity, the poets hold a distinguished rank; but the fountain of Poetry ran at this time in two separate currents, and whilst some of them drank at the Tuscan stream, a still greater number imbibed the pure waters from the Latian spring. In considering the state of polite letters at this period, it will be necessary to keep in view this distinction; and our first attention will therefore be turned towards those writers who are chiefly known to the present times by their poetical productions in their native tongue.

Sanazzaro.

Among those few men of distinguished talents who, after having ornamented the academy of Naples, had survived the desolation of their country, and whose exertions contributed to the preservation of a true taste in Italian composition, Sanazzaro must not be forgotten.[1] His Italian compositions seem to have been chiefly produced before the pontificate of Leo X., and it has already been remarked, that the superior applause obtained by Pietro Bembo in his Italian writings, is supposed to have induced Sanazzaro to direct his talents towards the cultivation of the Latin tongue. It may, however, with justice be observed, that if the Venetian excel the Neapolitan in elegance and correctness of style, yet in vigour of fancy and strength of expression, the latter has generally the advantage.[2] Nor

[1] *Vide ante*, chap. ii. vol. i. Of this eminent man Count Bossi nas also given some further particulars, which may be found in Ital. Ed. vol. vii. p. 264.

[2] Of this, his seventeenth *Canzone*, in which he laments the obstacles that oppose his attempts to immortalize his name by his writings, may be esteemed a sufficient proof. The reader will find this poem in Mr. Mathias's elegant selection of the "Poeti Lirici d'Italia," vol. i. p. 105.

can it be doubted, that if he had persevered in his exertions, and undertaken a work deserving of his talents, he would have established a reputation as an Italian poet, which would scarcely have been excelled by that of any other writer of whom Italy can boast.[3]

Tebaldeo.

Another surviving member of the Neapolitan academy was Antonio Tebaldeo. He was a native of Ferrara, born in the year 1463,[4] and educated to the profession of medicine; in which, however, it is not probable that he made any great proficiency, as it appears that from his youth he had been devoted to the study of poetry, and was accustomed to recite his verses to the music of his lute. A collection of his poems was published by his cousin Jacopo Tebaldeo at Modena, in the year 1499; contrary, as it has been said, to the wishes of the author, who was sensible of their inaccuracies and defects.[5] It was probably for this reason that he turned his attention to Latin poetry, in which he is acknowledged to have been more successful than in his Italian compositions.[6] Soon after the elevation of Leo X., Tebaldeo took up his residence in Rome, and the pontiff is said to have presented him with a purse of five hundred ducats in return for a Latin epigram in his praise.[7] A more authentic testimony of the high favour which he had obtained with the pontiff, appears in a letter, yet preserved, from Leo to the canons of Verona, recommending to them one Domizio Pomedelli, a scholar of Tebaldeo, "whom," says he, speaking of the master, "I greatly esteem, both for the proficiency which he has made in useful studies and for his poetical talents."[8] His approbation is also expressed

[3] The Italian poems of Sanazzaro have generally been published with his "Arcadia," of which there have been numerous editions: of these the most complete and correct are those by Comino, Padua, 1723, 4to, and by Remondini, Venice, 1752, 8vo.

[4] Giornale d'Ital. vol. iii. p. 374.

[5] "Impresso in Modena per Dionysio Bertocho nel anno de la redemptione humana M.CCCC.LXXXXVIII. a di XIII. de Magio. Imperante lo sapientissimo Hercule Duca di Ferrara, Modena, & Regio, in 4to." This edition is dedicated by the editor to the marquis of Mantua.

[6] Tirab. vi. ii. 154.

[7] Giornale d'Ital. vol. iii. p. 376. Tirab. vi. ii. 155.

[8] Bemb. Ep. nom. Leon. X. lib. ix. ep ii. From the account given of Tebaldeo in the text, and the words *pangendis carminibus*, &c., in the note, Count Bossi has suggested, that he was probably accustomed to recite his verses *all' improvviso*, and

in terms of equal kindness, on recommending Tebaldeo to the office of superintendent of the bridge of Sorga; an employment which probably required no personal attendance, and certainly produced a considerable income, as the pontiff adds, as a reason for his interference, "that it might enable Tebaldeo to support himself in affluence." After the death of Leo X. Tebaldeo continued to reside in Rome, but with his great patron he appears to have lost the means of even a competent support, and was obliged to resort to Bembo, who afforded him a temporary assistance. He lived until the year 1537, and for a considerable time before his death was confined to his bed, "having no other complaint," as we are informed by one of his friends, "than the loss of his relish for wine. At the same time he poured forth his epigrams with greater profusion than ever, and was surrounded at all hours by his learned friends;" but after the invectives which he had written against the French, some of which we have before had occasion to notice, it may surprise us to hear that he had "become their warm partisan, and an implacable enemy to the emperor."[9] From the censures of Muratori, who considers Tebaldeo as one of the corrupters of the literary taste of the age,[10] he has been defended by several authors, and among the rest by Baruffaldi and Tiraboschi; the latter of whom, although he acknowledges his defects, asserts his claim to rank among the best poets of his time.[11]

Not less celebrated for his poetical effusions, and much

that he may therefore be enumerated amongst the first *improvvisatori*, or reciters of extempore verses; an art peculiar to Italy, and which he thinks was also practised by Accolti, hereafter mentioned. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. vii. p. 11, in add. note.*

[9] Girol. Negro à Marc. Ant. Micheli. Lettere di Princ. vol. iii. p. 38.

[10] Murat. della perfetta Poesia, lib. iv. vol. ii. pp. 302, 303.

[11] Stor. della Let. Ital. vi. ii. 156. Tebaldeo seems, however, to have foreseen the approaching improvement of the Italian language, and the fate of his own productions, as appears from the following lines:—

"So che molti verran nell' altra etate,
Ch' accuseranno i miei rimi e versi,
Come inornati rigidi e mal tersi,
E fien le carte mie forse stracciate."

Dolce, Hist. Gym. Fer. ap. Museum Mazzuch. vol. i. p. 184.

Of the Italian works of Tebaldeo, no complete collection has, I believe, hitherto been published; although the learned Apostolo Zeno, more than half a century since, indicated the sources from which such an edition might be formed. *Vide* Note alla Bibl. Ital. di Fontanini, vol. ii. p. 55.

more distinguished by his exquisite skill in adapting his verses to the music with which he accompanied them, was Bernardo Accolti of Arezzo, usually called, on account of his excellence in this department, *L'Unico Aretino*.[12] He was one of the sons of Benedetto Accolti, author of the well-known history of the crusades;[13] and his elder brother Pietro Accolti was dignified by Julius II. with the rank of cardinal. In his youth he was a frequent visitor at the court of Urbino, and is enumerated by Castiglione among those eminent men who were accustomed to assemble every evening in the apartments of the duchess, for the enjoyment of literary conversation.[14] On his arrival at Rome in the pontificate of Leo X. he was received with great favour by the pope, who soon afterwards appointed him one of the apostolic secretaries; an employment which conferred both honour and emolument. It has also been asserted, that Leo was so delighted with his uncommon talents, that he conferred on him the duchy of Nepi;[15] and although this has been denied on the testimony of one of the letters of Accolti, in which he complains that he had been divested by Paul III. of the sovereignty of this place, which he had purchased with his own money; yet it is a matter of little importance whether he owed his possessions to the gift of the pope, or purchased them by the aid of his bounty; and in fact, in the letter referred to, he attributes this acquisition as well to his own merits as to the money disbursed by him. This dominion was afterwards restored to him, it appearing that he was succeeded in it by his illegitimate son Alfonso.[16] Of

Bernardo Accolti, called L'Unico Aretino.

[12] Ariosto denominates him,

"Il gran lume Aretin, l'unico Accolti."

Orl. Fur. cant. xlvi. st. 10.

[13] Of Benedetto some account is given in the 'Life of Lorenzo de' Med.' chap. ii.

[14] Castiglione, Libro del Cortegiano, lib. i. pp. 26, 27.

[15] Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. vol. i. p. 66.

[16] Ibid. p. 67. "Ebbe la Signoria di Nepi, e d'altre Castella nello stato Ecclesiastico da Leon X. la quale poscia dopo la morte di esso Bernardo, seguita in Roma nel 1534, da Clementi VII. fu data ad Alfonso suo figliuolo naturale." Manni, Istoria del Decamerone, par. ii. cap. xxxi. p. 238. There appears, however, some degree of inconsistency in these accounts; for, if Bernardo was deprived of his possessions by Paul III., how could they be restored to his son Alfonso by Clement VII., who preceded Paul in the pontifical chair, and died in

the astonishing effects which the talents of Accolti produced among all ranks of people at Rome, long after the time of Leo X., a very particular account is given by his licentious countryman Pietro Aretino, who assures us, "that when it was known in Rome that the celestial Bernardo Accolti intended to recite his verses, the shops were shut up as for a holiday, and all persons hastened to partake of the entertainment. That on such occasions he was surrounded by the prelates and chief persons of the city, honoured by the solemn light of torches, and attended by a numerous body of Swiss guards." The same author also adds, that he was himself once sent by the pope to request that Accolti would favour his holiness with a visit, as he had already promised; and that the poet "no sooner made his appearance in the venerable hall of S. Peter, than the vicar of Christ cried out, *Open all the doors, and let in the crowd.* Accolti then recited a *Ternale* in honour of the blessed Virgin; with which his auditors were so delighted, that they unanimously exclaimed, *Long live the divine poet, the unparalleled Accolti!*"[17]

Distinguished as Accolti was by such unbounded approbation, one circumstance only is wanting to his glory—that his works should have perished along with him. Unfortunately, however, some of them have survived their author, and although they are not wholly devoid of merit, yet they are so far inferior to the idea that must have been formed of them from the accounts given of their astonishing effects, as

1534? The annotator on the "Ragionamenti" of Vasari, thus relates this circumstance:—"Leone X. donò al Unico, nel 1520, col titolo di Ducato, la Città di Nepi, posta nel patrimonio di S. Pietro; la quale poi, nel 1536, per la morte di lui senza successione, ritornò alla Santa Sede." Ragionam. p. 93. Ed. Arez. 1762.

[17] Lettere di P. Aretino, vol. v. p. 46. Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. vol. i. p. 66. If the reader be curious to inquire what were the sublime and pathetic passages which produced so wonderful an effect on the audience, he may be gratified by perusing the following lines to the Virgin, which are cited in the letter of Pietro Aretino as having given occasion to such extravagant applause:

"Quel generasti di cui concepesti:
Portasti quel di cui fosti fattura;
E di te nacque quel di cui nascesti."

Happy days! when poetic honours were so easily attained. The whole of this *Ternale* is printed in the early editions of the works of Accolti; and may be consulted by such of my readers as approve the above specimen. Bossi conceives from the above passage, and perhaps not without reason, that the verses of Accolti were originally given extempore; as otherwise it would not be possible to account for the great effect said to be produced by them." *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. vii. p. 17, note (*a*).

greatly to detract from his fame. Among these is his dramatic poem entitled "Virginia," written in *ottava* and *terza rima*, and represented for the first time at Siena, on the marriage of the Magnifico Antonio Spanochi.[18] This piece, which may be enumerated amongst the earliest productions of the Italian drama, is founded on the story of "Giletta di Nerbona," one of the novels of Boccaccio; but the scene is changed from France to Naples, and the name of *Virginia* was given by the author to his heroine in reference to that of his own daughter, who became the wife of the count Carlo Malatesti, lord of Sogliano.[19] Of the lyric pieces of Accolti, which are not numerous, his "Strambotti" have been most commended,[20] and of these his verses entitled "Julia" are incomparably the best.[21] Besides the writings of Accolti which have been published, he left a poem in manuscript, entitled "The liberality of Leo X.," which an eminent critic asserts was written in a fine style and full of matter.[22] Of his style a very sufficient specimen remains, but we may be allowed to regret the loss of those anecdotes which the poem of Accolti would have transmitted to us respecting Leo X., and which would, in all probability, have done so much honour to his memory.

Bembo.

The person, however, to whom the Italian critics have unanimously attributed the praise of having, both by his precept and example, revived a true taste in Tuscan literature, was a native of Venice, the illustrious Pietro Bembo. "It was he who opened a new Augustan age, who emulated Cicero and Virgil with equal success, and recalled in his writings the elegance and purity of Petrarca and of Boccaccio."[23] The early part of the life of

[18] As appears from the title of the early editions; also *vide* Manni, Istoria del Decamerone, par. ii. cap. xxxi. p. 237.

[19] Mazzuchelli denominates him "il Conte Giambattista Malatesta," and adds, that Virginia brought her husband 10,000 crowns, which in those days was considered as a very large portion. Scrittori d'Ital. i. 67.

[20] Redi, Annotaz. al suo Ditirambo di Bacco in Tosc p. 87. ed. Fir. 1685, 4to.

[21] The works of Accolti were first printed at Florence, "A stanza di Alessandro di Francesco Rossegli a di vi. di Agosto," 1513, 8vo. Again at Florence in 1514, 12mo; at Venice in 1515; at Florence in 1518; and at Venice in 1519, by Nicolo Zopino e Vincentio Compagna.

[22] "Opera di stile dolce, e piena di sustanza." Dolce, trattato secondo di sua Libreria. ap. Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. i 68.

[23] Bettinelli, del risorgimento d'Italia negli Studii, &c. ii. 105.

Bembo had been divided between amusement and study; but neither the circumstances of his family, nor his own exertions, had enabled him to provide for his support in a manner equal to his rank or his habits of life. His appointment by Leo X. to the important office of pontifical secretary, not only gave him a fixed residence, but enabled him by its emoluments to secure a respectable competency; his salary of one thousand crowns having been increased by the grant of ecclesiastical revenues to the annual amount of three thousand.[24] The society which Bembo met with at Rome was highly congenial to his taste; and he appears from his letters to have enjoyed it with no common relish. Amongst his most intimate friends and associates, we find the cardinals da Bibbiena and Giulio de' Medici, the poets Tebaldeo and Accolti, the inimitable artist Raffaelle d'Urbino, and the accomplished nobleman Baldassare Castiglione. The high reputation which Bembo enjoyed throughout all Italy induced the pontiff to employ him occasionally in important embassies; but Bembo was designed by nature rather for an elegant writer than a skilful negotiator, and his missions were seldom crowned with success. In the execution of his office as pontifical secretary, he is, however, entitled to great commendation, and the letters written by him and his associate Sadoleti, first demonstrated that the purity of the Latin idiom was not incompatible with the forms of business and the transaction of public affairs. A short time before the death of Leo X. Bembo had retired from Rome, on account, as has been generally supposed, of the infirm state of his health; but there is reason to conclude, that although this was the pretext, he had some cause of dissatisfaction with the pontiff, and that he left it with a resolution never more to return. Being now released from the cares of business, he chose as his residence the city of Padua. He had already selected, as the partner of his leisure, a young woman named Morosina, whom he frequently mentions in his letters, and who continued to reside with him until the time of her death, in the year 1535. By her he had two sons and a daughter, to whose education he paid particular

[24] Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. art. P. Bembo. iv. 739.

attention.[25] The revenues which he derived from his ecclesiastical preferments now enabled him to enjoy the liberty of a private life, devoted to his own studies and pleasures, and to the society of his friends. He here formed, by great expense and assiduity, a collection of the ancient manuscripts of the Greek aud Roman authors, which in point of number and value was exceeded by very few in Italy. Of these works the greater part have since been incorporated into the library of the Vatican. To these he added a cabinet of coins and medals, enriched with other ancient specimens of art. A part of his time was spent at his country residence of Villabozza, in the vicinity of Padua, where he devoted himself to the study of botany. The garden which he here completed and furnished with plants is noticed by various authors. In this state of independence a great part of his writings was produced, and such was the happiness which he enjoyed, that when, in the year 1539, he was unexpectedly nominated by Paul III. to the rank of cardinal, he is said to have hesitated for some time whether he should accept that dignity.[26] His choice was, however, at last determined by his having accidentally heard, at the celebration of mass, the priest pronounce the words, *Peter, follow me,*[27] which he chose to

[25] Lucilio, one of his sons, died young in 1531. Torquato, who was admitted into the church, and became a canon of Padua, distinguished himself by his literary acquirements. Helena was married, in 1543, to Pietro Gradenigo, a noble Venetian. Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. iv. 741. Agostino Beazzano has celebrated her accomplishments in one of his sonnets beginning,

"Helena, del gran Bembo altero pegno."

Morosina is said to have been buried in one of the churches of Padua, with the following inscription: *Hic jacet Morosina, Petri Bembi Concubina.* But Mazzuchelli has shewn that this epitaph is fictitious. She was, in fact, interred in the church of S. Bartolommeo at Padua; over her sepulchre is inscribed,

Morosinæ, Torquati Bembi Matri.
Obiit 8 *Idus Augusti,* M.D.XXXV.

Bembo is said to have regarded her as a legitimate wife. That he loved her with a sincere and constant affection is apparent from the grief which he suffered on her loss; on which occasion eleven of his sonnets remain, which have more pathos than any of his writings. *Vide et* Bemb. Ep. Fam. lib. vi. ep. 66, 67. Lettere volgari, vol. ii. lib. ii. ep. 14. Count Bossi is mistaken in supposing that Bembo did not quit Rome until after the death of Leo X., as he left it in the lifetime of that pontiff, and has assigned his reasons for it, as before noticed.

[26] The pains which Bembo afterwards took to obviate the objections that had been made to his moral conduct, and his flattering letters to Paul III. seem, however, to contradict the report encouraged by Beccatelli, his biographer, and others, that he reluctantly acceded to this promotion.

[27] *Petre, sequere me. Sed vide* Mazzuch. iv. 746.

understand as applied to himself. He now once more repaired to Rome, where he was highly favoured by the pontiff, who conferred upon him many lucrative benefices; and where he found in the college many of his former friends, particularly the cardinals Contarino, Sadoleti, Cortese, and the English cardinal, Reginald Pole, who then held a high rank both in the political and literary world. In this city Bembo terminated his days in the year 1547, being then upwards of seventy-six years of age.[28]

The high commendations bestowed on the writings of Bembo by almost all his contemporaries have been confirmed by the best critics of succeeding times; nor can it be denied, that by selecting as his models Boccaccio and Petrarca, and by combining their excellences with his own correct and elegant taste, he contributed, in an eminent degree, to banish that rusticity of style which characterised the writings of most of the Italian authors at the commencement of the sixteenth century. His authority and example produced an astonishing effect; and among his disciples and imitators may be found many of the first scholars and most distinguished writers of the age. It must, however, be observed, that the merit of his works consists rather in purity and correctness of diction, than in vigour of sentiment, or variety of poetical ornament; and that they exhibit but little diversity either of character or subject, having for the most part been devoted to the celebration of an amorous

[28] Bembo was interred in the church of S. Maria alla Minerva at Rome, behind the great altar, and between the tombs of Leo X. and Clement VII., with the following inscription placed by his son Torquato:—

PETRO BEMBO PATRITIO VENETO OB EJUS
SINGULARES VIRTUTES,
A PAULO III. PONTIF. MAX. IN SACRUM COLLEGIUM COOPTATO,
TORQUATUS BEMBUS P.
OBIIT XV. KAL. FEB. M D.XLVII.
VIXIT. AN. LXXVI. MEN. VII. D. XXVIII.

Bossi seems to think that I have insisted too much on the dissolute life of Bembo, before he became a cardinal, and has endeavoured to shew that he was not peculiarly culpable in this respect, by adducing the example of several of his accomplished and learned contemporaries I have only to observe in reply, that I am not aware of having been particularly severe on the character of Bembo in this respect; although I fully agree with Count Bossi, according to whose statement, "tutti quasi i poeti, tutti i letterati di quella età, comechè residenti in Roma, ed insigniti ancora di prelature, di dignità, e di ufficj nella chiesa, erano infetti dello stesso vizio, o come altri direbbe, *tinti della pece medesima.*" Ital. Ed. vol. vii. p. 268, &c.*

passion. His *Canzone* on the death of his brother Carlo has been highly commended, and must be allowed to possess merit, without, however, exhibiting that warmth of natural feeling which such an occasion might be expected to produce.[29] In estimating with impartiality the talents of Bembo, and ascertaining the services which he rendered to the progress of taste, it will be necessary to make a distinction between the advancement of Italian poetry, and the improvement of the Italian language; between the efforts of genius and the result of industry. The poetical works of Bembo consist chiefly of *Sonetti* and *Canzoni* in the style of Petrarca, and are frequently more correct and chaste, but at the same time more unimpassioned and cold, than the model on which they are formed. In the perusal of these pieces we perceive nothing of that genuine feeling, which, proceeding from the heart of the author, makes a direct and irresistible appeal to that of the reader; and but little even of that secondary characteristic of genius which luxuriates in the regions of fancy, and by its vivid and rapid imagery delights the imagination. On the contrary, whilst these pieces stand approved to our deliberate judgment, we feel a conviction that any person of good taste and extensive reading might, by a due portion of labour, produce works of equal merit. That this conviction is well founded is proved in no unequivocal manner by the innumerable throng of writers who have imitated the manner of Bembo; and who, availing themselves of the example of this scholastic style of composition, have inundated Italy with writings which seldom exhibit any distinction either of character or of merit. That the introduction of this manner of writing was fatal to the higher productions of genius cannot be doubted. Internal worth was sacrificed to external ornament. The vehicle was gilt and polished to the highest degree, but it contained nothing of any value; and the whole attention of these writers was employed, not in discovering *what* should be said, but *how* it should be said.

One of the most intimate associates of Bembo, as well in

[29] This piece is selected by Mr. Mathias, in his collection of the "Poeti Lirici Italiani," vol. i. p. 86.

his various embassies and public concerns, as in his literary occupations, was his countryman Agostino Beazzano; who, although he was only descended from a family of the order of Venetian citizens, enumerated among his ancestors Francesco Beazzano, great chancellor of the republic. Agostino was a knight of Jerusalem, and was frequently despatched by Leo X. on missions of great importance.[30] Such was his acquaintance with the concerns of the Roman court, and his experience in matters of business, that he was consulted at Rome as an oracle. By the bounty of Leo X., he became possessed of rich church preferments, and it seems not improbable that he aspired to the rank of a cardinal; although in one of his Latin poems, addressed to Leo X., he professes not to have carried his views so high. An infirm state of health compelled him, soon after the death of Leo, to quit the Roman court, and the last eighteen years of his life were spent in retirement at Trevigi; where he endeavoured, not without success, to alleviate the pains or exhilarate the languor of sickness, by the delights of study and the society of his friends. Among the various tributes of respect to his memory,[31] it may be sufficient to notice, that he is enumerated by Ariosto among the most eminent scholars of the age.[32]

Beazzano.

From the works of Beazzano it appears, that he maintained a literary intercourse with most of the learned men of his time. His Latin writings are deservedly preferred to those in his native tongue, which are not wholly divested of the rusticity which prevailed in the early part of the sixteenth century. Of his sonnets, a great part are addressed to the emperor Charles V. The rest are chiefly devoted to the commendation of Leo X., of Pietro Bembo, of the Marquis del Vasto, and other distinguished characters. Among

[30] A letter from Leo X. to Leonardo Loredano, doge of Venice, not only demonstrates the high esteem in which the pontiff held Beazzano, but shews that he continued the hereditary practice of his family, in combining the affairs of state with the promotion of literature. Bemb. Ep. nom. Leon. X. lib. x. ep. 45.

[31] For many of these, *vide* Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. vol. iv. p. 573.

[32] Orl. Fur. cant. xlvi. st. 14. On the tomb of Beazzano, in the church of Trevigi, is inscribed the following epitaph

Hospes, Beatianus hic est, scis cetera; num tam
Durus es, ut siccis hinc abeas oculis?

them are also several addressed to Titian, the eminent painter, in terms of high admiration and great esteem.[33]

Another author, equally celebrated for his Italian and his Latin productions, is the elegant Francesco Maria Molza, whose writings have a more distinctive character than those of most of his contemporaries, and by their peculiar tenderness and expression might entitle their author to the appellation of the Tibullus of his age. He was born of a noble family at Modena, in the year 1489, and having been sent by his father to Rome, had there the good fortune to be associated in his early studies with the accomplished Marc Antonio Flaminio, one of the most exquisite Latin poets of the time.[34] After having made an uncommon proficiency in the Greek and Latin languages, and acquired also a knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, which then first began to be studied in Italy, he was recalled by his father to Modena; where, in the year 1512, he married and took up his residence.[35] He had, however, already distinguished himself by several admired productions; and having heard of the extraordinary liberality of Leo X. towards men of talents, and particularly those who excelled in poetry, he felt such an irresistible inclination to return to Rome, that neither the remonstrances of his parents, nor his affection for his wife and children, could prevent him from carrying his purpose into execution. He accordingly arrived at that city about the close of the year 1516, under the pretext of forwarding a lawsuit, in which his family was involved, but to which it appears he afterwards paid very little attention. Here he soon formed an intimate acquaintance with Filippo Beroaldo, then librarian of the Vatican, Sadoleti, Bembo, Colocci, Tebaldeo, and the other distinguished scholars of Rome, to whom his society was highly acceptable. In this situation he appears wholly to have

Molza.

[33] The Latin and Italian works of Beazzano were printed in one volume octavo, under the title, "De le Cose volgari et Latine del Beatiano. Venetiis per Bartholomæum de Zanettis de Brixia, anno a nativitate Domini 1533, die decima Octob." The edition which appears to bear the date of 1551, is only the former with a new title.

[34] Lil. Greg. Gyraldus, de Poetis suor. temp. Dial. i. in Op. tom. ii. p. 544. Ed. Lug. Bat. 1696.

[35] Serassi, Vita del Molza, in fronte delle Opere volgari e Latine del Molza, p. 4.

forgotten his country, his parents, his family, and his wife, and to have mingled the studies of literature with the gratification of a licentious passion for a Roman lady; in consequence of which he received a wound from the hand of an unknown assassin, which had nearly cost him his life.[36] Soon after the death of Leo X. he quitted the city of Rome, in common with many other eminent and learned men, who found in Adrian VI., the successor of Leo, a pontiff who held all the productions of literature and of art in the utmost contempt. Instead, however, of returning to his family, Molza retired to Bologna, where he soon became deeply enamoured of Camilla Gonzaga, a lady of rank and beauty, and a warm admirer of Italian poetry. By her attractions he was detained there two years; although it has been supposed that his passion was merely of a Platonic kind.[37] The life of Molza seems, however, to have been wholly divided between poetry and dissipation.[38] During the transitory splendour of the cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, he was one of the brightest ornaments of his court, and by his extraordinary talents and vivacity attracted the admiration, and even conciliated the esteem and affection of a large circle of friends.[39] After having abandoned his wife and his offspring, and been disinherited by his father, he at length terminated his days by that disease which afforded a subject to Fracastoro for his admirable poem; to which the complaints of Molza, expressed in verses of equal elegance, might serve at once as a supplement and a comment.

The most celebrated composition of Molza, in the Italian language, is his pastoral *Poemetto,* entitled, "La Ninfa

[36] Serassi, Vita del Molza.

[37] On the portrait of this lady, Molza wrote a poem, in two parts, each consisting of fifty stanzas, in *ottava rima,* which is published in his works, vol. i. p. 133, and contains many beautiful passages.

[38] He had the misfortune to be present at the miserable sackage of Rome, by the banditti under the duke of Bourbon, in 1527, which he indignantly mentions in one of his elegies, addressed to his friend Luigi Priuli. Molzæ Op. tom. ii. p. 169.

[39] It would be tiresome to collect the eulogies on the character of Molza; almost all the distinguished writers of the time having left their testimony to his praise. None of these are, however, more honourable to his memory, than that of the virtuous and accomplished Vittoria Colonna, who has devoted two of her sonnets to commemorate the death of the parents of Molza, who both died nearly at the same time, and to excite the son to immortalize their virtues in his writings. Son. 118. Ed. del. Corso, 1558

Tiberina," written in praise of Faustina Mancini, a Roman lady, who then engaged his ardent but volatile affections.[40] Some of his *Canzoni* have also great merit, and unite considerable vigour of sentiment with great simplicity and elegance of expression. This may sufficiently appear from one of these productions, which was probably addressed to Ippolito de' Medici, and in which he laments that his young patron did not enjoy those opportunities of signalizing himself by his great talents, which would have been afforded him under the pontificate of Leo X. at the same time regretting the sudden extinction of those hopes which the virtues and munificence of that pontiff had inspired.

Whilst many of the most distinguished scholars of Italy, attracted by the generosity of the pontiff, had taken up their residence in Rome, the celebrated Ariosto, the chief favourite of the muses and the glory of his age, remained at Ferrara, attached to the court of the cardinal Ippolito d'Este, in whose employment he had lived from the year 1503.[41] During this period he had rendered many important services to Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, both in a civil and military capacity; in the former of which he had incurred no less danger than in the latter, particularly on his embassy to Rome in the year 1512, to appease the anger of that irascible pontiff, Julius II.[42] The long and friendly intercourse which had subsisted between Ariosto and Leo X. before his elevation to the pontificate, induced the poet, soon after that event, to hasten to Rome, in the hopes of sharing that bounty which was so liberally bestowed

Ariosto.

[40] That Molza was not so enveloped in licentious amours as wholly to have relinquished the hopes of a lasting fame, is evident from one of his sonnets, beginning,

"Alto Silenzio, ch'-a pensar mi tiri."

In Op. vol. i. p. 43.

His grand-daughter, Tarquinia Molza, daughter of his eldest son Camillo, born in 1542, ranks amongst the most learned and illustrious women of Italy. Her works, united with those of her ancestors, were published in 2 vols. 8vo. 1750.

[41] *Vide ante*, vol. i. chap. ii. In the year 1507, he was sent by the cardinal Ippolito to Mantua, to congratulate his sister Isabella d'Este, the wife of the marquis Francesco Gonzago, on the birth of a child. A letter from Isabella to her brother yet remains, and shews that at this time Ariosto had made a considerable progress in his great epic poem, some parts of which he read for her amusement. This letter is also deserving of notice as the production of an elegant and accomplished woman of high rank in Italy. Tirab. vol. vii. par. iii. p. 101.

[42] *Vide ante*, vol. i. chap. ix.

on others of much inferior merit. Leo recognised his old friend; and raising him from the ground, and kissing him on each cheek, assured him of the continuance of his favour and protection.[43] The favour of the pontiff extended, however, no further on this occasion, than to grant him a special bull, to secure to him the emoluments to arise from the publication of his celebrated poem. But if the sanguine expectations of the poet were disappointed, his good sense soon convinced him that the blame was not wholly to be imputed to the pope; and whilst he describes, in the most lively manner, the demolition of his hopes, he furnishes, even in the midst of his sarcasms, a sufficient apology for the pontiff. "Some persons may perhaps observe," says he, in his epistolary satire to Annibale Malaguzzi,[44] "that if I had gone to Rome in quest of benefices, I might have caught more than one before this time; especially as I had long been in favour with the pope, and had ranked among his ancient friends before his virtue and his good fortune had exalted him to his high dignity; or the Florentines had opened to him their gates; or his brother Giuliano had taken refuge in the court of Urbino, where, with the author of the "Cortegiano," with Bembo and other favourites of Apollo, he alleviated the hardships of his exile. When, too, the Medici again raised their heads in Florence, and the Gonfaloniere, flying from his palace, met with his ruin; and when he went to Rome to take the name of Leo, he still preserved his attachment to me. Often whilst he was legate has he told me, that he should make no difference between his brother and myself. On this account it may appear strange to some, that when I paid him a visit at Rome, he should have humbled my crest; but to these I shall reply by a story. Read it, my friend; for to read it is less trouble to you, than it was to me to write it.

Apologue of Ariosto respecting Leo X.

"There was once a season in which the earth was so parched up with heat, that it seemed as if Phœbus had again relinquished the reins to Phaëton. Every well and every spring was dry. Brooks and streams, nay, even the most celebrated rivers, might be crossed with-

[43] Ariosto, Sat. iii. ad Annib. Malaguzzi. [44] Ariosto, Sat. iii.

out a bridge. In these times lived a shepherd, I know not whether to call him rich, or encumbered, with herds and flocks, who having long sought for water in vain, turned his prayers towards that Being who never deserts those who trust in him; and by divine favour he was instructed, that at the bottom of a certain valley he would find the welcome aid. He immediately departed with his wife, his children, and all his cattle; and according to his expectations found the spring. The well was not, however, very deep; and having only a small vessel to dispense the water, he desired his followers not to take it amiss if he secured the first draught for himself. The next, says he, is for my wife, and the third and fourth for my dear children, till all their thirst be quenched. The next must be distributed to such of my friends as have assisted me in opening the well. He then attends to his cattle, taking care to supply those first whose death would occasion him the greatest loss. Under these regulations they pass on, one after another, to drink. At length a poor parrot, which was very much beloved by its master, cried out, alas! I am neither one of his relations, nor did I assist in digging the well; nor am I likely to be of more service to him in future, than I have been in times past. Others, I observe, are still behind me; and even I shall die of thirst if I cannot elsewhere obtain relief. With this story, my good cousin, you may dismiss those who think that the pope should prefer me before the *Neri*, the *Vanni*, the *Lotti*, and the *Baci*,[45] his nephews and relations, who must drink first; and afterwards those who have assisted in investing him with the richest of all mantles. When these are satisfied, he will favour those who espoused his cause against Soderini, on his return to Florence. One person will say, I was with Piero in Casentino, and narrowly escaped being taken and killed. I, cries Brandino, lent him money. He lived, exclaims a third, a whole year at my expense, whilst I furnished him with arms, with clothes, with money, and with horses. If I wait until all these are

[45] Not the names of noble families of Florence, as some have supposed, but diminutives of affection, derived from the common names of Giovanni, Bartolommeo, Lancelotto, &c.

satisfied I shall certainly either perish with thirst, or see the well exhausted."

That Ariosto, however, felt his disappointment, is evident from many other passages in his satires, in which he adverts to his journey to Rome with equal vexation and pleasantry. Certain it is, that the munificence of the pontiff by no means corresponded with the kind and even affectionate reception which the poet experienced on his arrival. The granting him a pontifical privilege for securing to him the sole right of printing his great work, the bull for which was, as he pointedly informs us, expedited *at his own expense*, was, assuredly, no great effort of princely bounty. It is, however, evident, from the writings of Ariosto, that he possessed a considerable share of that impatience and irritability which are the usual attendants of genius. After waiting a few days at Rome, in the expectation that the pope would have made a liberal provision for one towards whom he had expressed such uncommon regard, he hastily took his departure, with a firm resolution never more to return.[46] There is, however, sufficient reason to believe, that Ariosto experienced at different times the liberality of the pontiff; and in particular, that Leo presented him with several hundred crowns towards the expense of publishing his immortal poem.[47] It is certain also that the disappointment which he has described in such lively terms, did not excite in the generous breast of Ariosto any lasting degree of animosity towards the pontiff; whom he has frequently mentioned in his subsequent writings, with the highest veneration and applause.[48]

On quitting Rome, Ariosto did not immediately return to Ferrara, but paid a visit to Florence, where he was

[46] Ariost. Sat. vii.

[47] The favours conferred by Leo on Ariosto are alluded to by Gabriello Simeoni, in his "Satira sopra l'Avarizia."

"Successe a lui *Lion* poi lume e specchio
Di cortesia, che fu la cagion prima
Che all' *Ariosto* ancor porgiamo orecchio."

Which is explained by a marginal note; "Leon X. donò all' Ariosto per fornire il suo libro più centinaja di scudi." *Vide* Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. in art. Ariost. vol. ii. p. 1063.

[48] His attachment to the family of Medici in general, and to Leo X. in particular, appears in his beautiful canzone, on the death of Giuliano de' Medici.

present at the rejoicings which took place in that city on the elevation of Leo X. He remained there at least six months, and probably a much longer time; attracted by the air and situation of the place, the beauty of the women, and the manners of the inhabitants; and on his departure, celebrated in an exquisite poem the opportunities of enjoyment which it afforded him, and which it seems were sufficient to banish all anxieties but those of love.[49] On his arrival at Ferrara he again attached himself to the service of the cardinal Ippolito; which, however, did not prevent his finishing the poem on which he had been so long employed, and which he published at Ferrara in the year 1515. If Ariosto was disappointed in the conduct of Leo X. he had much more reason to complain of the illiberality and insensibility of his great patron the cardinal, to whom he has inscribed his work in terms of such high commendation; but who, instead of affording him any recompense for his labours, inquired from him, with the indifference of a stupid curiosity, where he had collected together such a number of absurdities.[50] This reproof, which was not counterbalanced by any act of kindness on the part of the cardinal, greatly affected the poet; who, in the second edition of his poem, expressed his sense of it by an *Impresa* or device, in which he has represented a serpent, towards which a hand is stretched out attempting with a pair of shears to cut off its head, and surrounded by the motto, *Pro bono malum.* This device, in which he seems to have alluded to the supposed healing power of the serpent, he exchanged in the next edition

Ariosto visits Florence.

[49] "Gentil Città, che con felici auguri."
Rime di Ariosto, p. 40. Ed. Vinegia, 1557.

[50] *Dove, diavolo, Messer Lodovico, avete pigliate tante coglionerie.* Mazzuchelli has altered, in some degree, the phraseology of the cardinal, who, according to his narrative, inquired from Ariosto, *Donde mai avesse egli trovate tante minchionerie.* Scrittori d'Ital. vol. ii. p. 1069; but there is reason to believe, that the anecdote is well-founded, and that the merits of Ariosto, like those of Milton, and of all others whose genius has been superior to the character of the age, were not sufficiently acknowledged in his lifetime. Doni, la Zucca, p. 105. Ap. Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. vol. ii. p. 1069. P. Aretino, in a letter to Dolce, relates, that an expression similar to that made use of by the cardinal, had been applied by one of his servants to the paraphrase of Aretino, of the seven penitential psalms. "Un mio servitor, sentendo leggere i miei salmi, disse, *mi non so ù Diavolo il padron si catti tante bagatelle.*" Note, M. de la Monnoye. Baillet, Jugemens des Sçavans, vol. iv. p. 48.

for one which he perhaps thought would be more generally understood, and represented his lost labours by the emblem of a hive of bees, which are destroyed with flame for the purpose of robbing them of their honey.[51]

Deprived of his stipend by the cardinal Ippolito d'Este.

In the year 1518, the cardinal Ippolito d'Este undertook a journey to Hungary, on which he expected to be accompanied by the most eminent persons in his court, and among the rest by Ariosto. The poet was not, however, inclined to make such a sacrifice of his time, of which he well knew the value, or of his health, which was then in a precarious state, to the gratification of a person who appears not to have merited his attachment. By his refusal, he not only lost the favour of the cardinal, but incurred his resentment, which he manifested by depriving the poet of the pitiful stipend of twenty-five crowns, which it seems the cardinal allowed him every four months, but which he had not always the good fortune to obtain. This event supplied Ariosto with the subject of his first satire, in which he has treated it with the most severe pleasantry, the most attractive simplicity, and the most inimitable wit; avowing his resolution to maintain the independence both of his person and mind, and to withdraw from the vexations of a court to the retirement of private life. He accordingly quitted Ferrara and took up his residence in his native district of Reggio, attending only to his own studies and amusements; where he remained until the death of the cardinal.[52]

Establishes his residence at Ferrara.

The loss of his patron seems to have been the commencement of the good fortune of Ariosto. Immediately after that event he was again called to Ferrara by the duke Alfonso, who appears to have been desirous of repairing the neglect of his brother, and who appointed Ariosto to a respectable situation in his court, without requiring from him any attendance which might interfere with his studies. The liberality of the

[51] These emblems have been perpetuated on the reverse of two different medals, representing the effigies of the poet. They are both given in the Museum Mazzuchellianum, vol. i. p. 209, tab. 37.

[52] To this happy period of his life he alludes in his fourth satire.

duke soon enabled Ariosto to erect for himself a house in the city of Ferrara, in the front of which he placed an inscription suitable to the modest mansion of a poet, and consistent with the moderation and independence of his own character.[53] In this residence, and in the gardens attached to it, he devoted himself with fresh ardour to his literary pursuits; he composed the additional cantos of his Orlando, and versified his two comedies of the "Cassaria" and the "Suppositi," which he had in his youth written in prose. Soon after the death of Leo X. his leisure was for a short time interrupted by a mission to the district of Garfagnana, a part of the territory of Ferrara, whither he was sent by the duke to appease, by his discretion and authority, a tumult among the inhabitants, in which his efforts had the desired success;[54] but the city of Ferrara continued to be his chief residence until the time of his death, which happened on the sixth day of June, 1533, after he had attained the fifty-ninth year of his age.

On a work so well known, and so universally read, as the "Orlando Furioso,"[55] any observations would now be superfluous.[56] Like most of the eminent scholars of the age, Ariosto devoted a portion of

Effects of his writings on the taste of Europe

[53] The centre of the *facciata* of the house has the following inscription:—

PARVA, SED APTA MIHI; SED NULLI OBNOXIA; SED NON SORDIDA; PARTA MEO SED TAMEN ÆRE DOMUS.

On the highest part of the front is inscribed,

SIC. DOMUS. HÆC
AREOSTEA
PROPITIOS
DEOS. HABEAT. OLIM. UT
PINDARICA.

[54] To this mission Ariosto alludes in his fourth satire, in which he laments the interruption which it had occasioned to his studies, and his absence from his mistress. He admits that his employment is both honourable and profitable, but alleges that he is in the situation of the cock that found a diamond, or of the Venetian nobleman to whom the king of Portugal made a present of an Arabian horse.

[55] For an account of the various editions of this celebrated poem, after its first publication in Ferrara, per Lodovico Mazziocco, in 1516, 4to, I must refer to the bibliographers and literary historians of Italy, and especially to Mazzuchelli, who has particularized no less than sixty-seven editions, down to the year 1753; of which the best is allowed to be that with the designs of Girolamo Porro, Venice, appresso Francesco di Franceschi, 1584, 4to. For much additional and valuable information respecting the editions of the "Orlando Furioso," the reader may consult the note of Count Bossi, Ital. Ed. vol. vii. p. 288.

[56] The "Satires" of Ariosto were not published until after the death of their

his leisure to Latin composition; but although some of his productions in this language have considerable merit,[57] it is on his writings in his native tongue that his permanent reputation is founded. On taking a general view of the poets of this period, we immediately perceive that Ariosto occupies the first station, and that had it been deprived of the splendour of his talents, a considerable diminution must have been made from the glory of the age. The fertility of his invention, the liveliness of his imagery, the natural ease and felicity of his diction, give a charm to his compositions which arrests the attention and interests the feelings of the reader, in a degree not experienced from the productions of any of his contemporaries. Whilst the other writers of Italy were devoting their talents to the close imitation of Petrarca, and to the mere elegances of expression, he allowed himself a wider range, and poured forth the ideas of his creative fancy in his own attractive and forcible language. Hence the genius of Ariosto is not presented to us in the fashionable garb of the day, but in its own natural and becoming dress, which appears equally graceful and appropriate at all times and in all places. By the example of Bembo, the Italians would have written with correctness and with elegance, but they would have been read only by their own countrymen. The delicate and attenuated sentiment which gives its faint animation to their writings, is lost when an attempt is made to transfuse it into another language; but the bold and vigorous ideas of Ariosto bear without injury all change of climate; and his works have

author, in 1533. This edition is entitled, "LE SATIRE di M. Ludovico Ariosto volgari. In terza rima, di nuovo Stampate, del Mese di Octobre, M.D.XXXIIII.," from which it might be inferred they had before been printed, if it were not known that this is the frequent phraseology of the printers of this period, and that many instances occur where it has been used, when the work has never before undergone the press. These satires have been inserted in the lists of books prohibited by the Roman see, but this has not prevented the publication of many subsequent editions, some of which have been printed in Venice at different times, as well separately as with his lyric pieces and other works.

[57] The Latin poems of Ariosto, divided into two books, were collected and published by Giov. Batt. Pigna, together with his own poems and those of Celio Calcagnini, at Venice, *ex officina Erasmiana*, by Vincentio Valgrisi, in 1553, 8vo. Giraldi denominates them, *ingeniosa sed duriuscula*. De Poet. suor. temp. dial. i. Some of them appear in various collections, and particularly in the Carm. Illustr. Poet. Ital. vol. i. p. 342.

contributed more than those of any other author to diffuse a true poetical spirit throughout Europe.[58]

The applause bestowed upon those whose labours contributed to restore the purity of the Italian tongue, must not, however, be confined to one sex only. At no former period of society had the spirit of literature been so generally diffused; and at no period have its female admirers proved themselves more accomplished proficients or more formidable rivals. Among those who at this time distinguished themselves by their talents, two are conspicuously eminent; not only for their high rank, extraordinary acquirements, and excellent literary productions, but for the unsullied purity of their character, and for all the virtues which add lustre to their sex. These are Vittoria Colonna, marchioness of Pescara, and Veronica Gambara, countess of Correggio.

Vittoria Colonna.

Vittoria Colonna was the daughter of the celebrated commander, Fabrizio Colonna, grand constable of the kingdom of Naples, by Anna di Montefeltro, the daughter of Federigo, duke of Urbino. She was born about the year 1490, and when only four years of age was destined to be the future bride of Ferdinando d'Avalos, marquis of Pescara, then very little further advanced in life. The extraordinary endowments both of person and of mind, with which she was favoured by nature, aided by a diligent and virtuous education, rendered her the object of general admiration, and her hand was repeatedly sought in marriage by several of the independent sovereigns of Italy. Happily, however, the early choice of the parents was confirmed by the mutual attachment of their offspring, and at the age of seventeen she became the wife of a man, who by his great endowments, unshaken fidelity, and heroic valour, merited such a partner. A perfect conformity of temper and of excellence was the pledge of their conjugal affection; but the contests which distracted Italy soon called the marquis from his domestic enjoyments, and at the battle of Ravenna, where he had the command of the cavalry, he was dangerously wounded, and led, with the cardinal de' Medici, after-

[58] On this passage Count Bossi has given a note, which well merits the attention of the Italian reader. Ital. Ed. vol. vii. p. 55, note (*a*).*

wards Leo X., a prisoner to Milan. Whilst confined in the castle of that place, and prevented by his wounds from bodily exercise, he devoted his hours to study; the result of which appeared in a dialogue *on Love*, addressed to his wife, which we are assured was replete with good sense, eloquence, and wit. He was at length liberated from his confinement by the friendly interference of the marshal Trivulzio; and by the active part which he afterwards took in the military affairs of the time, and the many engagements in which he was victorious, acquired the highest character among the Italian leaders. Having entered into the service of the emperor, he commanded at the battle of Pavia, in which Francis I. was made prisoner; where he distinguished himself no less by his magnanimity and humanity, than by his prudence and intrepidity, to which the success of the Imperialists has usually been attributed.[59] This event he did not, however, long survive, having fallen a sacrifice to his military fatigues and the consequences of his wounds. He died at Milan in the month of December, 1525, after a short but glorious life, which has afforded ample materials for the historian.[60] This fatal event blighted all the hopes of his consort; nor did her sorrow admit of any alleviation, except such as she found in celebrating the character and the virtues of her husband, and recording their mutual affection in her tender and exquisite verse. Soon after his death she retired to the island of Ischia, refusing to listen to those proposals of other nuptials, which, as she had no offspring, her friends were desirous that she should accept. In her retirement she appears to have acquired a strong religious cast of character, which did not, however, prevent her from exercising her poetical talents, although she from this time devoted them chiefly to sacred subjects. Her exemplary conduct, and the uncommon merit of her writings, rendered her the general theme of applause among the most distinguished poets and learned men of the

[59] His generosity and attention to the celebrated chevalier Bayard, who fell in an engagement at Biagrassa, in the year 1524, are recorded by Dr. Robertson, in his Life of Charles V. book iii. vol. ii. p. 203.

[60] Jovius has written the life of this distinguished commander, in seven books, which comprise the history of the principal military events of the time.

time, with many of whom she maintained a friendly epistolary intercourse.[61] She was also a warm admirer of the great artist Michel-Agnolo, who designed for her several excellent pieces, the ideas of which have been preserved by the engraver;[62] and who appears to have enjoyed her favour and friendship in an eminent degree; she having on several occasions quitted her residence at Viterbo, to which place she retired some years before her death, and made excursions to Rome for no other purpose than that of enjoying his society. This affectionate attachment, equally honourable to both parties, was at other times supported by an epistolary intercourse. To her Michel-Agnolo has also addressed several of his sonnets, which yet remain, and in which his admiration of her beauty and accomplishments is tempered by the most profound respect for her character.[63] It is a singular anecdote, preserved by Condivi, that this eminent man paid her a visit in the last moments of her life; and that he afterwards expressed his extreme regret, that he had not on that occasion kissed her face or her forehead, as well as her hand. After having lived until the year 1547, she terminated her days at Rome; not having taken upon her any religious profession, and not indeed without having given rise to some suspicion that she was inclined to the doctrines of the reformed church.[64]

[61] Among these were Beazzano, Flaminio, Molza, the cardinals Contarini, Bembo, and Pole; most of whom have celebrated her in their writings.

[62] One of these pieces represents Christ just taken from the cross, and sinking on the knees of his mother. This work has frequently been copied in paintings which are erroneously supposed to be the production of Michel-Agnolo, and has also been engraved. Bottari, Note al Vasari, vol. iii. p. 314; *et vide* Condivi, Vita di M. A. Buonarotti, p. 53, where this piece is fully described, and where it appears that the artist inscribed on the cross the following line:

Non vi si pensa quanto sangue costa.

He also designed for her a figure of Christ on the cross, and another of Christ at the well with the woman of Samaria, which has also been engraved. Vasari, *ut sup.* My late lamented friend, Mr. Fuseli, in one of his letters to me, has observed respecting the above passage, that "there seems to be some inconsistency in it, as no trace of any work of sculpture executed by *Michel-Agnolo* for Vittoria Colonna exists." I do not perceive that I have stated, that the works referred to were in sculpture, but have expressly characterised them as having been *designs*, or *drawings*. One of these subjects, that of Christ at the well with the woman of Samaria, executed by *Michel-Agnolo*, on panel, in *chiaro-scuro*, (two feet six inches high, by one foot eleven inches wide,) formerly in the collection at *Capo di Monte*, afterwards came into my possession, and is now deposited in the collection of the Liverpool Royal Institution.

[63] Condivi, Vita di M. A. Buonarotti, p. 53.

[64] In one of the poems of Michel-Agnolo, addressed to the Marchesana, he

Among the Italian writers who have revived in their works the style of Petrarca, Vittoria Colonna is entitled to the first rank; and her sonnets, many of which are addressed to the shade of her departed husband, or relate to the state of her own mind, possess more vigour of thought, vivacity of colouring, and natural pathos, than are generally to be found among the disciples of that school.[65] Her *Canzone*, or monody to the memory of her departed husband, is, however, more deservedly celebrated, and is certainly in no respect inferior to that of Bembo on the death of his brother Carlo; but perhaps the most favourable specimen of her talents appears in her *Stanze*, or verses in *ottava rima*,[66] which in simplicity, harmony, and

Her writings.

laments the fluctuating state of his religious sentiments, and calls upon her to direct him in his spiritual concerns. Rime del Buonarotti, p. 69. Ed. Firen. 1726. 8vo. He also wrote a sonnet on her death, which manifests the sorrow which he felt on that occasion, and the sacred affection with which he regarded her memory. Rime, p. 70. The grounds upon which suspicions were entertained of the inclination of Vittoria Colonna to the cause of the Reformation, which I had omitted to mention, have been amply stated by both the German and Italian translators of the present work. *Vide* Germ. Ed. vol ii. p. 38; Ital. Ed. vol. xii. p. 223. The importance attached to a strict adherence to the church, in so eminent a character as Vittoria Colonna, has led Count Bossi to observe, that "I ought either to have omitted to notice this imputation altogether, or to have stated, (as Tiraboschi has attempted to shew,) that it was thrown out on her memory by *protestant* writers, without any foundation in fact." But the fact is, I did not think she stood in need of any apology for sentiments which did honour to the independence of her character. On this occasion we may, however, appeal to Mr. Henke, who, after stating that the suspicions attached to Vittoria Colonna, depend on the testimony of De Thou, Hist. lib. xxxix., where it is said, *in pravitatis sectariæ suspicionem incidit;* or rather upon conjectures arising from her friendly connexions and correspondence with Flaminio, who openly shewed himself favourable to the cause of reform, has justly observed, that "at that period, *piety*, divested of blind superstition, drew down upon many persons in Italy the suspicion that they favoured the cause of the reformers, whilst the wildest infidelity and levity of conduct was a reproach to no one, if he only *conformed* to the established creed;" and further, that "the more noble and elevated were the sentiments embraced by women of high rank in Italy at this period, the more liable were they to be suspected of what was there denominated the *German* heresy;" for examples of which Mr. Henke has referred to Gerdesii, Italia Reformata, p. 155.

[65] Of the poems of Vittoria Colonna, four editions were printed in her lifetime. They were first collected by Filippo Pirogallo, and published, without her knowledge, at Parma, in 1538, reprinted in 1539, without note of place or printer; and again at Florence in the last-mentioned year, with the addition of sixteen spiritual sonnets. The fourth edition is that of Venice, 1544, with the addition of twenty-four spiritual sonnets, and her celebrated *Stanze*. They were also republished after her death, particularly by Lodovico Dolce, in 1552, at Venice; and again at the same place by Girolamo Ruscelli, with the exposition or commentary of Rinaldo Corso, in 1558. Her "Pianto sopra la passione di Cristo," with other sacred poems, was also printed at Bologna, per Antonio Manuzio, 1557, and at Venice, *presso i figliuoli d'Aldo*, in 1561. *Vide* Zeno, Note al Fontanini. Bib. Ital. ii. 95

[66] This piece was probably addressed to Filiberta of Savoy, the wife of

elegance of style, equal the productions of any of her contemporaries, and in lively description and genuine poetry excel them all; excepting only those of the inimitable Ariosto.

Veronica Gambara was the daughter of the count Gian-Francesco Gambara, by his wife Alda Pia of Carpi, and was married in 1509, to Giberto X. lord of Correggio, whom she survived many years, devoting herself to the education of her two sons Ippolito and Girolamo, the latter of whom obtained the dignity of a cardinal of the Roman church. Her natural disposition, the course of her education. and above all, perhaps, the instructions and advice of Pietro Bembo, led her in her youth to devote a part of her leisure to the cultivation of her poetical talents, which through all the vicissitudes of her future life, was her occasional amusement.[67] In the year 1528, she left Correggio to reside at Bologna with her brother Uberto, on whom Clement VII. had conferred the office of governor of that city. Here she established in her house a kind of academy, which was frequented by Bembo, Molza, Mauro, Capello, and other eminent men who then resided at the Roman court. She afterwards returned to Correggio, where she had the honour of receiving as her guest the emperor Charles V. Her life was prolonged until the year 1550. Her writings, which had been dispersed in various collections of the time, were collected and published at Brescia in 1759, and although inferior in elegance and polish to those of Vittoria Colonna, display a peculiar originality and vivacity, both in sentiment and language, which raise them far above those insipid effusions, which under the name of sonnets at this time inundated Italy.[68] The mutual esteem and admiration that subsisted between these accomplished women, is recorded in their writings. Their example excited the emulation of many competitors among their own

Veronica Gambara.

Giuliano de' Medici, and seems to have been written in the early part of the life of its illustrious author, during the pontificate of Leo X. although not inserted in the first editions of her works.

[67] Tirab. vii. iii. 47.

[68] Her life was written by Rinaldo Corso, and published at Ancona in 1556. A more full account of her is given by the Dott. Baldassare Camillo Zamboni, prefixed to her works, edited by him in 1759, to which edition he has added her letters, which, we are informed, are highly estimable for the natural and easy elegance of their style.

sex, and the *Rimatrici* of the sixteenth century may be considered as little inferior, either in number or in merit, to the *Rimatori*. Of these, some of the most distinguished are Costanza d'Avalos, duchess of Amalfi,[69] a few of whose sonnets, of no inferior merit, are united to the works of Vittoria Colonna in the edition of Sessa, 1558; Tullia d'Aragona, the illegitimate offspring of Pietro Tagliavia, a cardinal of the church, and himself an illegitimate descendant of the royal house of Aragon;[70] Laura Terracina, a Neapolitan lady, whose numerous poetical works have frequently been printed;[71] Gaspara Stampa of Padua, ranked among the best poets of her time,[72] and Laura Battiferra of

Costanza d'Avalos.

Tullia d'Aragona.

[69] Daughter of Innico d'Avalos, marquis del Vasto. "I pochi versi, che del suo leggiamo, ricolmi sono egualmente di grazia, di vaghezza, di purità, e d'eleganza, e ricchi di gravissimi sentimenti e di pietà Cristiana." Crescimb. Istor. della volgar poes. vol. ii. p. 400. *Vide* Mazzuchelli, vol. ii. p. 1223.

[70] The offspring of love, Tullia, is said not to have been insensible to his dictates. Her attractions, both of person and mind, are celebrated by the most distinguished wits and scholars of the time, almost all of whom were proud to enrol themselves among her admirers. The principal work of Tullia is her poem in *ottava rima*, entitled, "Il Meschino, detto Guerino," in twenty-six cantos, printed at Venice in 1560, quarto; which is said by Crescimbeni, vol. i. p. 341, to rival the "Odyssey" in the disposition of its parts; but other critics have formed a different judgment. Her dialogue, "Dell' Infinità d'Amore," was printed at Venice, in 1547. Among her admirers who have addressed her in their verses, we find the cardinal Ippolito, son of Giuliano de' Medici, Francesco-Maria Molza, Ercole Bentivoglio, Filippo Strozzi, Alessandro Arrighi, Lattanzio Benucci, and Benedetto Varchi; but the person who adored her beyond all the rest, and who has dedicated a great part of his compositions to her praise, was the celebrated Girolamo Muzio. Her poems were published at Venice, *presso il Giolito*, 1547, and have frequently been reprinted, accompanied with at least an equal number of sonnets and other poems in her praise. Among these compositions, one of the sonnets of the cardinal de' Medici is deserving of particular approbation; but her own pieces are seldom inferior in spirit and elegance to those of her numerous panegyrists.

[71] At Venice, 1548, 1549, 1550, and 1554, and again, corrected by Domenichi, in 1560. Among the friends and patrons to whom they are addressed, we find Ercole Bentivoglio, Luigi Tansillo, Lodovico Domenichi, Bernardino Rota, and Vittoria Colonna; some of whom have honoured her in return with their commendations. In the "Ragguagli di Parnaso," of Boccalini, Cent. ii. Ragg. 35, is a satirical relation of the supposed marriage of Laura Terracina with the poet Francesco Mauro, who, soon after his marriage, became jealous of his wife, on account of a *garter* which she wore, studded with jewels; which she had received as a present from Edward VI. of England, *in return for her devotion towards him*; a circumstance which so exasperated Mauro, that he cut the throat of his wife, *with a prohibited verse of six syllables, which he carried at his side.* A great tumult arose in Parnassus, which Apollo allayed by a speech; the object of which seems to be to satirize the order of the garter, and to compare the favours conferred by sovereigns on the subjects of other princes, to the presents given by lovers to other men's wives.

[72] Tirab. vii. iii. 49. Many of her poems are addressed to the Count of Col-

Urbino,[73] represented by her contemporaries as the rival of Sappho in the elegance of her writings, and much her superior in the modesty and decorum of her life.

To the time of Leo X. is to be referred the perfecting of the jocose Italian satire, which originated in Florence towards the close of the preceding century. The credit of reviving this whimsical style of composition, and rendering it in the highest degree lively and entertaining, is due to the eccentric genius of Francesco Berni, whence it has been denominated *La Poesia Bernesca*. In this undertaking he had, however, some coadjutors of no inconsiderable talents, and in particular Francesco Mauro and Gian-Francesco Bini, whose works have usually been united with his own, to which in vivacity and humour they are little inferior. The character of Berni was as singular as his writings. He was born at Lamporecchio, a small town in the Tuscan state, of a noble, although reduced, family, and was sent, whilst very young, to Florence, where he remained until he had attained his nineteenth year, and where he probably imbibed from the works of the Pulci, Franco, and Lorenzo de' Medici, the earliest taste for that style of composition by which he afterwards so greatly distinguished himself. About the year 1517, he repaired to Rome and entered into the service of the cardinal Bernardo da Bibbiena, to whom he was in some degree related, and from whom he entertained hopes of preferment which were not realized. After the death of Bernardo, he attached himself to his nephew, the cardinal Angelo da Bibbiena, but with no greater advantage, and was at length obliged to accept the office of secretary to Giammatteo Ghiberti, bishop of Verona, who then held the important station of datary to the Roman see. Having

Poesia Bernesca.

Francesco Berni.

lalto, of whom she was passionately enamoured, and whose marriage to another lady she did not long survive, having died in 1554, about the thirtieth year of her age. Her poems were published by her surviving sister Cassandra, soon after her death, but were not reprinted till the year 1738; when they were again published by Antonio Rambaldo di Conti, count of Collalto, a descendant of the nobleman to whom they were so ineffectually addressed by their unfortunate author.

[73] She became the wife of the celebrated Florentine sculptor, Bartolommeo Ammanati. Her works were first published at Florence, *appresso i Giunti*, in 1560. Mazzuchelli and Tiraboschi have collected numerous testimonies of her contemporaries to her merits.

now taken the ecclesiastical habit, Berni was occasionally employed by Ghiberti in missions to his more distant benefices, and frequently accompanied the bishop on his journeys through Italy; but the fatigues of business, and the habits of regularity were irksome to him, and he sought for relief in the society of the muses, who generally brought both Bacchus and Venus in their train. Being at length preferred to the affluent and easy station of a canon of Florence, he retired to that city, where he was much more distinguished by the eccentricity of his conduct and the pungency of his satire, than by the regularity of his life. Such was his aversion to a state of servitude, if we may credit the humorous passages in which he has professedly drawn his own character, that he no sooner received a command from his patron, than he felt an invincible reluctance to comply with it. He delighted not in music, dancing, gaming, or hunting; his sole pleasure consisting in having nothing to do, and stretching himself at full length in his bed. His chief exercise was to eat a little and then compose himself to sleep, and after sleep to eat again. He observed neither days nor almanacks; and his servants were ordered to bring him no news, whether good or bad. These exaggerations, among many others yet more extravagant, may at least be admitted as a proof that Berni was fond of his ease, and that his writings were rather the amusement of his leisure than a serious occupation.

The death of Berni is said to have been occasioned by the jealous enmity which subsisted between the duke Alessandro and the cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, each of whom is supposed to have contended with the other, which should first destroy his rival by poison. One of them, if we may believe this story, was desirous of engaging the assistance of Berni, and he having refused to join in so detestable a project, fell a victim to the revenge of his patron, by a death of similar treachery. On this it may be sufficient to observe, that the cardinal died in the month of August, 1535, and that Berni survived him at least until the month of July, 1536. We may therefore conclude with certainty, that he was not poisoned by the cardinal, and with scarcely less

certainty that he was not poisoned by Alessandro, for not having concurred in the destruction of a rival who had then been dead nearly twelve months.[74]

Character of his writings.

Of the style of composition adopted by Berni and his associates, it is not easy to convey an adequate idea, as its excellence consists rather in the simplicity of the diction, and the sweetness of the Tuscan idiom, than in that sterling wit and vigorous sentiment which bear to be transfused into another language. Of all writers, those whose merit depends on what is called humour are the most local. That which in one country is received with admiration and delight, may in another be considered as insipid or contemptible. To enjoy these writings in their full extent, some degree of acquaintance is necessary with the manners and peculiarities of the inhabitants, even of the lower classes, and perhaps the delicacy and flavour of them can never be fully perceived except by a native. These observations may be applied in different degrees, not only to the works of Berni, Bini, and Mauro, but to the Capitoli and satires of Giovanni della Casa, Agnolo Firenzuola, Francesco-Maria Molza, Pietro Nelli, who assumed the name of Andrea da Bergamo, and a long train of other writers, who have signalized themselves in this mode of composition.[75] That these early productions led the way to a similar eccentricity of style in other countries, is not improbable, and perhaps the most characteristic idea of the writings of Berni and his associates, may be obtained by considering them to be in lively and unaffected verse, what the works of Rabelais, of Cervantes, and of Sterne, are in prose.[76]

[74] Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. in art. Berni, vol. iv. p. 956.

[75] The "Opere Burlesche" of Berni and others, after some of them had been separately published, were collected by Anton-Francesco Grazzini, called "Il Lasca," and published by the Giunti at Florence, vol. i. 1548, 1550, vol. ii. 1555, octavo. They have been frequently reprinted since, but generally in a mutilated and imperfect manner. The most complete and best edition is that of which the first and second volumes bear the date of London, 1723, and the third, of Florence in the same year, but which were, in fact, printed at Naples; and this edition is cited as one of the *Testi di lingua* by the academicians Della Crusca.

[76] "A blessing," says Sancho, "on him who first invented sleep; it wraps a man all round like a cloak." Thus Berni, almost a century before Cervantes, on the same subject:

"Quella

It is, however, much to be regretted, that a great part of these compositions are remarkable for a degree of indecency and profaneness, which requires all the wit and elegance of the original, and perhaps more sympathy with such subjects than an untainted mind should feel, to prevent their being read without disapprobation or disgust. It can, therefore, occasion no surprise, that these pieces, many of which have been written by men of high ecclesiastical rank, should have brought some degree of disgrace upon the Roman church. One of the productions, in this style of writing, of Giovanni della Casa, archbishop of Benevento, and for some time inquisitor at Venice, has been singled out as a particular instance of depravity, but many examples at least equally flagrant might have been produced. Even the writings of Berni contain passages, and indeed whole pieces, not less gross and licentious than the work which has given rise to so much reprehension.[77]

That Berni was not, however, so entirely devoted to indolence, as we might, from the character which he has chosen to give of himself, be induced to believe, may sufficiently appear from his numerous writings, and particularly from his having reformed and new-modelled the extensive poem of "Orlando Innamorato" of the count Bojardo. This work he is said to have

His Orlando Innamorato.

> "Quella diceva ch' era la più bella
> Arte, il più bel mestier che si facesse;
> Il letto er' una veste, una gonella
> Ad ognun buona che se la mettesse."
>
> Orl. Innam. lib. iii. cant. vii.

[77] The work alluded to of Giovanni della Casa, in his "Capitolo del Forno," published with his *terze rime*, in the "Opere Burlesche" of Berni and others, in three volumes. This piece has given rise to an infinite number of errors and misrepresentations, that have stained the memory of this most accomplished scholar and elegant writer with uncommon odium. From these accusations, he has been defended with great ability by M. Menage, in his "Anti-Baillet," par. ii. sec. 119. That he was himself, however, extremely sensible of the reproaches which he had incurred, appears from his exquisite Latin lines, addressed *Ad Germanos*, in which he has endeavoured to justify himself, by alleging that these obnoxious verses were written in the more thoughtless days of his youth, and that he had compensated for them by the regularity, industry, and continency of his future life and conduct; for which he refers to Bembo, Flaminio, and his other friends. His example may be a lesson to young writers, to be cautious how they produce

> "One line which dying they would wish to blot."

The works of Casa were collected and published in five volumes, quarto, Venice, 1728. Both his verse and prose may be esteemed among the purest models of the Italian tongue.

undertaken in competition with the "Orlando Furioso" of Ariosto, which has given occasion to accuse Berni of presumption and of ignorance; but Berni was too well acquainted with the nature of his own talents, which involuntarily led him towards the burlesque and the ridiculous, to suppose, that in serious composition he could emulate that great man. He has, however, both in this and other parts of his writings, shewn that he could occasionally elevate his style, and the introductory verses to each canto of the "Orlando Innamorato," which are generally his own composition, are not the least admired, nor the least valuable parts of the work. That the alterations of Berni raised the poem of Bojardo into more general notice, may be conjectured from the various editions of the reformed work which issued from the press soon after its first appearance, and which are yet sought after with avidity.[78] The task which Berni thus completed, was also undertaken by several of his contemporaries, and in particular by Teofilo Folengi, and Lodovico Dolce; neither of whom brought their labours to a termination. It appears also, that Pietro Aretino had formed an intention of devoting himself to this task, which, however, he afterwards relinquished; and if we may be allowed to judge from the specimen given of his epic talents in his poem of "Marfisa," the world has sustained no loss by his determination.

Yet more extravagant than the writings of Berni, are those of his contemporary Teofilo Folengi, of Mantua, better known by his assumed name of *Merlino Coccajo*. He was also an ecclesiastic, having in the year 1507, when only sixteen years of age, entered into the order of Benedictines, on which occasion he relinquished his baptismal name of *Girolamo*, and took that of *Teofilo*. His religious vows did not, however, extinguish his amorous

Teofilo Folengi.

[78] The first of these editions is that of the Giunti, in 1541, quarto. It was also published at Milan *nelle case d'Andrea Calvo*, 1542, quarto, with the privilege of the pope, and the state of Venice; and again at Venice, in 1545, *con la Giunta di molte stanze*, which are, however, of little importance. Another edition is said to have been published at Venice, per Girolamo Scotto, in 1548. Quadrio, iv. 554. Mazzuch. iv. 992, but this I conceive to be the "Orlando Innamorato," as reformed by Lodovico Dominichi; at least a copy of the latter work by the same printer, and in the same year, is in my possession. The more modern edition, with the date of Florence, 1725, but in fact printed at Naples, is considered as the most correct.

passions, and a violent attachment which he soon afterwards formed for a young lady named Girolama Dieda, induced him to desert his monastery. After passing for several years an irregular and wandering life, he published his macaronic poems, in which, by a singular mixture of the Latin and Italian with the various dialects of the populace, and by applying the forms of one language to the phrases of another, he has produced a kind of mongrel tongue, which, from its singularity and capricious variety, has attracted both admirers and imitators.[79] How it was possible for a person possessed of the talents and learning by which Folengi was undoubtedly distinguished, to sacrifice to these compositions such a portion of time as they must from their number and prolixity have required, it is not easy to conceive, and certainly a much smaller specimen might have satisfied the curiosity of most of his readers. It has, indeed, been said, that it was his first intention to compose an epic poem in Latin, which should far surpass the "Æneid;" but finding, from the decision of his friends, that he had scarcely rivalled the Roman bard, he committed his poem to the flames, and began to amuse himself with these extravagant compositions; some of which, however, occasionally display such a vivacity of imagery and description, and contain passages of so much poetical merit, that if he had devoted himself to more serious compositions, he might probably have ranked with the first Latin poets of the age. In the year 1526, Folengi, under the name of *Limerno Pitocco*, published in Italian his burlesque epic poem of

His macaronic poems and other works.

[79] Tiraboschi informs us that the first edition is that of Venice, in 1519, but Fontanini and Zeno have cited an edition containing his eclogues, and the first seventeen books of his poem of Baldo, printed at Venice in 1517, 8vo. They were afterwards reprinted at Venice in 1520; and by Alexander Paganini, TUSCULANI APUD LACUM BENACENSEM, in 1521, ornamented with grotesque prints from blocks of wood. Folengi afterwards reformed and altered this work, for the purpose of correcting its satirical tendency, and a new edition was printed, without note of year, place, or printer, but which was printed at Venice in 1530. The edition of 1521 is, however, considered as the best, and has been the usual model of those since reprinted, particularly that of Venice, *apud Joannem Variscum et Socios*, 1573. A splendid edition of the "Macaronics" of Folengi, in two vols, 4to, was published at Mantua in 1768 and 1771, with the life of the author by Gianagostino Gradenigo, bishop of Ceneda. Of the origin of the macaronic style, as well in France and Germany as in Italy, some additional and curious particulars are given by Count Bossi, in his notes and documents to the Italian translation. *Vide* vol. vii. pp. 295, 297, 347; vol. xii. p. 226.*

"Orlandino;" a work which discovers still more evidently the vigour of his imagination, and the facility and graces of his composition; and which, not being written in the grotesque and motley style of his former productions, may be perused with considerable pleasure.[80] It must, however, be remarked, that both this poem and his "Macaronics" abound with obscene passages; a peculiarity which seems in these times to have distinguished the productions of the ecclesiastics from those of the laity.[81] Repenting of his errors, or wearied with his disorderly conduct, Folengi soon afterwards returned to his cell, where his first occupation was to write an account of the aberrations and vicissitudes of his past life, which he printed under the title of "Chaos de tri per uno," and which is yet more capricious and extravagant than his former writings.[82] As the fire of his fancy or the ardour of his passions decreased, he turned his talents to religious subjects, and composed a poem, "Dell' Umanità del Figliuolo di Dio," which has probably attracted much fewer readers than his former works.[83] Having been appointed principal of the small monastery of

Orlandino.

[80] This poem, divided into eight cantos, has been several times reprinted after the first edition of the Sabbii, in Venice, 1526, particularly by Gregorio de' Gregori, at the same place, and in the same year: in Rimini, by Soncino, 1527 (ed. castrata), in Venice, by Sessa, 1530, and 1539, and at the same place by Bindoni, in 1550: which last edition has been counterfeited by an impression of the same date of much inferior execution. At the close is an apologetical address from the author, in which he has attempted to vindicate himself from the charge of impiety, in having satirized the clergy under the character of *Monsignore Griffarosto*; and, what was much more dangerous, in having shewn a partiality to the cause of the reformers. *Vide* Zeno, annot. al. Fontan. i. 303.

[81] Bossi has endeavoured to invalidate the above observation, as bearing too hard upon the ecclesiastics, by observing that in those times almost all young men of talents, not destined by their rank to a military life, were devoted to the church; and that even such of the laity as distinguished themselves in literature frequently took upon themselves the habit of priests. Something may perhaps be conceded to this remark; but after all, the fact remains as above stated, and sufficiently shews that the restraints of religion, and the rules of morality were insufficient to restrain the licentiousness of the clergy within decent bounds.*

[82] His "Triperuno" is intended to exhibit the three different periods of the life of its author, and was first printed at Venice in 1527, and again in 1546.

[83] Printed at Venice, per Aurelio Pincio, 1533. This work is divided into ten cantos, in the first of which Homer and Virgil are introduced conversing together in favour of the four Christian poets who have written on the humanity of the Son of God, who, it appears, are, il Folgo, or Folengi himself, Sanazzaro, Vida, and Scipione Capece. Folengi seems to have imbibed some of the notions of the reformers, which he did not dare more openly to avow; and like David before Achish, to have feigned himself mad, and "scrabbled on the doors of the gate, and let his spittle fall down upon his beard."

S. Maria della Ciambra, in the island of Sicily, he there, at the request of Ferrando Gonzaga, the viceroy, composed a poem in *terza rima*, divided into two books, and entitled, "La Palermita," and also three tragedies in verse on sacred subjects,[84] but these pieces have never been printed. Many other works of Folengi are noticed by his editors and biographers. His life was prolonged until the year 1544, when he died at the Priorata of Campese near Bassano, and was buried in the adjacent church of Santa Croce.

Imitations of the ancient classic writers.

Although the study of the ancient languages had long been revived in Italy, yet no idea seems to have been entertained before the time of Leo X. of improving the style of Italian composition, by a closer adherence to the regularity and purity of the Greek and Roman writers. Some efforts had, indeed, been made to transfuse the spirit, or at least the sense of these productions into the Italian tongue. The "Metamorphoses" of Ovid,[85] and the "Æneid" of the Mantuan bard,[86] had thus been translated into prose; and the "Thebaid" of Statius,[87] the "Pharsalia" of Lucan,[88] the "Satires" of Juvenal,[89] with some detached parts of the writings of Ovid,[90] and of Virgil,[91]

[84] La Cecilia, La Cristina, e La Caterina. *Vide* Zeno, Note al Fontanini, vol. i. p. 302.

[85] Translated by Giovanni Buonsignore, supposed as early as the fourteenth century, printed at Venice per Gio. Rosso. Ven. 1497. *Vide* Morelli. Bib. Pinel. vol. iv. Art. 2069. Haym. Bib. Ital. 118. 13.

[86] L'Eneida, ridotta in prosa, per Atanagio Greco. Vicenza, per Ermanno di Levilapide. 1476.

[87] Tebaide di Stazio, in ottava rima da Erasmo di Valvasone, Ven. ap. Fr. Franceschi. 1470.

[88] Lucano la Farsaglia, tradotta dal Cardinale Montichiello. Milano, per Cassano di Mantegazii. 1492. 4to.

[89] Le Satire di Giuvenale, in terza rima, da Giorgio Sommaripa, in Trevigi, 1480. fo.

[90] De arte Amandi, in terza rima, Milano, per Filippo di Montegazzi, 1494. There is also another edition, without date, which is probably the first. *Vide* Morelli. Bib. Pinel. vol. iv. p. 2071.

[91] Bucoliche di Virgilio, per Bernardo Pulci, di Latino in vulgare traducte, printed with some of the Bucolics of Francesco Arsochi, Hieronymo Benivieni et Jacopo Fiorini de Buoninsegni, Flor. per Maestro Antonio Mischomini, 1494. I must observe, that Mr. Warton is not correct in asserting, that Virgil's Bucolics were translated into Italian by Bernardo Pulci, Fossa de Cremona, Benivieni, and Fiorini Buoninsegni. Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. ii. p. 256. The only translators of Virgil being Bernardo Pulci and Evangelista Fossa; and the Bucolics of Benivieni and Buoninsegni being original compositions. The translation of Fossa is entitled, "Bucholica Vulgare de Virgilio, composta per el Clarissimo Pocta Frati Evangelista Fossa de Cremona, del ordine di Servi. MCCCCLXXXXIV. in Venetia." The translation is in *terza rima*, but extremely rude and incorrect.

had been translated into Italian verse; but in so rude and unskilful a manner, as to produce, like a bad mirror, rather a caricature than a resemblance. As the Italian scholars became more intimately acquainted with the works of the ancients, they began to feel the influence of their taste, and to imbibe some portion of their spirit. No longer satisfied with the humble and laborious task of translating these authors, they with a laudable emulation endeavoured to rival the boasted remains of ancient genius by productions of a similar kind in their native tongue. In order to attain an equality with their great models, they ventured also to discard the shackles of rhyme, and to introduce a kind of measure which should depend for its effect on the elevation and harmony of its language, and on the variety of its pauses, rather than on the continual recurrence of similar sounds. The person who is entitled to the chief credit of having formed, and in some degree executed, this commendable design, is the learned Gian-Giorgio Trissino; and although his powers as a poet were inadequate to the task which he had imposed upon them, yet the chaste and classical style which was thus introduced, has given rise to some of the most correct and pleasing productions in the Italian tongue.

Trissino.

Trissino was born of a noble family at Vicenza, in the year 1478, and for some time received instructions from the celebrated Greek, Demetrius Chalcondyles, at Milan.[92] On the death of his wife, of whom he was early in life deprived, he repaired to Rome, where he obtained the particular favour of Leo X., who employed him on several important missions; and in particular, to the emperor Maximilian. The *versi sciolti*, or blank verse of the Italian language, was first employed by Trissino in his tragedy of "Sofonisba;" and is certainly much better calculated than either the *terza rima*, or the *ottava stanza*, to works of length. The same mode of versification was, however, employed about the same time by several men of considerable talents, and an eminent Italian

Introduces the *versi sciolti*, or Italian blank verse.

[92] With a laudable gratitude, Trissino erected in the church of S. Maria de la passione, at Milan, an elegant monument to the memory of his instructor, who died at that city in the year 1511. Tirab. vi. ii. 132. Ed. 1776.

critic has asserted, that "it was first used by Luigi Alimanni, in his translation from Catullus of the epithalamium of Peleus and Thetis, afterwards by Lodovico Martelli, in translating the fourth book of the "Æneid," and by the cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, in translating the second; in imitation of whom, Trissino afterwards composed in the same measure his epic poem of "Italia liberata da' Goti." But it must be observed that the "Italia liberata" was not the first work in which Trissino had employed the *versi sciolti*, his tragedy of "Sofonisba" having been written at least ten years before he began his epic poem, and completed in the year 1515.[93] It is, however, certain, that in the same year Giovanni Rucellai wrote in blank verse his tragedy of "Rosmunda;" but as he has himself addressed Trissino as his literary preceptor, and as the pretensions of Trissino to the precedency in this respect are confirmed by the explicit acknowledgment of Palla Rucellai, the brother of Giovanni, we may with confidence attribute to Trissino the honour of the invention; unless the pretensions of the Florentine historian, Jacopo Nardi, who gave a specimen of blank verse in the prologue to his comedy entitled "L'Amicizia," supposed to be represented before the magistrates of Florence, about the year 1494, may be thought to invalidate his claim.[94] The tragedy of "Sofonisba" is, however, entitled to notice, not only as having first introduced the *versi sciolti* into general use, but as being the first regular tragedy which made its appearance after the revival of letters. The appellation of tragedy had, indeed, been already adopted, and even the story of Sophonisba had been the subject of a dramatic performance, in *ottava rima*, by Galeotto, marquis of Carretto, presented by him to Isabella,

[93] It appears from a letter of Giovanni Rucellai to Trissino, dated the 8th day of November, 1515, that Trissino had then completed his tragedy, which was intended to be represented before Leo X., probably on the occasion of his visit to Florence in that year. *Vide* Zeno, Note al Fontanini, Bib. Ital. vol. i. p. 464. It was not, however, printed until the year 1524, when it was published in Rome, *per Lodovico degli Arrighi Vicentino;* with a dedication which had been addressed by the author to Leo X. in the lifetime of that pontiff.

[94] This question has given rise to great diversity of opinion between Fontanini and his severe commentator, Apostolo Zeno; which the reader will find in the Bibl. dell' Eloq. Italiana, vol. i. p. 384, *et seq.* It has also been discussed by Mr. Walker, in the Appendix to his "Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy," No. ii. p. 20.

marchioness of Mantua;[95] but this piece, like the "Virginia" of Accolti, and other productions of a similar nature, was so imperfect in its arrangement, and so ill adapted to theatrical representation, that it rather increases than diminishes the honour due to Trissino, who, disregarding the example of his contemporaries, introduced a more correct and classical style of dramatic composition.[96] The affecting story of this tragedy, founded on the relation of Livy in the thirtieth book of his history, is already well known, having been frequently the subject of theatrical representation in this country. It may therefore be sufficient to observe, that Trissino, without greatly deviating from the records of history, has given a dramatic form to the incidents, which renders his production not uninteresting, and has interspersed it with some passages of expression and pathos. At the same time, it must be acknowledged, that the dignity of the tragic style is not always equally supported, and that the author frequently displays a prolixity, languor, and insipidity, both of sentiment and of language, which greatly detract from the interest of the piece.

His Italia liberata da' Goti.

It was not, however, until the year 1547, that Trissino published the first nine books of his epic poem of "Italia liberata da' Goti;" of which the additional eighteen books made their appearance in 1548.[97] In this poem, to the completion

[95] Maffei, Teatro Italiano, vol. i. in prefaz. alla Sofonisba del Trissino.

[96] On this account, Giraldi, in the prologue to his "Orbecche," denominates him

"Il Trissino gentil, che col suo canto
Prima d'ognun, dal Tebro, e dall' Ilysso,
Già trasse la Tragedia a l'onde d'Arno."

[97] This poem, like the second edition of the "Sofonisba," in 1529, was printed with the occasional introduction of Greek letters, for determining, with greater precision, the Italian pronunciation; the invention of which is due to Trissino, although his authority has failed of introducing it into general use. He dedicated it to the emperor Charles V., in an address which explains the motives of his attempt, and elucidates some circumstances in his own life. Several passages in this poem gave great offence, the author having severely censured the conduct of some of the Roman pontiffs, in consequence of which they were cancelled by him in the copies remaining unsold; a circumstance which has given rise to much discussion among the Italian bibliographers. *Vide* Fontanini, Bib. Ital. vol. i. p. 268, &c. As one of these *excised* passages has a particular reference to the subject of the preceding pages of the present work, I shall lay it before the reader, from the *prima rarissima Edizione*, as it is denominated by Tiraboschi. In this extract will also be found a specimen of the peculiar manner in which Trissino attempted to introduce the use of Greek types. *Vide* App. No. LXIX.

of which the author had dedicated upwards of twenty years, he proposed to exhibit to his countrymen a specimen of the true epic, as founded on the example of Homer and confirmed by the authority of Aristotle. The subject is the liberation of Italy from the Goths by Belisarius, as general of the emperor Justinian. In the execution of it, Trissino asserts that he had examined all the Greek and Roman writers, for the purpose of selecting the flowers of their eloquence to enrich his own labours. That Trissino was a man of talents and of learning, is evident from his other writings; and his various acquirements in mathematics, physics, and architecture, are highly celebrated by his contemporaries; yet of all the attempts at epic poetry which have hitherto appeared, the "Italia liberata" may be considered as the most insipid and uninteresting. In Berni, Mauro, Folengi, and other writers of burlesque poetry, their simplicity or vulgarity is evidently assumed, for the avowed purpose of giving a greater zest to their satire or their wit, but the low and pedestrian style of Trissino is genuine and unaffected, and is often rendered still more striking by the unconscious gravity of the author. Yet more reprehensible is the plan and conduct of the poem, in which the heathen mythology is confounded with the Christian religion, and an invocation to Apollo and the muses introduces the Supreme Being as interfering in the concerns of mortals, in such language and by such means as must, in the estimation of either true piety or correct taste, appear wholly unworthy of the divine character. Hence neither the industry of Trissino, nor the high literary character which he had before attained, could raise into credit his unfortunate poem, which, as one of his contemporaries informs us, was never read, but seemed to have been buried on the same day that it first saw the light.[98] About the year 1700, a feeble attempt was made, by the associates of the academy of cardinal Ottoboni at Rome, to transpose the "Italia liberata" into *ottava rima*, each member selecting a separate book for the exercise of his

[98] Bernardo Tasso, ap. Tirab. vii. iii. 113.

talents; but although some of them performed their task, the work was never completed. The critics of Italy, unwilling to detract from the character of a man whose merits have in other respects done honour to their country, have, however, seldom mentioned the "Italia liberata" but in terms of respect; although it never was reprinted until the year 1729, when it was inserted in the general collection of the works of its author.[99]

Giovanni Rucellai.

Subsequent to Trissino in the adoption of the *versi sciolti*, but more successful in the manner in which he employed it, was his friend Giovanni Rucellai, whose near consanguinity to the pontiff Leo X., as well as his own extraordinary merits, entitle him to particular notice. He was one of the four sons of Bernardo Rucellai, by his wife Nannina, sister of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and was born at Florence in the year 1475.[100] The example of his father, who is justly ranked among the most eminent scholars and correct Latin writers of his time, and the instructions of the celebrated Francesco Cataneo da Diaceto, were a sure pledge of his early proficiency; and it has been said of him with undoubted truth, that he was highly accomplished as well in the Greek and Latin languages as in his own.[101] In the year 1505, he was sent as ambassador from his native city to the state of Venice, and was present when the envoy of Louis XII. required that the senate would permit the learned civilian Filippo Decio to return as his subject to Pavia, to teach the canon law, with which the senate refused to comply; an incident which it seems made a great impression on Rucellai, as being a proof of the value of literature and the great importance of a man of talents. In the tumult raised by the younger citizens of Florence, on the return of the Medici in the year 1512, and

[99] To the particulars here given respecting Gio Giorgio Trissino, Count Bossi has made considerable additions, in his annotations on the present work, *vide* Ital. Ed. vol. vii. p. 347, *et seq.* He has also enriched his edition by the publication of several original letters, mostly addressed to Trissino, from some of the most eminent persons and distinguished scholars of the time; particularly Leo X., Isabella of Aragon, duchess of Milan, Demetrius Chalcondyles, Andreas Alciatus, Janus Parrhasius, Giovanni and Paolo Rucellai, Veronica Gambara, Vittoria Colonna, &c. I must refer my reader to the Italian translation, vol. x. p. 141.*

[100] Giornale de' Letterati, xxxiii. par. i. 240.

[101] Poccianti, Catal. de' Scrittori Fiorentini. ap. Giorn. de' Letterati, *ut sup.*

which contributed so greatly to facilitate that event, Giovanni Rucellai and his brother Palla, took a principal part; in which they appear to have acted in opposition to the wishes of their father, who was a firm adherent to the popular cause. On the elevation of Leo X. and the appointment of his nephew Lorenzo to the government of Florence, Giovanni remained at that city in a respectable employment, and is supposed to have accompanied Lorenzo to Rome, when he went to assume the insignia of captain-general of the church. · Soon after his arrival, Rucellai entered into the ecclesiastical order, and attended the pontiff on his visit to Florence, at the close of the year 1515, when Leo was entertained in the gardens of the Rucellai with the representation or recital of the tragedy of "Rosmunda," written by Giovanni in Italian blank verse. It has excited surprise that Leo did not confer the dignity of the purple on a man so nearly related to him, to whom he was so much attached, and who was in every respect worthy of that honour. Some authors have attributed this circumstance to the timid jealousy of Giuliano de' Medici, who is said to have represented to his brother the danger that might accrue to their family in Florence, from any increase of the credit and authority of the Rucellai, who could number amongst them one hundred and fifty men capable of bearing arms; whilst others have supposed, that as Leo did not choose to advance to the rank of cardinal some of his relations as near to him as Rucellai, .on account of the opposition which they had shewn to his family, he on this account postponed also the nomination of Giovanni; but whatever was the reason of the conduct of the pope, which was probably neither of those before assigned, it is certain that it arose not from any want of esteem or confidence, as may be inferred from his despatching Rucellai, at a very important crisis, as his legate to Francis I., in which station he succeeded Lodovico Canossa, and continued until the death of the pontiff.

After this unexpected event Rucellai returned to Florence; and on the elevation of Adrian VI., the successor of Leo, was deputed, with five others of the principal citizens, to congratulate the pope on his new dignity. Rucellai, as

chief of the embassy, addressed the pontiff in a Latin oration, which is yet preserved. The short pontificate of Adrian was succeeded by that of Clement VII., to whom Rucellai stood in the same degree of kindred as to Leo X., and who immediately after his elevation gave a decisive proof of his regard for Rucellai, by appointing him keeper of the castle of S. Angelo; a dignity which has usually been considered as the proximate step to that of a cardinal, and whence Rucellai is commonly named *Il Castellano*.[102] This honour he did not, however, long enjoy; having terminated his days about the beginning of the year 1526, and before the deplorable sacking of Rome, which soon afterwards occurred.[103]

During the residence of Rucellai at the castle of S. Angelo, he completed his tragedy of "Oreste," and his beautiful didactic poem, "Le Api;" neither of which were, however, during his lifetime, committed to the press. The reason of this will appear from the words of the author, addressed, a short time before his death, to his brother Palla Rucellai.[104] "My 'Api,'" said he, "have not yet received my last improvements; which has been occasioned by my desire to review and correct this poem in company with our friend Trissino, when he returns from Venice, where he is now the legate of our cousin Clement VII., and which poem I have, as you will see, already destined and dedicated to him. I therefore entreat that when you find a fit opportunity, you will send him this poem for his perusal and correction; and if he approve it, that you will have it published, without any testimony but that of his perfect judgment to its merits. You will likewise take the same method with my 'Oreste;' if he should not think it troublesome to take so much

His didactic poem Le Api.

[102] The dialogue of Trissino on the Italian language, entitled "Il Castellano," is thus named by the author from his friend Rucellai, who is one of the interlocutors, and is therein styled by him "Uomo per dottrina, per bontà, e per ingegno non inferiore a nessun altro della nostra età." The strict friendship which subsisted between Trissino and Rucellai, whilst they emulated each other in their works, is, as Maffei has justly observed, highly honourable to the characters of both. Teatro Ital. vol. i. p. 93.

[103] Many of the errors respecting Rucellai, of the modern French Lexico-biographers, generally ill informed on the literary affairs of Italy, have been corrected by Count Bossi. Ital. Ed. vol. vii. p. 316.*

[104] Maffei, prefazione al Oreste. Teatro Italiano, vol. i. p. 92.

labour for the sake of one who was so affectionately attached to him." The poem of the "Api" was accordingly published in the year 1539, and will secure to its author a high rank among the writers of didactic poetry. Without rendering himself liable to the charge of a servile imitator, he has chosen a subject already ennobled by the genius of Virgil; and has given to it new attractions and new graces. His diction is pure without being insipid, and simple without becoming vulgar; and in the course of his work he has given decisive proofs of his scientific acquirements, particularly on subjects of natural history.

His tragedy of Oreste.

The injunctions of Giovanni Rucellai with respect to his tragedy of "Oreste" were not so punctually complied with; the cause of which is, however, assigned by his brother Palla, in his dedication of the "Api," to Trissino. "As to the 'Oreste,' I have thought it better to wait awhile, until your 'Belisario,' or, to speak more accurately, your 'Italia liberata,' a work of great learning, and a new Homer in our language, shall be perfected and brought to light." This tragedy remained in manuscript until nearly two centuries after the death of its author, when it was published by the Marchese Scipione Maffei. The subject of this piece is similar to that of the Iphigenia in Tauris of Euripides; but the author has introduced such variations, and ennobled his tragedy with so many grand and theatrical incidents, that it may justly be considered as his own, and not as a mere translation from an ancient author; insomuch that Maffei, who, from his own performances must be admitted to be a perfect judge, considers it as not only superior to the "Rosmunda," of the same author, but as one of the most beautiful pieces which any author, either ancient or modern, has adapted to theatrical representation.

Luigi Alamanni.

Another Italian writer who distinguished himself by the elegance and harmony of his blank verse, was Luigi Alamanni; who was born of a noble family at Florence in the year 1475,[105] and passed the

[105] Some writers have placed the birth of Alamanni in 1495, to which opinion Count Bossi seems to incline, and to which, for the reasons he has given, I am also disposed to assent. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. vii. p. 317.*

early part of his life in habits of friendship with Bernardo and Cosimo Rucellai, Trissino, and other scholars who had devoted themselves more particularly to the study of classical literature.[106] Of the satires and lyric poems of Alamanni, several were produced under the pontificate of Leo X. In the year 1516, he married Alessandra Serristori, a lady of great beauty, by whom he had a numerous offspring. The rank and talents of Alamanni recommended him to the notice and friendship of the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who, during the latter part of the pontificate of Leo X. governed on the behalf of that pontiff the city of Florence. The rigid restrictions imposed by the cardinal on the inhabitants, by which they were, among other marks of subordination, prohibited from carrying arms under severe penalties, excited the indignation of many of the younger citizens of noble families, who could ill brook the loss of their independence, and among the rest of Alamanni; who, forgetting the friend in the patriot, not only joined in a conspiracy against the cardinal immediately after the death of Leo X., but is said to have undertaken to assassinate him with his own hand.[107] His associates were Zanobio Buondelmonti, Jacopa da Diaceto, Antonio Brucioli, and several other persons of distinguished talents, who appear to have been desirous of restoring the ancient liberty of the republic, without sufficiently reflecting on the mode by which it was to be accomplished. The designs of the conspirators were, however, discovered, and Alamanni was under the necessity of saving himself by flight. After many adventures and vicissitudes, in the course of which he returned to Florence and took an active part in the commotions that agitated his country, he finally withdrew to France, where he met with a kind and honourable reception from Francis I., who was a great admirer of Italian poetry, and not only conferred on him the order of S. Michael, but employed him in many important missions.[108] On the

[106] Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. in art. Alamanni.

[107] Varchi, Istor. Fiorentina, lib. v. p. 108.

[108] On an embassy from Francis I. to the emperor Charles V., Alamanni gave a singular instance of his talents and promptitude. Having in his oration before the emperor, frequently mentioned *the Imperial Eagle*, Charles, after having

marriage of Henry, duke of Orleans, afterwards Henry II., with Catherine de' Medici, Alamanni was appointed her *maître d'hôtel;* and the reward of his services enabled him to secure to himself great emoluments, and to establish his family in an honourable situation in France. The writings of Alamanni are very numerous;[109] but his most admired production is his didactic poem, "La Coltivazione," written in *versi sciolti*, and addressed by him to Catherine de' Medici, by a letter, in which he requests her to present it to Francis I.[110] This work, which Alamanni completed in six books, and which he appears to have undertaken rather in competition with, than in imitation of, the "Georgics," is written not only with great elegance and correctness of style, but with a very extensive knowledge of the subject on which he professes to treat, and contains many passages which may bear a comparison with the most celebrated parts of the work of his immortal predecessor. His tragedy of "Antigone," translated from Sophocles, is also considered by Fontanini as one

His poem entitled, La Coltivazione.

attentively listened till the close of the speech, turned towards the orator, and repeated, with a sarcastic emphasis, from one of the poems of Alamanni,

——— "*L'aquila grifagna,*
"Che per più divorar due becchi porta."

Alamanni heard this reproach with perfect composure, and instantly subjoined, "Since these lines are known to your majesty, I must be allowed to say, that when I wrote them, I wrote as a poet, to whom it is allowed to feign; but that I now speak as the ambassador from one great sovereign to another, whom it would ill become to deviate from the truth: they were the production of my youth; but now I speak with the gravity of age: they were provoked by my having been banished from my native place; but I now appear before your majesty divested of all passion." Charles, rising from his seat, and laying his hand on the shoulder of the ambassador, told him with great kindness, that he had no cause to regret the loss of his country, having found such a patron as Francis I., adding, that to a virtuous man every place is his country. Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. in art. Alamanni, p. 253.

[109] The works of Alamanni, consisting of his Elegies, Eclogues, Satires, and Lyric pieces, with his tragedy of "Antigone," were first printed by Gryphius, at Lyons, vol. i. 1532, vol. i. 1533; the first volume was also printed by the Giunti at Florence in 1532, and both volumes were afterwards published at Venice in 1533, and again in 1542. Notwithstanding these frequent editions, the works of Alamanni were prohibited in the pontificate of Clement VII., both at Florence and Rome, in the latter of which places they were publicly burnt. *Vide* Mazzuch. vol. i. p. 256.

[110] Printed at Paris, by Robert Stephens, in 1546, in a beautiful edition, corrected by the author, and dedicated to Francis I. It was again printed in the same year by the Giunti at Florence, and has been since frequently reprinted, particularly in a correct and fine edition in large quarto, by Comino at Padua, in 1718, with the "Api" of Rucellai, and the epigrams of Alamanni, and at Bologna in 1746.

of the best dramatic pieces in the Italian tongue; but his epic romances of the "Avarchide,"[111] and the "Girone Cortese,"[112] both written in *ottava rima*, have not had the good fortune to obtain for their author any considerable share of applause.

Classification of the Italian writers.

From this brief review of some of the principal Italian poets who wrote in the pontificate of Leo X., it will not be difficult to perceive, that they may be divided into four distinct classes. I. Such as continued to adopt in their writings, although in different degrees, the rude and imperfect style of composition which was used towards the latter part of the preceding century. II. The admirers of Petrarca, who considered him as the model of a true poetic diction, and closely imitated his manner in their writings. III. Those who, depending on the vigour of their own genius, adopted such a style of composition as they conceived expressed, in the most forcible and explicit manner, the sentiments which they had to communicate. And, IV. Those authors who followed the example of the ancients, not only in the manner of treating their subjects, but in the frequent use of the *versi sciolti*, and in the simplicity and purity of their diction. That in each of these departments a considerable number of writers, besides those before mentioned, might be enumerated, will readily be perceived; but the limited object of the present work will be sufficiently obtained, by demonstrating the encouragement which the poets of the time derived from Leo X., and the proficiency made during his pontificate in this most popular and pleasing branch of literature. It is to this period that we are to trace back

[111] First printed, after the death of the author, at Florence. *Nella stamperia di Filippo Giunti*, 1570, 4to. The subject of this poem is the siege of the city of Bourges, the capital of the duchy of Berri, supposed to be the Avaricum of Julius Cæsar. The plan and conduct of it is so closely founded on that of the "Iliad," that, if we except only the alteration of the names, it appears rather to be a translation than an original work.

[112] Girone il Cortese, printed at Paris, da Rinaldo Calderio e Claudio suo figliuolo, 4to, and again at Venice, per Comin da Trino da Monferato, 1549. This work is little more than a transposition, into Italian *ottava rima*, of a French romance, entitled "Gyron Courtois," which Alamanni undertook, at the request of Francis I., a short time before the death of that monarch, as appears from the information of the author himself, in his dedication to Henry II., in which he has described the origin and laws of the British knights errant, *or Knights of the Round Table.*

those abundant streams which have now diffused themselves throughout the rest of Europe; and although some of them may be pursued to a still higher fountain, yet it was not until this time that they began to flow in a clear and certain course. The laws of lyric composition, as prescribed by the example of Sanazzaro, Bembo, Molza, and Vittoria Colonna, have since been adopted by the two Tassos, Tansillo, Costanzo, Celio Magno, Guidi, Filicaja, and a long train of other writers; who have carried this kind of composition, and particularly the higher species of ode, to a degree of excellence hitherto unattained in any other country. In epic poetry, the great work of Ariosto excited an emulation, which in the course of the sixteenth century, produced an immense number of poems on similar subjects; many of which are of great extent, and some of which, if they have not equalled the "Orlando Furioso" in fertility of invention and variety of description, have excelled it in regularity and classical chastity of design, and have displayed all those poetical graces that, without surprising, delight the reader. If to the satires of Ariosto, we add those of Ercole Bentivolio, who was nearly his contemporary, and which are written on a similar model, we shall be compelled to acknowledge that neither these, nor the singular productions of Berni, Bini, Mauro, and their associates, have in any degree been rivalled in subsequent times. Nor have the later writers of blank verse, among whom may be enumerated Annibale Caro, Marchetti, and Salvini, greatly improved upon the correct and graceful example displayed in the writings of Rucellai, Alamanni, the cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, and frequently in those of Trissino.

The Italian drama.

With respect to the drama, much, however, remained to be done. Neither the "Sofonisba" of Trissino, nor the "Rosmunda" or "Oreste" of Rucellai, although highly to be commended when compared with the works which preceded them, and when considered with relation to the times in which they were produced, can be regarded as perfect models of tragedy, adapted to theatrical representation. It must also be

observed that the efforts of the cardinal da Bibbiena, and even of Ariosto, to introduce a better style of comic writing, are rather scholastic attempts to imitate the ancient writers, than examples of that true comedy which represents, by living portraits, the follies, the vices, and the manners of the age. It is only in later times that the dramatic works of Maffei, of Metastasio, of Alfieri, and of Monti, have effectually removed from their country the reproach of having been inferior in this great department of letters to the rest of Europe. In comedy, the Italians have been yet more negligent; for between the dry and insipid performances of the early writers, and the extravagant, low, and burlesque exhibitions of Goldoni, Chiari, and similar authors of modern comedy, lies a spacious field, in which the genius of a Moliere, a Goldsmith, or a Sheridan, would not fail to discover innumerable objects of pursuit and of amusement.

Medal of Vittoria Colonna.

Andrea Marone reciting his verses before Leo X.

CHAPTER XVII.

1518.

Improvement in classical literature—Jacopo Sadoleti—Latin writings of Bembo —Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli—His Chrysopoiea—Latin writings of Sanazzaro —His poem, De partu Virginis—Girolamo Vida—His Christiad—His Poetics —Girolamo Fracastoro—His poem entitled Syphilis—Andrea Navagero— Marc Antonio Flaminio—His writings—Latin poetry cultivated at Rome— —Guido Postumo Silvestri—Giovanni Mozzarello—Latin extemporary poets— Raffaello Brandolini—Andrea Marone—Camillo Querno and others—Baraballo di Gaeta—Giovanni Gorizio a patron of learning at Rome—The Coryciana —Francesco Arsilli—His Latin poem de Poetis Urbanis.

Improvement in classical literature. 1518. Æt. 43. Pont. VI.

From the time of the revival of letters in Italy, the *poesia volgare*, or poetry of the national tongue, had experienced many vicissitudes; having at some periods shone with distinguished lustre, and at others been again obscured by dark and unexpected clouds; but classical learning, and particularly Latin poetry, had made a steady and uniform progress, and in the course of one hundred and fifty years, during which a long succession of eminent scholars had continually improved upon their predecessors, had at length nearly attained to the highest degree of excellence. The pontificate of Leo X. was destined to give a last impulse to these studies; for if there was any department of literature, the professors of

which he regarded with more partiality, and rewarded with greater munificence, than those of another, it was undoubtedly that of Latin poetry. Nor had this partiality first manifested itself on his ascending the pontifical throne; whilst he yet held the rank of cardinal, the Italian scholars had been well prepared by his conduct to judge of the favour and encouragement which they would be likely to experience, if that fortunate event should take place; and we have already seen, that in the very commencement of his pontificate, he was saluted by them as the person destined to restore the honours of literature, and to revive the glories of the Augustan age.

The hopes thus early entertained of the future conduct of the pontiff, had been greatly encouraged by the appointment to the important office of apostolic secretaries, of Bembo and Sadoleti; two men who were distinguished by their proficiency in almost every branch of polite learning, but who had chiefly acquired their reputation by the superior elegance of their Latin writings. Jacopo Sadoleti was a native of Modena, and was born in the year 1477.[1] After having completed his studies at Ferrara, under the directions of Nicolo Leoniceno and other eminent professors, and made a great proficiency in philosophy, eloquence, and the learned languages, he arrived at Rome during the pontificate of Alexander VI., where he found, in the cardinal Oliviero Caraffa, a kind and munificent patron, and in the learned Scipione Carteromaco, an excellent instructor. Of the literary associations which were afterwards formed in Rome, Sadoleti was a distinguished member, and it is to his recollection of these meetings, in which festivity and learning seem to have been united, that we are indebted for the most particular account that now remains of them, and which we have before had occasion to notice. The ability and diligence of Sadoleti in his official employment, gave such satisfaction to Leo X. that he conferred upon him the bishopric of Carpentras; the duties of which station Sadoleti fulfilled during his subsequent life, notwithstanding his higher preferments, in a manner that proved him to have entertained

Jacopo Sadoleti.

[1] Tirab. vii. par. i. 273.

a proper sense of the importance of his trust. Amidst his ecclesiastical duties and his political occupations, he did not, however, wholly relinquish the exercise of his talents for Latin poetry; and his verses on the group of the Laocoon, which had been discovered in the baths of Titus, during the pontificate of Julius II., are worthy of that exquisite remnant of ancient art which they are intended to celebrate.[2] It was not, however, until the pontificate of Paul III., in the year 1536, that Sadoleti was honoured with the purple; a dignity which he had long merited, not only by the services which he had rendered to the Roman see in many important embassies, but by the temperate firmness of his character, his elegant and conciliating manners, and, if it can be considered as any recommendation, at a time when it was so notoriously dispensed with, by his sincere and unaffected piety. The moderation which he displayed in opposing the reformers, the concessions which he was willing to make to them, and the kindness with which he invited them to return to the bosom of the church, formed a striking contrast to the conduct of the greater part of his ecclesiastical associates, and has led an eminent writer to express his opinion, that if there had been many like Sadoleti, the breach would not have been so widely extended.[3] It was probably from this liberality of sentiment, that, in his Commentary on the Epistle of S. Paul to the Romans, he incurred the censure of the Roman court; and although the prohibition was, in consequence of his representations, removed by the pope, and the work was with some corrections admitted as canonical, yet this event appears to have occasioned infinite anxiety to its author.[4] His Latin tracts, and particularly his treatise "De liberis instituendis," have been greatly admired. This work is indeed considered by Tiraboschi as superior to the many essays and systems of education which have been produced in

[2] These verses, which obtained for the author no inconsiderable share of reputation as a Latin poet, are printed in the works of Sadoleti, tom. iii. p. 245. Ed. Veron. 1738, 4 vols, 4to, and also in the Carm. Illustr. Poet. Ital.

[3] Tirab. vii. i. 276.

[4] Ibid. 278. Erasmus, who was a friend and admirer of Sadoleti, was aware that the publication of his Commentary would give rise to some dissatisfaction. Erasm. Ep. lib. xxvii. ep. 38.

modern times, when, as he justly observes, it is too common to insult the elder writers as barbarians.

The Latin writings of Pietro Bembo appear, as well from the nature of the subjects, as the persons to whom they are addressed, to have been chiefly the production of the early part of his life; after which he was induced, by causes which we have before assigned, to devote himself more particularly to the cultivation of his native language; this alteration in his studies is also alluded to in the following lines, prefixed to the general collection of his works :— Latin writings of Bembo.

> "Whilst, rivalling the strains that Maro sung,
> Thine hands across the Latian chords were flung,
> Love raptured heard; and bad thee next aspire
> To wake the sweetness of the Tuscan lyre."

Neither the Italian nor the Latin writings of Bembo have been considered as entitled to the praise of originality. If, in the former, he has manifested a close adherence to Petrarca, he has in the latter been thought to have followed, with too servile a step, the track of the ancients, and to have imitated, as well in his verse, as his prose writings, the style of Cicero. It may, however, be observed, that this imitation is not so apparent in his Latin poems as in his Italian sonnets and lyric productions; and that the former, although not numerous, nor on subjects of importance, possess in general more interest and vivacity than the latter.

In briefly noticing the attention paid by Julius II. to the learned men of his time, we have already had occasion to mention the Latin poet Augurelli; but as he lived also during the pontificate of Leo X. and survived that pontiff several years, and as his most considerable work is on a singular subject, and is inscribed to Leo X., a more particular account of him will be necessary. Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli. Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli, or Augurello, was born about the year 1441,[5] of a respectable family in the city of Rimini, whence he was frequently denominated Giovanni Aurelio da Rimini. His early studies were com- Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli.

[5] Mazzuchelli fixes his birth about 1454, but the count Rambaldo degli Azzoni Avogari, in his memoirs of Augurelli, published in the sixth volume of the "Nuova Raccolta d'Opuscoli," p. 162, has sufficiently shewn that this event is to be placed at an earlier period.

pleted in the celebrated university of Padua, where he made a long residence,[6] and where it is probable that he first began to give public instructions in polite literature; he being mentioned by Trissino, in his treatise entitled "Il Castellano," as the first person who had observed the rules of the Italian language prescribed by Petrarca. Having afterwards the good fortune to obtain the favour and patronage of Nicolo Franco, bishop of Trevigi, he took up his residence with him at his episcopal see, where he was appointed a canon, and honoured with the freedom of the city, as he had before been with that of Padua. After the death of his patron he left Trevigi, and passed about fifteen months at Feltre, for the purpose of devoting himself without interruption to the study of the Greek language,[7] and at length fixed his abode at Venice, where he obtained great reputation as a private instructor, and had the honour of numbering among his pupils, Bembo, Navagero, and others, who afterwards rose to great eminence. Augurelli is represented by Paulo Giovio as the most learned and elegant preceptor of his time. His studies are, however, said to have been interrupted by a violent passion for alchemy, which induced him to consume his hours over a furnace, in the vain expectation of discovering a substance which he supposed would convert the baser metals into gold.[8] The failure of his hopes seems not to have deterred him from pursuing his speculations; but, instead of persisting in his chemical operations, he prudently resolved to commit his ideas on this abstruse subject to Latin verse, in which he completed a poem in three books, which he entitled "Chrysopoeia," or the art of making gold. This work he dedicated to Leo X. in a few elegant introductory lines, which are well entitled to notice.[9]

His Chrysopoeia.

[6] It appears, from a passage in one of his odes, that he remained at Padua twenty years. Carm. lib. ii. p. 17. Ed. Ald. 1505.

[7] Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. in art. Augurelli.

[8] Jovius, *ut sup.* Mazzuch. art. Augurelli.

[9] From this introduction, as well as from various passages in the poem itself, it appears, that this work was written in the pontificate of Julius II. during the war of Cambray, and that the address to Leo X. was prefixed to it afterwards, when the author resolved to publish it. As this piece is not frequently met with, not being found in the usual collections of the works of its author, the introduction to it is given in App. No. LXX.

By this production, Augurelli obtained great credit, and it has been justly said, that his verses contain a richer ore than that which he pretends to teach his readers to make. It has also been observed, that he displayed a singular propriety in dedicating his work to Leo X., who stood in need of such a resource to enable him to supply his expenditure, and to repay himself for the immense sums which he disbursed in rewarding men of talents, and in magnificent feasts and spectacles. The compensation which Leo bestowed on Augurelli was not, however, less appropriate; he having, as it has frequently been related, presented him with a large and handsome, but empty purse, observing, that to a man who could make gold, nothing but a purse was wanting.[10] An eminent modern critic is of opinion that Augurelli was not serious in his composition of this poem, and that he employed himself in better pursuits than the study of alchemy;[11] but it may be observed, in reply, that such a poem could only have been written by a person who had paid great attention to the subject, and that the work has been received as canonical by the professors of the mysterious art.[12] Augurelli lived to an advanced age, and at length died suddenly, in the year 1524, whilst he was disputing in the shop of a bookseller at Trevigi; in which city he was buried, and where an epitaph written by himself was inscribed on his tomb.

Besides his "Chrysopoeia" and another Latin poem, entitled "Geronticon," or on old age, there remains of Augurelli a volume of poems under the names of "Iambici, Sermones, and Carmina," which has frequently been reprinted. The merits of these poems have been variously

[10] Fabron. Vita Leon. X. p. 220. Mazzuch. in art. Augurelli. This incident is also alluded to in the following lines of Latomus. Ap. Mazzuch. *ut sup.*

"Ut quod minus collegit e carbonibus,
Avidi Leonis eriperet e dentibus."

[11] Tirab. vol. vi. par. ii. p. 231. Ed. Modena, 1776. Where he observes, that Augurelli himself professes in his poem to write in jest, and to make no account of this pretended art. If, however, we except a few lines at the end, the whole piece appears to have been very seriously written; and even in these he professes to have mingled the lessons of wisdom with the festivity of wit:—

"—— doctos salibus sermones spargere puris
Tentavi."

[12] It has been printed in various collections of writers on alchemy, particularly in the "Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa" of Mangetus, vol. ii. p. 371. Geneve, 1702, fo.

appreciated by succeeding critics, but they undoubtedly display an easy and natural vein of poetry, a great acquaintance with the writings of the ancients, and a purity and correctness of style, to which few authors of that early period had attained.[13] On this account a learned Italian, himself no inelegant poet, after having fully considered the sentiments of preceding writers, and particularly the unfavourable opinion of Julius Cæsar Scaliger on this subject, scruples not to assert, that on a question of this nature Scaliger was incapable of forming a proper judgment, and that the writings of Augurelli are worthy of immortality.[14]

Latin writings of Sanazzaro.

The Latin writings of Sanazzaro are entitled to more particular consideration, and although not voluminous, most probably afforded him occupation for the chief part of his life. They consist of his piscatory eclogues; two books of elegies; three of epigrams, or short copies of verses, and his celebrated poem, "De partu Virginus." Of these the eclogues possess the merit of having exhibited a novel species of composition, in adapting the language of poetry to the characters and occupations of fishermen;[15] and this task he has executed with a degree of fancy, variety, and even of elegance, which perhaps no other person could have excelled; yet it may be doubted whether these subjects, and the long details of no very pleasing nature to which they give rise, are well adapted for a professed series of poems; the varied aspects of mountains, vales, and forests, and the innocuous occupations, and diversified amusements of pastoral life, are ill exchanged for the uniformity of the watery element, and the miserable and savage employment of dragging from its depths its unfortunate inhabitants.

The elegies of Sanazzaro are, however, much more highly to be esteemed; as well for their innumerable poetical beauties, and the expressive simplicity and elegance of their style, as for the many interesting circumstances

[13] The poems of Augurelli were published by Aldo, in a beautiful volume in 8vo. Ven. 1505.

[14] Giammatteo Toscano, Pepius Ital. No. lxv. p. 40. Ed. Par. 1578.

[15] Perhaps the merit of originality in this species of composition may be thought rather to belong to Theocritus, or the writer of the piscatory eclogue placed among his idylliums.

which they have preserved to us respecting the times in which he lived. But the work to which Sanazzaro devoted the greatest part of his time, and on which he chiefly relied for his poetical immortality, was his poem in three books, "De partu Virginis," which, after the labour of twenty years, and the emendations derived from the suggestions of his learned friends, was at length brought to a termination. That Leo X. would have thought himself honoured by the patronage of this poem, there is sufficient reason to believe; but Sanazzaro had, from political motives, long evinced a kind of habitual hostility to the Roman see; and some circumstances are said to have occurred between him and Leo X., which are supposed to have increased, rather than diminished his antipathy, and to have induced him to express his resentment in a sarcastic copy of Latin verses, in which the family descent and personal defects of the pontiff are, from want, as it would seem, of other causes of reprehension, the chief objects of his satire.[16] Whether, however, this alleged misunderstanding ever occurred or not, and whether the verses referred to be the production of Sanazzaro or of some one who assumed his name, as has, not without reason, been asserted,[17] certain it is, that Leo was so far from manifesting any displeasure against the

[16] It appears that Alfonso Castriotta, marquis of Tripalda, had formed a marriage contract with Cassandra Marchese, a Neapolitan lady, who enjoyed, in an eminent degree, the esteem and friendship of Sanazzaro, but that having repented of his engagement, he applied to the Roman court for a dispensation to release him from its effects. To the granting this dispensation Sanazzaro opposed all his influence, and engaged his friend Bembo to prevent, if possible, the issuing of the bull; but the rank and opulence of the marquis were suffered to prevail against the efforts of the lady and her friends, and the tenor of his own promise. The lines attributed to Sanazzaro on this occasion are as follow:—

In Leonem X.

"Sumere maternis titulos cum posset ab ursis
Cæculus hic noster, maluit esse Leo.
Quid tibi cum magno commune est, Talpa, Leone?
Non cadit in turpes nobilis ira feras.
Ipse licet cupias animos simulare Leonis,
Non Lupus hoc genitor, non sinit Ursa parens.
Ergo aliud tibi prorsus habendum est, Cæcule, nomen;
Nam cuncta ut possis, non potes esse Leo."

[17] This, and other epigrams of Sanazzaro against the Roman pontiffs, printed in several editions of his works, are considered by Fontanini as scandalous libels, published by the heretical authors of the pasquillades, in the name of Sanazzaro, and incautiously admitted by subsequent editors into the collections of his works. *Vide* Fontanini, Biblioth. Ital. vol. i. p. 453.

poet, that, on being informed of the completion of his great work, he addressed to him a letter, commending, in the highest terms of approbation, his talents and his piety, entreating him to publish his poem without further delay, and assuring him of the protection and favour of the holy see.[18] Induced by these representations, Sanazzaro immediately prepared to lay his performance before the public, with a dedication, in Latin verse, to Leo X.; but the death of that pontiff, which occurred only a few months after the date of his letter, prevented Sanazzaro from carrying his intentions into effect, and the testimony of respect intended for Leo X. was reserved by its author for Clement VII., to whom he inscribed his poem in a few elegant lines, which bear, however, strong internal evidence that they were originally intended for his more accomplished predecessor. On receiving the work from the hands of the cardinal Girolamo Seripando, Clement, who was no less ambitious of the honour of being considered as a patron of letters than Leo X., requested the cardinal to thank Sanazzaro in his name for his beautiful poem, to assure him of his favour, and to request that he might see him at Rome as early as might be convenient to him. Not satisfied, however, with this verbal expression of his approbation, he addressed a letter to the poet, in which he expresses high satisfaction in having his name united to a poem which is destined to survive and to be read through all future times; at the same time justifying the love of that fame which is the result of those commendable labours, which he considers as the image or reflection of the immortality promised by the religion of Christ.[19] This obligation the pontiff expresses himself ready to repay to the utmost of his power; and from these assurances Sanazzaro is supposed to have entertained hopes of being admitted into the sacred college.[20] That he would have received some distinguished mark of the approbation of the pontiff, is not improbable, had not the calamitous events of the times, and particularly the dreadful sacking of the city of Rome,

[18] This letter, so honourable both to the pontiff and the poet, is given in App. No. LXXI.

[19] *Vide* App. No. LXXII.

[20] Crispo, Vita del Sanazzaro, p. 26, et nota 68.

called the attention of Clement VII. to objects more immediately connected with his own safety. Sanazzaro had, however, the satisfaction of receiving a letter from Egidio, cardinal of Viterbo, to whom he had also transmitted a copy of his poem, containing the highest commendations both of the work and its author;[21] and as praise is the natural and proper reward of poetry, Sanazzaro must have been extremely unreasonable if the reception of his work did not afford him entire satisfaction.[22]

His poem, De partu Virginis.

That the poem, "De partu Virginis," contains many fine passages, and exhibits the powers of the author, and his command of the Latin language, in a more striking point of view than any of his other writings, cannot be denied; and it is even probable that he chose this subject, for the purpose of displaying the facility with which he could apply the language and the imagery of paganism to the illustration of the truths of the Christian creed. But after all, it must be confessed that he was unfortunate in his choice; and that the work, if not deserving of reprehension for its impiety, was at least deserving of it in the estimation of a true and correct taste. To require the attention of the reader through a poem containing nearly fifteen hundred lines, to an event over which the common feelings of mankind have agreed to throw a respectful veil, is itself injudicious, if not indelicate; but to expose the mysteries of the Christian faith in the language of profane poetry; to discuss with particular minuteness the circumstances of the miraculous conception and delivery of the Virgin, and to call upon the heathen

[21] In this letter, the cardinal applies to Sanazzaro the Homeric lines:

Ὁ δ' ὔλβιος ὅντινα Μοῦσαι
Φιλεῦνται, γλυκερή οἱ ἀπὸ στόματος ῥέει αὐδή.

"*Μνημονικὸν ἁμάρτημα,*" exclaims Vulpius, "cum Hesiodum dicere debuerat; hæc enim leguntur in Hesiodi Theogonia." v. 96. But the cardinal probably found these lines in the fragment of the hymn to Apollo and the Muses, attributed to Homer; to whom it may also be presumed to belong, from a similar passage in the "Iliad."

Τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή. Ιλ. ά. 249.

[22] This poem was translated into Italian, in *versi sciolti*, by Giovanni Giolito, one of the sons of the celebrated printer Gabriel Giolito, and published at Venice in 1588, in a beautiful edition entitled "DEL PARTO DELLA VERGINE del Sanazzaro, libri tre, tradotti in versi Toscani da Giovanni Giolito de' Ferrari. al Ser. Sig. Don Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duca di Mantoua e di Monferrato," &c.

deities to guide him through all the recesses of the mysterious rite,[23] can only occasion disgust and horror to the true believer, and afford the incredulous a subject for ridicule or contempt. Hence it is probable that the elegies and other pieces of Sanazzaro, which he has devoted to natural and simple subjects, or to the commemoration of historical facts and characters, will continue to interest and delight the reader, when the poem, "De partu Virginis," will be consulted only as an object of literary curiosity, or regarded as an instance of the waste of labour, and of the misapplication of genius.

Among the followers of the muses, Sanazzaro may be considered as one of the most fortunate. The destruction of his beloved villa of Mergellina, by Philibert, prince of Orange, on account of its having been occupied as a military station by the French, is said, however, to have occasioned him great concern; but, with the exception of this event, amidst all the convulsions of his country, his talents, and integrity procured for him general respect, and he enjoyed to the close of his life an honourable independence. His latter years were passed in the pleasant vicinity of Somma, in the society of Cassandra Marchese, who is the frequent subject of panegyric in his writings. The wishes of the poet, that she might be present to close his eyes and perform his funeral rites, were literally fulfilled; and under her care his remains were deposited in a chapel which he had erected at his villa of Mergellina, and where a superb monument was some years afterwards raised to his memory, on which was inscribed the following lines by Bembo:—

> "Da sacro cineri flores. Hic ille Maroni,
> Sincerus, musa proximus ut tumulo."
>
> Fresh flow'rets strew, for Sanazzar lies here,
> In genius, as in place, to Virgil near.

The extraordinary talents displayed by Sanazzaro in his Latin compositions, did not, however, secure to him an uncontested pre-eminence over his contemporaries. Before he had brought to a conclusion the work on which he

[23] These improprieties did not escape the animadversion of Erasmus, in his "Ciceronianus," (p. 90, Ed. Tolosæ, 1620,) where this passage is followed by some very judicious remarks on the manner of treating sacred subjects in poetry.

meant to found his poetical reputation, several powerful rivals arose, one of whom, in particular, produced, under the auspices of Leo X., a poem of great merit and considerable extent, which will secure to its author a lasting reputation among the Latin writers of modern times. This poem is the "Christiad" of Vida; a man who may be considered as one of the chief luminaries of the age in which he lived, and of whose life and writings a more particular account cannot fail to be generally interesting.

Girolamo Vida

Marco Girolamo Vida was a native of Cremona. Some diversity of opinion has arisen as to the time of his birth, which event has generally been placed about the year 1470,[24] whilst some have contended that it could not have occurred until the year 1490.[25] The reasons adduced by different authors have served to refute the opinions of their opponents, without establishing their own; and as Vida was, as it will hereafter appear, certainly born some years after the first-mentioned time, and some years before the latter, his nativity may be placed with sufficient accuracy about the middle of these two very distant periods. His family was of respectable rank, and although his parents were not wealthy, they were enabled to bestow upon their son a good education, for which purpose he was successively sent to several of the learned academies with which Italy was then so well provided. The first specimen of the talents of Vida in Latin poetry appeared in a collection of pieces on the death of the poet Serafino d'Aquila, which happened in the year 1500; towards which he contributed two pieces, which were published in that collection at Bologna, in the year 1504. In this publication he is named by his bap-

[24] De vita et scriptis auctoris, in Op. Vidæ, vol. ii. App. p. 154, in not. Ed. Comin. 1731, 4to.

[25] Marcheselli, Orazioni in difesa del Vida, ap. Tirab. vol. vii. par. iii. p. 276. The last-mentioned author has also adduced a passage from the first book of the "Sacchiæ," dedicated to Isabella Gonzaga, marchioness of Mantua, from which the poem appears to have been written when her son Federigo was in his early youth. Federigo was born in 1500, and Tiraboschi supposes that he might, at the time when Vida wrote his poem, be about nine or ten years of age. Now, as Vida himself informs us that he wrote this poem in his early years, *adolescentiæ suæ lusum*, the historian conjectures, that he might then be about twenty years of age, and was consequently born about the year 1490.

tismal appellation, Marc-Antonio, which, on his entering into regular orders, he changed to that of Marco-Girolamo. The memorable combat between thirteen French and thirteen Italian soldiers, under the walls of Barletta, in the year 1503, afforded him a subject for a more extensive work; the loss of which is to be regretted, not only as the early production of so elegant a writer, but as a curious historical document.[26] After having made a considerable proficiency in the more serious studies of philosophy, theology, and political science, he repaired to Rome, where he arrived in the latter part of the pontificate of Julius II., and appears to have been a constant attendant on those literary meetings which were then held in that city, and were continued in the commencement of the pontificate of Leo X. Of his larger works, on which his reputation as a Latin poet is at this day founded, his three books, "De Arte Poetica," were probably the first produced; and these were soon afterwards followed by his poem on the growth of silk worms, entitled "Bombyx," and by his "Sacchiæ Ludus," a poem on the game of chess. On the last of these poems being shewn to Leo X. he was delighted beyond measure with the novelty of the subject, and with the dignity, ease, and lucid arrangement with which it was treated; which appeared to him almost beyond the reach of human powers.[27] He therefore requested to see the author, who was accordingly introduced to him by Giammatteo Ghiberti, bishop of Verona, who appears to have been his earliest patron, and whom he has celebrated in terms of the warmest affection in several of his works.[28] Vida was received by the pontiff with particular distinction and kindness, admitted as an attendant on the court, and rewarded with honours and emoluments; but that upon which the poet appears chiefly to have congratulated himself, was, that

[26] If we accede to the opinion of Tiraboschi, Vida, at the time of the death of Serafino d'Aquila, was only about ten years of age, and at the time of the combat at Barletta, about thirteen; a period of life when it can scarcely be supposed that he was capable of celebrating these events in Latin poetry; and we may therefore with confidence presume that he was born some years prior to the date assigned to his birth by that author.

[27] Faballi, Orat. de Vida, p. 143.

[28] Particularly in two fine odes, and a copy of hexameter verse; in his "Carmina," No. I. III. IV.

his works were read and approved by the pontiff himself. Whether Leo was merely desirous of engaging Vida in a subject that might call forth all his talents, or whether he wished to raise up a rival to Sanazzaro, who, he probably suspected, was not favourable to his fame, certain it is, that at his suggestion Vida began his "Christiad," which he afterwards completed in six books, but which the pontiff was prevented, by his untimely death, from seeing brought to a termination. The future patronage of this work was therefore reserved for Clement VII., under whose auspices it was first published in the year 1535, with an apologetical advertisement at the close of the work; in which the author excuses the boldness of his attempt by informing the reader, that he was induced to begin and to persevere in his undertaking by the solicitations and munificence of the two pontiffs, Leo X. and Clement VII., to whose exertions and liberality he ascribes the revival of literature from its long state of torpor and degradation.

His Christiad.

In order to stimulate the poet to terminate this work, or to reward him for the progress which he had made in it, Clement had already raised him to the rank of apostolical secretary, and in the year 1532, conferred on him the bishopric of Alba. Soon after the death of that pontiff, Vida retired to his diocese, and was present at its defence against the attack of the French in the year 1542, where his exhortations and example animated the inhabitants successfully to oppose the enemy. After having attended in his episcopal character at the council of Trent, and taken an active part in the ecclesiastical and political transactions of the times, he died at his see of Alba, on the twenty-seventh day of September, 1566, more respected for his talents, integrity, and strict attention to his pastoral duties, than for the wealth which he had amassed from his preferments.[29]

Of all the writers of Latin poetry at this period, Vida has been the most generally known beyond the limits of Italy. This is to be attributed, not only to the fortunate choice of

[29] Tirab. vol. vii. par. iii. p. 283. Vida was buried in his cathedral at Alba.

his subjects, but to his admirable talent of uniting a considerable portion of elegance, and often of dignity, with the utmost facility and clearness of style; insomuch that the most complex descriptions or abstruse illustrations, are rendered by him perfectly easy and familiar to the reader. Of his Virgilian eclogues, the third and last is devoted to commemorate the sorrows of Vittoria Colonna, on the death of her beloved husband, the marquis of Pescara. Among his smaller poems, his verses to the memory of his parents, who both died about the same time, and while he was engaged in the successful pursuit of preferment at Rome, display true pathos and beautiful images of filial affection.

His Poetics.

The Poetics of Vida, to which he is indebted for so considerable a part of his reputation, both as a poet and as a critic, were, on their publication in 1527, addressed by the author to the dauphin Francis, son of Francis I., at that time a prisoner with his brother Henry, as an hostage for his father, at the court of Spain; but this address was not prefixed until several years after the termination of the work itself, which was written at Rome under the pontificate of Leo X., and originally inscribed to Angelo Dovizio, nephew of the cardinal Bernardo da Bibbiena, who afterwards attained also the honour of the purple.[30] It has indeed been supposed, that this production was first printed at Cremona, in the year 1520; and it is certain that the fellow-citizens of Vida had requested his permission to make use of this work for the instruction of youth, to which he expressed his assent in a letter which yet remains;[31] but although it appears, from the archives of Cremona, that it was actually ordered to be printed, yet there is reason to suppose that this order was not carried into effect; not a single copy of such an edition having hitherto occurred to the notice of any bibliographer. The cause of this is

[30] Tiraboschi had seen a beautiful MS. of this poem as first written, and addressed to Dovizio, of which he has given a particular account.

[31] In this letter we find the following apology, which he attempts to derive from the difficulty of his undertaking. "Scio enim quam periculosum sit, de re tam varia, tam difficili atque ardua, scribere, his præsertim temporibus, quibus tot præclara ingenia liberalitate Leonis X. Pont. Max. invitata, emerserunt, emergunt-que in dies; ut artes mihi, ipsa injuria temporum jamdudum extinctæ, videantur quodammodo hujus auspiciis reviviscere." In Ep. præf. ad lib. de Poetic. in Ed. Com.

perhaps to be attributed to Vida himself, who had in his letter given strict injunctions that his work should not be made public; and whose subsequent remonstrances, when he was acquainted with the intentions of the magistrates of Cremona, may be supposed to have deterred them from committing his work to the press.[32] The approbation which the poetics of Vida had the good fortune to obtain from the most correct and elegant poet of our own country, has recommended them to general notice,[33] to which it may be added, that an excellent English critic considers them as the most perfect of all the compositions of their author, and as "one of the first, if not the very first piece of criticism, that appeared in Italy since the revival of learning."[34]

In his poem of the "Christiad," Vida has avoided the error into which Sanazzaro has fallen, in mingling the profane fables of the heathen mythology with the mysteries of the Christian religion; and like Milton, seeks for inspiration only from the great fountain of life and of truth. Although he placed Virgil before him as his principal model, and certainly regarded him with sentiments next to adoration, as may appear from the conclusion of the third book of his poetics, yet he knew how to fix the limits of his imitation; and whilst he availed himself of the style and manner, and sometimes even of the language of the great Mantuan, he sought not to give to his writings a classic air, by the introduction of such persons and imagery as could only violate probability, nature, and truth. Hence, whilst the poem of Sanazzaro seems to be the production of an idolater, who believes not in the truths which he affects to inculcate, and frequently verges on the confines of indecency or incongruity, the writings of Vida display a sincere and fervent piety, a contempt of meretricious ornament, and an

[32] Some further particulars on this subject may be found in a letter of Girolamo Negri, in the "Lettere di Principi," vol. i. p. 106.

[33] "Immortal Vida! on whose honour'd brow
The poet's bays and critic's ivy grow;
Cremona now shall ever boast thy name,
As next in place to Mantua, next in fame."
Pope's Essay on Criticism, ver. 697.

[34] Warton's Essay on the Genius, &c. of Pope, vol. i. p. 197.

energetic simplicity of language, which will secure to them unmingled and lasting approbation.[35]

Girolamo Fracastoro.

In the first class of Italian scholars at this period, we may also confidently place Girolamo Fracastoro; who was not less distinguished by his skill in medicine, and his uncommon scientific acquirements, than by his great and acknowledged talents for Latin poetry. He was a native of Verona, where his ancestors had long held a respectable station. The time of his birth may be placed with tolerable certainty in the year 1483. Some peculiar circumstances attended his infancy, which his future eminence has perhaps caused to be more particularly noticed. At the time of his birth, his lips adhered together in such a manner as scarcely allowed him to breathe, and a surgical operation became necessary in order to remedy the defect. This incident is commemorated in an epigram of Julius Cæsar Scaliger, which may thus be imitated:[36]

> Thine infant lips, FRACASTOR, nature seal'd,
> But the mute organ favouring Phœbus heal'd.
> He broke the charm; and hence to thee belong,
> The art of healing, and the power of song.

An awful event which occurred in the infancy of Fracastoro has also been considered as a presage of his future eminence. Whilst his mother was carrying him in her arms she was struck dead by lightning, but her child received not the slightest injury. This singular fact is attested by such decisive evidence as to place it beyond all reasonable doubt.

After having received a liberal education in his native place, Fracastoro repaired to Padua, where he for some time

[35] Mr. Henke thinks this commendation of Vida somewhat too favourable, nd quotes the opinion of Papadopoli, who, he conceives, estimates him more accurately. "Exceptis carminibus de Latrunculis, et de Bombyce, quæ ingeniosissima sunt, frigent elegantissime et latinissime omnia." Germ. Ed. vol. iii. p. 95. But Bossi approves of the sentiments above expressed, and has defended Vida against some French critics, who have asserted that in his *Poetics* he has taught rather the art of imitating Virgil, than that of imitating nature. The Italian translator has also added some interesting notices respecting the various editions of the works of Vida, and has particularly referred to that printed at Oxford, in 3 vols. 8vo. in 1722, 1725, and 1733. Ital. Ed. vol. vii. pp. 322, 323.*

[36] "Os Fracastorio nascenti defuit, ergo
Sedulus attenta finxit Apollo manu.
Inde hauri, Medicusque ingens, ingensque Poeta,
Et magno facies omnia plena Deo."

availed himself of the instructions of the celebrated Pietro Pomponazzo, and formed a friendly intimacy with several persons who afterwards rose to great literary eminence. The authority of his instructor did not, however, lead Fracastoro to embrace his singular and erroneous opinions in metaphysics, some of which he afterwards confuted in one of his dialogues, although without expressly naming his former tutor.[37] He early perceived the futility of the barbarous and scholastic philosophy which Pomponazzo professed, and directed his whole attention to the cultivation of real science, of natural knowledge, and of every branch of polite literature. At the age of nineteen, he had not only received the laurel, the emblem of the highest academical degree at Padua, but was appointed professor of logic in that university, which office he relinquished a few years afterwards, that he might attend with less interruption to his own improvement.[38] He at first applied himself to the study of medicine rather as a science than as a profession; but afterwards engaged with great assiduity in the laborious duty of a physician, and was regarded as the most skilful practitioner in Italy. His engagements in this respect did not, however, prevent him from other pursuits, and his proficiency in mathematics, in cosmography, in astronomy, and other branches of natural science, have given just reason to suppose, that no other person in those times united in himself such a variety of knowledge.[39] The irruption of the emperor elect, Maximilian, into Italy, in the year 1507, and the dangers with which the city of Padua was threatened, induced Fracastoro, who had then recently lost his father, to form the intention of taking up his residence in his native city of Verona, but he was prevailed upon to change his purpose by the solicitations of the celebrated commander Bartolommeo d'Alviano, who, amidst the tumults of war and the incessant occupations of his active life, had never ceased to cultivate and to encourage literary studies. At his request Fracastoro delivered public instructions at the

[37] Tirab. vol. vii. par. i. p. 293.

[38] Maffei, Veron. vol. iii. par. ii. p. 337. ap. Tirab. vii. iii. 293. in not. Ed. Rom. 1785.

[39] Tirab. vii. iii. 293.

celebrated academy established by d'Alviano in his town of Pordonone, in the district of Trevigi; which place, after having been wrested by him from the emperor, was given to him by the Venetian senate as an independent dominion, in which he was succeeded by his son.[40] When that great general was again called into public life, Fracastoro accompanied him as the associate of his studies, until the year 1509,[41] when at the fatal battle of Ghiaradadda, D'Alviano was wounded and taken prisoner by the French. After this event Fracastoro retired to Verona, and dividing his time between his city residence and his retired villa in the mountains of Incaffi, devoted himself to scientific and literary pursuits, and to the composition of those works in various departments which have conferred so much honour on his memory.

His poem entitled Syphilis.

To this period of the life of Fracastoro may be referred the commencement of his celebrated poem, entitled "Syphilis, sive de Morbo Gallico," which appears from internal evidence to have been completed under the pontificate of Leo X. In adopting this subject, it was probably the intention of Fracastoro to unite his various talents and acquirements in one great work, which should at once display his extensive knowledge in the various branches of natural philosophy, his skill and experience on medical subjects, and his admirable genius for Latin poetry. The success of his labours proves that he had neither mistaken nor overrated his powers, and the approbation bestowed from all quarters upon the "Syphilis" was such as no production of modern times had before obtained. This work he inscribed to Pietro Bembo, then

[40] Alberti, Italia. p. 175. b.

[41] It is remarkable that D'Alviano had in his train three of the greatest Latin poets that modern times have produced; Andrea Navagero, Hieronymo Fracastoro, and Giovanni Cotta, the latter of whom was despatched by d'Alviano, when he was made a prisoner at the battle of Agnedello, on an embassy to Julius II. to endeavour to procure the liberation of his patron; on which expedition he died of a fever, having yet scarcely attained the prime of life. The few poems left by Cotta breathe the very spirit of his countryman Catullus; and Flaminio has ventured even to prefer his poems to, or at least to place them on an equality with, those of Catullus. The lines on the assassination of Alessandro de' Medici, usually called the first duke of Florence, attributed to Cotta by Gaguet and Vulpius, *vide* Fracastor. Cottæ, et aliorum Carm. Patav. 1718, 8vo., are the production of some later author; that event not having occurred until many years after his death.

Nor

domestic secretary to Leo X., with whom he had always maintained a friendly intercourse. In the beginning of the second book he particularly refers to the period at which the poem was written, and takes a general view of the circumstances of the times, the calamities that had afflicted Italy, the discoveries of the East Indies, the recent improvements in natural knowledge, in which he refers with great approbation to the writings of Pontano ; and to the tranquillity enjoyed under the pontificate of Leo X.

Nor yet, without the guiding hand of heaven,
To mortal toils are new acquirements given.
For though fierce tempests sweep the fields of air,
And stars malignant shed an angry glare;
Not yet the gracious power his smile denies,
Evinced in happier hours, and purer skies.
—If in new forms a dire disease impend;
In dreadful wars if man with man contend;
If the sad wretch, afar condemn'd to roam,
To hostile bands resign his native home;
If cities blaze, and powerful kingdoms fall,
And heaven's own altars share the fate of all;
If o'er its barrier burst the heaving tide,
And sweep away the peasant's humbler pride;
Yet even now (forbid to elder times,)
We pierce the ocean to remotest climes;
Give to the farthest east our keels to roll,
And touch the confines of the utmost pole.
—Nor o'er rude wilds, and dangerous tracks alone,
We make Arabia's fragrant wealth our own;
But 'midst Hesperia's milder climes, descry,
The dusky offspring of a warmer sky;
Midst farthest IND, where Ganges rolls his floods,
And ebon forests wave and spicy woods;
Where man a different offspring seems to rise;
And brighter planets roll through brighter skies.
Him too we boast, GREAT POET, o'er whose song
His own PARTHENOPE delighted hung;
With refluent wave whilst smooth SEBETO moves,
And MARO's mighty shade the strain approves
Of all the wandering stars of heaven that told;
And western groves of vegetable gold.
—But why recount each bard of mighty name,
Who stands recorded in the rolls of fame;
Whom future times shall hail (to merit just)
When their mute ashes slumber in the dust;
—Yet BEMBO, not in silent joy suppress,
Be one great boon; the latest and the best;
High-minded LEO; by whose generous cares,
Her head once more imperial LATIUM rears;
Whilst TIBER, rising from his long repose,
Onward in gratulating murmurs flows.
At HIS approach each threatening portent flies,
And milder beams irradiate all the skies;
He calls the muses to their loved retreats;
(Too long sad exiles from their favourite seats),

Gives Rome once more her ancient laws to know,
And truth and right to fix their reign below.
Now greatly just, he rushes on to arms,
As patriot ardour, or religion warms;
Back towards his source Euphrates rolls his tides,
And Nile his head in secret caverns hides;
Ægean Doris seeks her oozy caves,
And Euxine trembles 'midst his restless waves.[42]

The title of this singular poem is derived from the shepherd *Syphilus*, who is supposed to have kept the herds of Alcithous, a sovereign of Atlantis, and who, having become impatient of the scorching rays of the summer sun, refused, with impious expressions, to pay his sacrifices to Apollo, but raising an altar to Alcithous, worshipped that sovereign as his divinity. Exasperated at this indignity, Apollo infected the air with noxious vapours, in consequence of which Syphilus contracted a loathsome disease, which displayed itself in ulcerous eruptions over his whole body. The means adopted for his restoration to health, and the circumstances by which the remedy was communicated to Europe, form a principal part of the subject of the poem; which throughout the whole displays a degree of elegance, and a propriety of poetical ornament, scarcely to be expected from so unpromising a topic. In relating the discovery of the great mineral remedy, the powers of which were then well known, and the use of which is fully explained, the author has introduced a beautiful episode, in which he explains the internal structure of the earth, the great operations of nature in the formation of metals, and the gloomy splendour of her subterraneous temples, her caverns, and her mines. This region he has peopled with poetical beings, among whom, the nymph Lipare presides over the streams of quicksilver, into which the diseased

[42] Syphil, lib. ii. vol. 11. It is very remarkable, that Menckenius, in his Life of Fracastoro, p. 111, has asserted, that Fracastoro has not, either in his "Syphilis," or in any other part of his works, expressed his approbation of, or even mentioned Pontano. Surely Menckenius should have known that the poet mentioned in the passage

"Qui magnos stellarum orbes cantavit, et hortos
Hesperidum,"——

could be no other than Pontano. In addition to which, it may further be observed, that Fracastoro, in his dialogue, entitled "Naugerius, sive de Poetica," has not only expressly mentioned Pontano, but has cited his opinion as to the object and end of poetry, which he there fully discusses and confirms. *Vide* Op. Fracastor. ap. Giunt. p. 116.

visitant is directed to plunge himself thrice, and on his restoration to health, and his return to the regions of day, not to forget to pay his vows to Diana, and to the chaste nymphs of the sacred fount.[43]

It would be tedious, if not impracticable, on the present occasion, to repeat the numerous testimonies of approbation with which this poem and its author have been honoured, as well on its first appearance as in subsequent times;[44] but the most decisive proof of its merit is derived from the acknowledgment of Sanazzaro, who is generally accused of having estimated the writings of his contemporaries with an invidious severity, but who, on perusing the "Syphilis," confessed that Fracastoro had, in this work, not only surpassed any of the writings of Pontano, but even the poem "De partu Virginis," on which he had himself bestowed the labour of twenty years.[45]

The reputation of Fracastoro as a skilful physician, had, however, increased no less than his fame as an elegant poet; and besides being resorted to by great numbers for his assistance, he was frequently obliged to quit his retreat, for the purpose of attending on his particular friends, among whom were many men of rank and eminence in different parts of Italy.[46] By the desire of Paul III. he attended also in his medical character at the council of Trent, and it was principally by his advice that the session was removed from that city to Bologna.[47] The fatigues of his public life were,

[43] Count Bossi has conjectured, that Fracastoro, in adopting a new mythology, and placing the scene of his poem in the Atlantis, has intended to allude to the recent discovery of America, and to the supposed introduction of the disease in question, by the first navigators; a supposition which seems highly probable. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. vii. p. 157. Respecting the first notice of the use of mercury in this disease Count Bossi has also quoted some tracts of Giorgio Sommaripa of Verona, printed at Venice in 1487, which shew that this remedy was adopted much earlier than is generally imagined. Ibid. p. 323.*

[44] Many of these testimonies may be found in the Araæ Fracastoriæ of Julius Cæsar Scaliger, printed, with other commendatory pieces, at the close of the second volume of the works of Fracastoro, by Comino, Patav. 1739, 4to., and in the Life of Fracastoro, by Menckenius, sec. 9.

[45] Thuani Histor. lib. xii. tom. i. p. 430, ed. Buckley. But it is proper to observe, that the veracity of this anecdote has been much contested by several modern Italian critics, particularly cited by Count Bossi; who has added some judicious remarks of his own. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. vii. p. 324, *et seq.*

[46] If De Thou was not misinformed, Fracastoro exercised his profession without deriving from it a pecuniary reward. Ibid.

[47] Tirab. vol. vii. par. iii. p. 294. The reason assigned was the apprehension of

however, compensated by the pleasures which he found on his return to his villa, in the society of Giammatteo Ghiberti, who then resided at his bishopric of Verona, and expended his large revenues in the encouragement of learning and learned men; and by the occasional visits of the most celebrated scholars from different parts of Italy. Among these, were Marc-Antonio Flaminio, Andrea Navagero, Giovan-Battista Rannusio, and the three brothers of the Torriani, all of whom he has celebrated in his writings, some of which are also devoted to the praises of the cardinal Alessandro Farnese, to whom he dedicated his treatise in prose "De morbis contagiosis." The smaller poems of Fracastoro, in which he frequently refers to his beloved villa, to his mode of life, his literary associates, and his domestic concerns, are peculiarly interesting, and place him, both as a man and an author, in the most advantageous light.[48] The detached pieces of a few lines, to each of which he has given the title of "Incidens," may be regarded as so many miniature pictures, sketched with all the freedom of the Italian, and finished with all the correctness of the Flemish school. His sacred poem, entitled "Joseph," which he begun in his advanced years, and did not live to terminate, is sufficiently characteristic of his talents; although not considered as equal to the more vigorous productions of his youth. His specimens of Italian poetry are too few to add to his reputation, but will not derogate from the high character which he has by his various other labours so deservedly attained.

The death of Fracastoro was occasioned by an apoplexy, and occurred at his villa of Incaffi, in the year 1553; he being then upwards of seventy years of age.[49] A splendid

a contagious disorder; but it has been suggested, that the real cause was the desire of the pope to transfer the council from the dominions of the emperor to some city in Italy. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. vii. p. 327. However this may be, Fracastoro confirmed his opinion *on oath*. Salig. Hist. Conc. Trent. ap. Henke, Germ. Ed. vol. iii. p. 103.*

[48] A translation of Fracastoro's description of his Caphian villa, in his beautiful epistle to Franc. Torriano, may be found in Mr. Greswell's account of some of the Latin poets of Italy in the sixteenth century; but, perhaps, the most exquisite production of Fracastoro, is his epistle on the untimely death of his two sons, addressed to Giovan-Battista Torriano, and which, in point of elegance, pathos, and true sublimity, may bear a comparison with any production of the kind, either in ancient or modern times.

[49] Thuani Histor. lib. xii. vol. i. p. 430.

monument was erected to his memory in the cathedral of Verona; besides which he was honoured, by a public decree of the city, with a statue, which was accordingly erected at the common expense. A similar testimony of respect was paid to his memory at Padua, where the statue of Fracastoro, and another of Navagero, were erected by their surviving friend Giovan-Battista Rannusio.[50] Of the prose compositions and scientific labours of Fracastoro, a further account will occur in the sequel of the present work.

Among the learned friends of Bembo and Fracastoro, who, by their character and writings did honour to the age, no one held a higher rank than Andrea Navagero. He was born of a patrician family at Venice, in the year 1483,[51] and from his childhood gave indications of that extraordinary proficiency to which he afterwards attained. So retentive was his memory, and so highly was he delighted with the writings of the Latin poets, that whilst yet very young, he was accustomed to recite pieces of great length, which from his fine voice and correct pronunciation, acquired additional interest. His first instructor was the eminent Antonio Cocci, called *Sabellicus*, and author of the earliest history of Venice; but the assiduous perusal of the ancient authors refined his taste, and improved his judgment much more than the precepts of his teacher; and his proficiency was manifested by his committing to the flames several of his poems, which he had written in his early youth in imitation of the "Sylvæ"

Andrea Navagero.

[50] The motives of this are beautifully assigned by De Thou: "Ut, qui arcta inter se necessitudine conjuncti vixerant, et pulcherrimarum rerum scientias ac politiores literas excoluerant, eodem in loco spectarentur, et a juventute Patavina universoque Gymnasio quotidie salutarentur." Ibid. Of the numerous testimonies of respect to the memory of Fracastoro, by the scholars of the time, the following lines of Adam Fumani, prefixed to the Giuntine edition of the works of Fracastoro, Ven. 1574, 4to, may perhaps be considered as the most elegant:

"Longe vir unus omnium doctissimus,
Verona per quem non Marones Mantuæ,
Nec nostra priscis invident jam secula,
Virtute summam consecutus gloriam
Jam grandis ævo hic conditur Fracastorius.
Ad tristem acerbæ mortis ejus nuntium,
Vicina flevit ora, flerunt ultimæ
Gentes, periisse musicorum candidum
Florem, optimarum et lumen artium omnium."

[51] J. A. Vulpius, in Vita Naugerii, ejusd. op. præf. p. 10. Ed. Comino, 1718.

of Statius, but of which he could not in his maturer estimation approve. On the arrival of Marcus Musurus at Venice, Navagero became one of his most assiduous pupils, and by his indefatigable attention, acquired such a thorough acquaintance with the Greek tongue, as enabled him not only to understand the authors in that language, but to perceive their most refined excellences and convert them to his use in his own writings.[52] For this purpose, it was his custom not only to read, but to copy the works of the authors whom he studied, and this task he had executed more than once in the writings of Pindar, which he always held in the highest admiration.[53] Not confining himself, however, to the study of languages and the cultivation of his taste, he repaired to Padua for the purpose of obtaining instructions in philosophy and eloquence from Pietro Pomponazzo; and it was in that distinguished seminary of learning that he formed connexions of friendship with Fracastoro, Rannusio, the three brothers of the Torriani, and other men of rank and eminence, which continued unbroken throughout the rest of his life. On his return to Venice he became one of the most able and active supporters of the academy of Aldo Manuzio, and was indefatigable in collecting manuscripts of the ancient authors, several of whose works were published with his emendations and notes, in a more correct and elegant form than they had before appeared.[54] It was, indeed, chiefly by his exhortations that Aldo was induced, amidst all the calamities of the times, to persevere in his useful undertaking;[55] and the obligations which this great scholar and eminent artist owed to Navagero, are expressed

[52] Vulpius, in Vita Naugerii, p. 14.

[53] "——— Sic delectaris hoc poeta, ut *sæpe* eum tua manu accurate descripseris; puto, ut tibi magis fieret familiaris, tum ut ediscretur a te facilius, et teneretur memoria tenacius. Id quod describendo *Thucydidem* fecit *Demosthenes*, qui, ut Lucianus ait πρὸς ἀπαίδευτον, octies illum descripsit; idque ad suam ipsius utilitatem." Aldi Manutii Ep. ad Nauger. in Ed. Pindar. Ven. 1515, 8vo.

[54] Among these were the "Orations of Cicero," composing three volumes of the edition of Cicero, printed at the Aldine press, in 1519, and the second volume of the edition of the works of Cicero, printed by the *Juntæ* at Venice, 1534, in 4 vols. fo., which were edited by Petrus Victorius. To which may also be added, his "Variæ Lectiones in omnia opera Ovidii," printed in the Aldine edition of 1516, in three volumes, and again in 1533. These readings are also met with in other editions derived from the Aldine.

[55] Aldi Ep. ad Nauger. Pindari Ed. præf. Ven. 1513.

in several dedicatory epistles, addressed to him with a warmth of gratitude that evinces the deep sense which Aldo entertained of his merits and his services. An infirm state of health, occasioned by incessant study, rendered some relaxation necessary, and Navagero therefore accompanied his great patron D'Alviano to his academy at Pordonone, where he had an opportunity of enjoying once more the society of his friend Fracastoro,[56] and where he some time afterwards delivered public instructions. The high reputation which he had now acquired induced the senate to recall him to Venice, and to intrust to him the care of the library of cardinal Bessarion,[57] and the task of continuing the history of the republic of Venice, from the termination of the work of his preceptor Sabellicus. It soon, however, appeared that the talents of Navagero were not confined to the study of literature, but were equally calculated for the service of his country in the most difficult and honourable departments of the state. In the year 1523, after the battle of Pavia, in which Francis I. was made prisoner, he was despatched as the ambassador of the republic to the emperor Charles V. in Spain, and was absent from his country nearly four years. Soon after his return to Venice,[58] he was sent as ambassador to Francis I., who then held his court at Blois, where he died in the year 1529, being then only in the forty-sixth year of his age. Of the cause of the death of Navagero, of his character and acquirements, and of the fate of his writings, a particular account is introduced

[56] On the reconciliation which took place between Julius II. and the Venetian republic, in the year 1509, and which first broke the formidable league of Cambray, (*vide ante*, chap. viii.) Navagero addressed to that pontiff, in terms of the highest commendation, a Latin Eclogue, which deserves notice, as well from its intrinsic merit, as from the particularity with which it applies to the events before related.

[57] This collection, which was the foundation of the celebrated library of S. Marco, had in the year 1468 been presented by Bessarion to the Venetians. *Vide* Life of Lor. de' Medici.

[58] On this event he had begun a Latin poem, in which he was interrupted, and of which only the following beautiful lines are preserved:

"Salve, cura Deum, mundi felicior ora,
Formosæ *Veneris* dulces salvete recessus;
Ut vos post tantos animi, mentisque labores,
Aspicio, lustroque libens! Ut munere vestro,
Sollicitas toto depello e pectore curas!
Non aliis *charites* perfundunt candida lymphis
Corpora; non alios contexunt serta per agros."

by Fracastoro, in his treatise "De morbis contagiosis;" which, whilst it records a very singular medical fact, confers equal honour on the characters of both these illustrious scholars. After adverting to a species of putrid fever which appeared in Italy in the year 1505, and again in 1528, and which was attended with an eruption of efflorescent pustules, Fracastoro observes, that many persons who had left Italy and travelled into countries where this fever was not before known, had, after their departure, been affected by it, as if they had before received the infection of the disease. "This," says he, "happened to Andrea Navagero, ambassador from the Venetian republic to Francis I., who died of this disease in a country where such a complaint was not known even by name: a man of such abilities and acquirements, that for many years the literary world has not sustained so great a loss; for not only was he accomplished in every branch of useful science, but highly qualified for the service of his country in the most important concerns. Amidst the most imminent dangers of the republic, and when all Europe was embroiled in war, Navagero had scarcely returned from his embassy to the emperor Charles V. by whom he was highly esteemed for his distinguished virtues, than he was sent as ambassador to Francis I. The state of affairs admitted of no delay. The emperor was expected to arrive in Italy in the course of the summer to renew the war; and early in the year Navagero set out with fatal speed, by post-horses, for France. Soon after his arrival at Blois, and after having had a few interviews with the king, he was, however, seized with the disorder that caused his death; an event that occasioned the utmost grief to all men of learning, to the French nation, and to the king himself, who was an earnest promoter of literature, and who gave directions that his obsequies should be performed with great pomp. His body being brought to Venice, as he had by will directed, was there interred with his ancestors."—"The same good fortune that had distinguished his public negotiations, did not, however, attend Navagero in his domestic concerns. Notwithstanding his great talents and great activity, he was so fully occupied with the affairs of

the state, that he could scarcely devote any time to his studies. His correct judgment led him to appreciate with severity his own productions, and having formed an idea that they were not sufficiently revised and polished to be published, without detracting from the high reputation which he had obtained among the learned of almost all nations, he committed all the writings which he had with him to the flames. Among these were his books, 'De Venatione,' or on hunting, elegantly written in heroic verse, in compliment to Bartolommeo D'Alviano; and another work which I have seen, 'De situ Orbis;' and not to dwell upon his oration to the memory of Catharina, queen of Cyprus, daughter of the senator Marco Cornaro, and other pieces which were then destroyed, how shall we sufficiently regret the loss of that excellent history, which he had undertaken at the request of the senate, and which he had with great assiduity completed, from the arrival of Charles VIII. in Italy to his own times? For this we must not, however, presume to blame the author but must acknowledge with the poet, that,

'Ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt.'
Fate leads the willing, drags th' unwilling on.

The orations of Navagero on the death of D'Alviano, and of the doge Loredano, which are distinguished by all the beauty of antiquity, and a few poems which were privately copied by his friends, and may be considered as the gleanings of his funeral pile, have, however, been published, and will demonstrate the exalted genius and great learning of Navagero to all future times."[59]

[59] The few pieces to which Fracastoro above refers, were collected together soon after the death of Navagero, and printed in the year 1530, with a short address prefixed, for the most part in the very words of Fracastoro above cited; from which we may reasonably conjecture, that it was he who procured this edition of the writings of his friend, and who superintended its publication. The researches of subsequent times, and particularly the industry of the learned brothers, Giovan-Antonio and Gaetano Volpi, to whom we are indebted for many valuable editions of the works of the early restorers of literature, have, however, collected a few additional pieces of Navagero, which had before been scattered in various publications, and given to the public a complete edition of his works, printed by Comino Padua, 1718. Among these are the remarks made by Navagero on his journeys to Spain and to France, a few Italian poems, which bear the same character of elegant correctness as his Latin writings, and several of his letters, prefixed to his editions of the ancient authors, particularly one which is addressed to Leo X., exhorting him to undertake an expedition against the Turks.

To the credit of Navagero, it may be, with truth, observed, that all his writings are perfectly free from that point and antithesis which is the common subterfuge of inferior talents, but which true genius spurns with an indignant feeling. Not satisfied, however, with the example afforded his countrymen in his own writings, he gave a striking proof of his aversion to a false and affected taste, by annually devoting to the flames a copy of the works of Martial;[60] whom he probably considered as the chief corrupter of that classical purity which distinguished the writers of the Augustan age.

Marc-Antonio Flaminio.

From the great names of Fracastoro and Navagero, that of Marc-Antonio Flaminio ought not to be far divided; not only on account of the great similarity of studies and of taste, but of the uninterrupted friendship and affection which subsisted among these distinguished men, whom posterity ought to regard as patterns of human excellence. The family name of Flaminio was *Zarrabini*, which had been exchanged by his father, Gian-Antonio, on his entering into a literary society at Venice, for that of Flaminio. Gian-Antonio was himself a scholar of acknowledged merit, and a professor of belles-lettres in different academies of Italy; but although he has left favourable specimens of his proficiency both in prose and verse,[61] his own reputation is almost lost in the additional lustre which he derives from that of his son, whose honours he lived many years to enjoy. A short time before the close of the fifteenth century, Gian-Antonio had quitted his native city of Imola, and taken up his residence at Serravalle, where Marc-Antonio was born in the year 1498.[62] Under the constant care and

[60] Jovius, ap. Tirab. vol. vii. par. iii. p. 230.

[61] *Vide ante*, chap. ix. During the wars consequent on the league of Cambray, Gian-Antonio had been despoiled of his property, and driven from his residence at Serravalle, but was relieved by the liberality of Julius II., and of the cardinal Raffaello Riario. He has left many works, both in prose and verse, some of which have been printed, and of which his twelve books of letters are the most valuable, as they throw considerable light on the state of literature, and afford much particular information respecting the early progress of his son.

[62] It has generally been supposed, that Marc-Antonio was a native of Imola; but Gianagostino Gradenigo, bishop of Ceneda, has clearly shewn that he was born at Serravalle. *Vide* Lettera di Gradenigo, Nuova Raccolta d'Opuscoli, tom. xxiv. p. i. Ven. 1773. It is, however, admitted that his father Gian-Antonio was born at Imola, whence both he and his son have frequently denominated themselves

instructions of the father, the happy disposition and docile genius of the son were so early and so highly cultivated, that when he had attained the age of sixteen, his father determined to send him to Rome, for the purpose of presenting to the supreme pontiff, Leo X., a poem exhorting him to make war against the Turks, and a critical work under the title of "Annotationum Sylvæ."[63] On this occasion Gian-Antonio addressed a letter to the pope, and another to the cardinal Marco Cornaro; by whom, and by the cardinal of Aragon, Marc-Antonio was introduced to the pontiff, who received him with great kindness, and listened with apparent satisfaction to the compositions which he read. After bestowing on Marc-Antonio distinguished proofs of his liberality, he sent to his father to request that he would permit him to remain at Rome, where he would himself provide him with suitable instructors; but Gian-Antonio, who appears to have attended no less to the morals than to the literary acquirements of his son, probably thought him too young to be released from his paternal guidance, and it is certain, that on this occasion Marc-Antonio did not long reside at Rome. He soon afterwards, however, paid another visit to the pontiff, and was received by him at his villa at Malliana. Leo again expressed himself highly gratified with his young visitor, and promised to remember him on his return to Rome. Accordingly, soon after the return of Leo to the city, he sent for Marc-Antonio, and rewarded him for his uncommon talents and early acquirements with that liberality which he always shewed towards men of learning, at the same time addressing him in the language of the poet,

"Macte nova virtute, puer; sic itur ad astra."[64]

The pontiff was also desirous of ascertaining whether the elegance of taste displayed by Flaminio was accompanied by an equal solidity of judgment; for which purpose he pro-

Forocornelienses. The family was originally of Cotignola, where Lodovico Zarrabini, the father of Gian-Antonio, resided. *Vide* Tirab. vii. iii. 256.

[63] A copy of this work yet remains, and is in the possession of the learned Abate Jacopo Morelli, librarian of S. Marco, at Venice.

[64] Joan-Anton. Flam. Epist. in Op. M. A. Flamin. p. 297. To this quotation the pope added, "Video enim te brevi magnum tibi nomen comparaturum, ac non genitori, et generi tuo solum, sed et toti Italiæ ornamento futurum." Ibid.

posed to him several questions, which he debated with him at great length in the presence of some of the cardinals. In the course of this conversation Flaminio gave such proofs of his good sense and penetration, as equally surprised and delighted all who heard him; in consequence of which the cardinal of Aragon wrote to Gian-Antonio Flaminio a letter of congratulation. It appears to have been the intention of the elder Flaminio that his son should return to him at Imola, but the kindness and honours bestowed on Marc-Antonio at Rome, induced his father to grant him permission to remain there; where, by the directions of the pope, he for some time enjoyed the society, and availed himself of the instructions of the celebrated Raffaello Brandolini.[65] This indulgence on the part of his father afforded Flaminio an opportunity of making an excursion to Naples, where he formed a personal acquaintance with Sanazzaro, whom he always highly honoured, and which was perhaps the principal inducement to him to undertake the journey."[66]

In the year 1515, Flaminio accompanied the count Baldassare Castiglione to Urbino, where he continued to reside for some months, and was held in the highest esteem by that accomplished nobleman for his amiable qualities and great endowments, but particularly for his early and astonishing talents for Latin poetry.[67] The care of his father was

[65] This is fully shewn from the letters of the elder Flaminio, cited by Mazzuchelli, in his Life of Brandolini. Scrittori d'Ital. vi. 2019.

[66] Tirab. vii. iii. 259.

[67] In the same year, when Marc-Antonio was scarcely eighteen years of age, he published at Fano the first specimen of his productions, with a few poems of Marullus, that had not before been printed, under the following title: "Michaelis Tarchaniotae Marulli Neniæ. Ejusdem epigrammata nunquam alias impressa. M. Antonii Flaminii Carminum libellus. Ejusdem Ecloga Thyrsis. Impressum Fani in ædibus Hieronymi Soncini. Idibus Septemb. M.D.XV." As this small volume, printed in octavo, is extremely rare, a more particular account of it may not be unacceptable. It is addressed by the editor, Flaminio, in a short dedication, to Achille Philerote Bocchi. The poems of Marullus consist of his "Neniæ," or complaint on the loss of his country and the misfortunes of his family; an elegy on the death of Giovanni, the son of Pier-Francesco de' Medici; an ode to Charles V. and another *ad Antonium Baldracanum*, with a few epigrams, or short occasional poems. These pieces do not appear, either in the first edition of the works of Marullus, printed at Florence in 1497, or in the later edition by Cripius, Paris, 1561, and are, perhaps, only to be found in this volume. The poems of Flaminio are dedicated to Lodovico Speranzo, by whose entreaties it appears he had selected a few of his pieces to be printed. In this dedication, Flaminio expresses his apprehensions that he may be accused of presumption, in expecting the world will read the poems of a youth, who has yet scarcely attained the

not, however, yet withdrawn; towards the close of the last mentioned year, he called his son from Urbino and sent him to Bologna, to attend to the study of philosophy, preparatory to his making choice of the profession which he meant to adopt. Nor was he deterred from this measure by the solicitations of Beroaldo, who proposed, on the part of Sadoleti, to associate Marc-Antonio with him in the honourable office of pontifical secretary. The refusal of so respectable and advantageous an employment for a young man on his entrance into public life is remarkable, and might induce a suspicion that either the father or the son did not approve of the morals and manners of the Roman court, or had not been fully satisfied with the conduct of the pontiff; a suspicion that may perhaps receive some confirmation by observing, that Marc-Antonio has not, throughout all his poetical works, introduced the praises, or even the name, of Leo X. However this may be, it is certain, that after his residence at Bologna, he again returned to Rome, and formed an intimacy with those illustrious scholars who rendered that city the centre of literature and of taste. Without devoting himself to any lucrative profession, he for some years attached himself to the cardinal de' Sauli, whom he accompanied on a journey to Geneva, and enjoyed with him the society of several eminent scholars, who formed a kind of

eighteenth year of his age. Of these poems, some have been printed, often with variations, in the subsequent editions of his works; but several pieces appear there which are not to be found in the edition by Mancurti, published at Padua, by Comino, in 1727, which is considered as the most complete; whence it is probable this early publication of Flaminio was not known to his editors. It is observable, that the lines in commendation of the writings of Navagero, in the Comino edition, p. 40:

"Quot bruma creat albicans pruinas
Quot tellus Zephyro soluta flores" &c.

are applied in the early edition to the writings of the author's father, Gian-Antonio Flaminio; the above lines being transposed, and the poem ending thus:

"Tot menses, bone *Flamini*, tot annos
Perennes maneant tui libelli."

Among the pieces that have not been reprinted, are two odes, addressed to Guido Postumo, of whom some account will hereafter be given, which display the early talents of the author no less than his other writings. The volume concludes with an eclogue, intended to express the gratitude of the author to the count Baldassare Castiglione, for the favours conferred upon him at Urbino. These pieces, with the dedications or introductory letters by which they are accompanied, throw considerable light on the early life and studies of their author, and deserve to be more generally known.

academy at his villa. After the death of the cardinal, Flaminio resided with the prelate Giammatteo Ghiberti, either at Padua or at his see of Verona, where he secured the friendship of Fracastoro and Navagero; a friendship of the most disinterested and affectionate kind, as appears from many passages in their writings.

About the close of the year 1538, Flaminio was induced, by a long continued and dangerous indisposition, to pay another visit to Naples, where he remained about three years, and by the relaxation which he obtained from his studies, and the alternate enjoyment of the city and the country, recovered his former health.[68] Whilst at Naples he was appointed to attend the cardinal Contareni to the congress held at Worms in 1540; but his infirmities would not permit him to undertake the journey. On quitting Naples he repaired to Viterbo, where the cardinal Reginald Pole then resided as pontifical legate, and where Flaminio lived on terms of the most friendly intimacy with that prelate, who greatly distinguished himself by his munificent patronage of the learned men of his time. He also accompanied the cardinal to the council of Trent, in which the cardinal was appointed to preside as one of the pontifical legates, and where the important office of secretary to the council was offered to Flaminio, who, by his declining it, as well as by other parts of his conduct and the tenor of some of his writings, gave rise to suspicions that he was inclined towards the opinions of the reformers. This imputation has occasioned considerable discussion between the papal and protestant writers, which demonstrates, at least, the earnest desire entertained by each of the contending parties to rank as their adherent a man so distinguished by his accomplishments, and whose virtue and piety were no less conspicuous than his talents.[69] Certain it is that no person of his time

[68] To this visit, during which Flaminio was honoured by the attention of the Neapolitan nobility and scholars, he adverts with great pleasure in many of his writings; particularly in his beautiful elegy, Carm. lib. ii. carm. vii., "Pausilypi colles et candida Mergellina," and in his verses addressed to Francesco Caserti, lib. vi. carm. xx.

[69] A dissertation, expressly on this subject, was written by Schelhornius, and published in the Amœnitat. Hist. Ecclesiast. vol. ii., to which Tiraboschi has fully replied in his "Storia della Lett. Ital." vol. vii. par. iii. p. 263. From these it appears,

conciliated in so eminent a degree the respect and affection of all those who were capable of appreciating real merit, and the sincerity of their esteem was often displayed in acts of kindness which did equal honour to his patrons and himself. The important benefits conferred upon him by the cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who restored to him his paternal inheritance, of which he had been unjustly deprived, are acknowledged in many parts of his works. The cardinal Ridolfo Pio also increased his possessions, and from the car-

that the opinion of the heterodoxy of Flaminio had gained such ground, that his writings were for some time prohibited in the "Index Expurgatorius" of the Roman church, by that bigoted pontiff, Paul IV. (Caraffa), who, it is also said, intended to have the body of the author disinterred, and committed to the flames. Tiraboschi has endeavoured to invalidate this latter assertion, by referring to the instances of friendship which passed between that pontiff, whilst a cardinal, and Flaminio; but if the pope could attempt to blacken the memory of Flaminio by the darkest imputation with which, in the general opinion, it could be affected, there seems no improbability in supposing that he would also display his resentment against his lifeless remains. As to the fact itself, Tiraboschi fully admits that Flaminio had adopted the opinions of the reformers, and this from a motive which confers the highest honour on his character. "Che egli si mostrasse per qualche tempo propenso alle opinioni de' Novatori, non può negarsi. E forse la stessa pietà del Flaminio, e l'austera e innocente vita, ch' ei conduceva, lo trasse suo malgrado in que' lacci; perciocchè essendo la riforma degli abusi e l'emendazion de' costumi il pretesto di cui valeansi gli Eretici per muover guerra alla Chiesa, non è maraviglia, che alcuni uomini pii, si lasciassero da tali argomenti sedurre." The same author, however, afterwards endeavours to shew, that Flaminio was re-converted to the true faith, by the exertions of his friend, cardinal Pole, under whose roof he died as a good Catholic, and who boasted of having rendered a great service, not only to Flaminio, but to the Roman church, in detaching him from the cause of the reformers. *Vide* Tirab. vii. iii. 263. By what arguments his conviction was effected, does not appear, but the mild and inoffensive spirit of Flaminio was ill qualified to brook the reproaches of his friends, much less to prompt him to undergo the sufferings of a martyr. I shall only further observe, that the lines of Flaminio entitled "De Hieronymo Savonarola," Ed. Comin. p. 72, were more probably intended to apply to Jerome of Prague, who was actually burnt alive by the council of Constance, whilst the dead body only of Savonarola was consumed by the flames.

"Dum fera flamma tuos, *Hieronyme*, pascitur artus,
Religio, sanctas dilaniata comas,
Flevit, et O, dixit, crudeles parcite flammæ,
Parcite; sunt isto viscera nostra rogo."

Notwithstanding the observations of both Count Bossi and Mr. Henke on this passage, I still think that the above lines of Flaminio must be referred rather to Jerome of Prague than to Savonarola. That Flaminio was decidedly attached to the cause of the reformers is admitted. The remark of Mr. Henke, that, "*as a good Catholic*, Flaminio might have hesitated to celebrate Jerome of Prague, far sooner than Savonarola, who was highly extolled by the Dominicans," therefore falls to the ground; it being precisely because Flaminio was *not* a *good* catholic, that he may be supposed to have alluded to Jerome of Prague. In the opinion of Bossi, that the lines may be applied to the burning the *dead* body of Savonarola, as well as the *living* one of the martyr of Constance, I can by no means agree. *Vide* Germ. Ed. vol. iii. p. 121. Ital. Ed. vol. vii. p. 181.

dinals Sforza and Accolti he received similar marks of attention and esteem.[70]

The death of Flaminio, which happened at Rome in the year 1550, occasioned the sincerest grief to all the friends of literature. Of the numerous testimonies of affection, of respect, of admiration, and of grief, which were poured out by the scholars of Italy on this occasion, many have been collected by the editors of his works, and to these many others might yet be added from the writings of his contemporaries. But his own productions remain, and it is to these only that posterity will resort for an impartial estimate of his merits. The chief part of these are collected in eight books of Latin poems, and consist of odes, eclogues, hymns, elegies, and epistles to his friends. He appears never to have had the ambition to attempt any work of considerable length; yet, if we may be allowed to judge from the vigour with which he always supports himself, he might with safety have ventured on a longer flight. It is difficult to determine in what department of poetry he most excels. In his odes he has caught the true spirit of Horace. His elegies, among which that on his own sickness, and that on his journey to Naples, are pre-eminently beautiful, may rank with the most finished remains of Tibullus; but, if a preference be due to any part of his writings above the rest, it may perhaps be given to his *Hendecasyllabi* and *Iambics*, in which he displays a simplicity and a pathos which seem to exhibit the real character of his mind. It is in these pieces, not the cold and laboured productions of the head, but written warm from the heart to the heart, that we are to trace that affection to his friends, that gratitude to his benefactors, that engaging tenderness of sentiment, which united with a lively fancy, and exhibited with the utmost grace and elegance of expression, secured to him the love and admiration of all his contemporaries, and will never fail to conciliate a sincere esteem for his memory in all those who enjoy the pleasure of an acquaintance with his works.[71]

His writings.

[70] Flaminii Carm. lib. i. carm. 17, 22, 29, &c., ii. 10. v. 2. vii. 42.

[71] The Latin poems of Flaminio were collected, with those of several other distinguished poets, united with him by the ties of friendship, under the title of

Among the particular friends of Fracastoro, Navagero, and Flaminio, many of whom contributed by their own productions to give additional lustre to the literature of the age, may be enumerated the three brothers of the Capilupi, Lelio, Ippolito, and Camillo, of Mantua, all of whom distinguished themselves by their talents for Latin poetry, no less than by their various other accomplishments;[72] Trifone Benzio, of Assisi, an Italian poet, who, by the elegance of his writings, and the philosophic firmness of his mind, alleviated the misfortune of his personal defects;[73] Achille Bocchi, called *Philerote*, deeply skilled in the Greek and Hebrew tongues, and well known by his elegant book of symbols,[74] and by his other poems; Gabriello Faerno, whose Latin fables are written with such classical purity, as to have given rise to an opinion that he had discovered and fraudulently availed himself of some of the unpublished works of

"Carmina quinque illustrium Poetarum, nempe Bembi, Naugerii, Castilioni, Cottæ, et Flaminii. Venetiis, 1548, 8vo. (*Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. vii. p. 332), a beautiful volume, now of rare occurrence."

[72] Their works were united together, and published in 1540. Many of them are also inserted in the Carm. Illustr. Poet. Ital. vol. iii. Flaminio has addressed to them a copy of verses, accompanying some of his poems, in which he denominates them,

"Fratres optimi et optimi poetæ."

Flamin. lib. v. carm. 53.

I cannot admit the corrections of Count Bossi, respecting the names of these three brothers, and must refer him to Tiraboschi, vol. vii. par. 3, p. 254. Ed. Rom. 1785.

[73] Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. tom. ii. par. ii. p. 900. Tirab. vol. vii. par. iii. p. 194. Flaminio, contrasting the personal deformity of his friend Benzio with the accomplishments of his mind, addresses him—

"O dentatior et lupis et apris,
Et setosior hirco olente, et idem
Tamen deliciæ novem dearum
Quæ silvam Aoniam colunt," &c.

Carm. lib. v. carm 50.

[74] First printed at Bologna, 1555, and again in 1574. The prints in this work are designed and engraved by the celebrated artist, Giulio Bonasone. Their merit is various, but many of them are very beautiful; a circumstance which may be explained by a passage in Malvasia, "Felsina Pittrice," ii. 72, where we find that Bonasone frequently copied his ideas from Michel-Agnolo and Albert Durer, and that he procured designs from Parmigiano and Prospero Fontana; the latter of whom was an intimate friend of Bocchi. With this information, it would not be difficult to allot these designs to their respective masters. In the second edition, the prints are retouched by Agostino Caracci, who has also engraved the first symbol from a design of his own; but notwithstanding the great merit of this artist, the first edition of this scarce work is to be preferred. The pieces addressed by Flaminio to Bocchi may be found in lib. i. carm. 34, 43, lib. ii. carm. 29.

Phædrus; Onorato Fascitelli,[75] and Basilio Zanchi,[76] two Latin poets, whose writings are deservedly ranked among the best productions of the age; Benedetto Lampridio, no less to be esteemed for the services rendered by him to the cause of literature, as an excellent preceptor, than for his Latin poems, in which he is considered as the first who emulated with any degree of success the flights of Pindar; Adamo Fumani, of whom many productions remain, in Greek, Latin, and Italian, and whose poem on the rules of logic, in five books, is mentioned by Tiraboschi in terms of the highest applause;[77] and the three brothers of the Torriani, who, although not celebrated by their own writings, were eminent promoters of literature, and maintained a strict intimacy with most of the learned men of the time.[78]

It would be unjust to the characters of the illustrious scholars before mentioned, and particularly of Fracastoro, Flaminio, Navagero, and Vida, to close this brief account, without adverting to some circumstances which apply to them in common, and which confer the highest honour on their memory. Although they devoted their talents to the cultivation of the same department of literature, yet so far were they from being tainted in the slightest degree with that envy which has too often infected men of learning, and led them to regard the productions of their contemporaries with a jaundiced eye, that they not only passed their lives in habits of the strictest friendship, but admired and enjoyed the literary productions of each other, with a warmth and a sincerity which were at once a proof of the correctness of their judgment, and of the liberality of their minds. This admiration they were not more ready to feel than

[75] A native of Isernia, and bishop of Isola. Many of his poems are annexed to the edition of Sanazzaro, by Comino, Padua, 1731. He is denominated by Broukhusius, "Poeta purus ac nitidus;" a character not superior to his merits.

[76] A native of Bergamo, who resided at Rome during the pontificate of Leo X., and whose poems were published at Bergamo, in 1747, with the life of the author, by Serassi. Many of them are also inserted in the Carm. Illustr. Poet. Ital., and may bear a comparison with the finest productions of the times. *Vide* Tirab. vol. vii. par. iii. p. 224.

[77] This poem, and other works of Fumani, are printed with the works of Fracastoro, in the second edition, by Comino, two volumes 4to. Patav. 1739.

[78] *Vide* Fracastor. Dialog. cui tit. Turrius, sive de Intellectione, in Op. p. 121, ed. Giunti, 1574. Ejusd. Carm. ii. iii. viii. xiv. xv. xvi. xvii. in Op. tom. i. Navageri, Veris Descriptio. in Op. Comin. p. 199. Flaminii, Carm *passim*.

to express; and their works abound with passages devoted to the commemoration of their friendship, and to the mutual commendation of their talents and writings. This example extended to their contemporaries, and humanised and improved the character of the age; insomuch that the scholars of the time of Leo X. were not more superior to those of the fifteenth century, in the proficiency made in liberal studies, than in the urbanity of their manners, the candour of their judgment, and the generous desire of promoting the literary reputation of each other. Hence, it is further to be observed, that these authors have never dipped their pens in the gall of satire, or degraded their genius by combining its efforts with those of malignity, of jealousy, of arrogance, or of spleen. Not confining their talents to the cloistered recesses of learned indolence, they obtained by their conduct in public life the esteem and confidence of their fellow-citizens; whilst their hours of leisure were devoted to the cultivation of the severer sciences, and enlivened by those poetical effusions to which they are now indebted for the chief part of their fame. The intrinsic merit and classical purity of their writings are rendered yet more estimable by the strict attention to decency and moral propriety which they uniformly display; and which, added to the consideration of the ease and simplicity with which they are written, might justly entitle them to a preference, even to the remains of many of the ancient authors, in promoting the education of youth.[79]

Latin poetry cultivated at Rome.

In no part of Italy, however, was the cultivation of Latin poetry attended to with such assiduity as in the city of Rome, to which place almost all the learned men from every part of Europe occasionally resorted, and where many of them fixed their constant residence. Among those who appear to have enjoyed in an eminent degree the favour and confidence of

[79] For some interesting notices of several other writers of Latin poetry, I must refer to Count Bossi, whose additions to the Italian translation, if incorporated into the present work, would go near to render it a general history of the literature of the age; an object far beyond what I had in view; which was only to enter on that subject as far as connected with the character and exertions of Leo X. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. vii. p. 332, *et seq.**

the supreme pontiff, we may particularly distinguish Guido Postumo Silvestri of Pesaro; who was born in that city, of a noble or a respectable family, in the year 1479.[80] His father, Guido Silvestri, having died before the birth of his son, his mother gave to her offspring the appellation of her deceased husband, with the addition of that of *Postumo*. His early education was superintended by Gian-Francesco Superchio, Proposto of the cathedral of Pesaro, better known by the name of Philomuso,[81] and by Gabriel Foschi, afterwards appointed by Julius II. archbishop of Durazzo.[82] He then repaired to the academy of Padua, where, having pursued his studies during two years, he married, at the early age of nineteen, a lady of whom he was deeply enamoured, and whom he has frequently celebrated in his writings under the name of *Fannia*. The death of his beloved consort, which happened within the short space of three years after her marriage, whilst it appears to have affected him with sincere sorrow, afforded him an additional topic for the exercise of his poetical talents. He now quitted the city of Padua and engaged in the service of Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro, on whose behalf he interested himself with great warmth when that prince was attacked by Cæsar Borgia. On this occasion, Postumo expressed his resentment against the family of Borgia in some sarcastic verses; in consequence of which he was soon afterwards deprived of his possessions, and might have considered himself as sufficiently fortunate in having escaped with his life from the effects of their resentment.[83] On his expulsion from his native place, he

Guido Postumo Silvestri.

[80] The particulars of his life have been collected by the Cav. Domenico Bonamini, under the title of "Memorie Istoriche di Guido Postumo Silvestre Pesarese," and published in the "Nuova Raccolta d'Opuscoli," tom. xx. Venez. 1770. To this tract, and to the writings of Postumo, I am chiefly indebted for the particulars given of him in this work.

[81] Author of the congratulatory verses to Leo X. on his appointment to the rank of cardinal, and afterwards on his elevation to the pontificate. *Vide ante*, vol. i. chap. i. and chap. x.

[82] To this, his early preceptor, Postumo has addressed his affectionate and pathetic elegy, entitled, "Ad Fuscum, Episcopum Comaclensem," Eleg. lib. i. p. 10, in which he acknowledges his kindness, and laments his own misfortunes and imprisonment.

[83] It is observable, that in one of the poems of Postumo, intended to excite the citizens of Pesaro to resist the arms of Borgia, the author refers, not only to the

repaired to Modena, where he was appointed preceptor to the young nobles of the family of Rangone, the sons of Bianca, daughter of Giovanni Bentivoglio of Bologna; and by her recommendation he was nominated as one of the professors of the celebrated academy of Bologna, from whence he was, however, soon afterwards expelled, in consequence of the dissensions between the family of Bentivoglio and the pontiff Julius II.[84] Having taken an active part in the wars which desolated Italy, and in which he obtained great credit by his military talents, he was, in the year 1510, whilst commanding a troop of Bolognese in the service of the Bentivoli, made prisoner by the papal troops, and committed by Julius II. to close confinement. As Postumo had long been the avowed adversary of the Roman see, and had attacked the character of the pontiff in his writings, he conceived himself on this occasion to be in great danger, and endeavoured to mitigate the anger of the pope in a supplicatory elegiac poem which yet remains, and which probably obtained him his liberty.[85]

From this time the life of Postumo appears to have been more tranquil. Having throughout the whole course of his studies paid particular attention to medicine, he was, in the year 1510, appointed by the duke of Ferrara, professor of that science and of philosophy in the university of Ferrara, where he remained about six years. This situation he probably quitted for the purpose of superintending the education of Guidubaldo, the infant son of Francesco Maria duke of Urbino; as it appears, that on the attack made upon the territories of that prince by Leo X., Postumo was sent with his young charge to the fortress of S. Leo, as to a place of perfect safety. Of this fortress it has been suggested that Postumo held the chief command, when it was captured in the year 1517, by the joint efforts of the pontifical and Florentine troops; but of this the evidence is

murder of the duke of Gandia, by Cæsar Borgia, and to the supposed incestuous intercourse of this family, but to other charges, not alluded to, as far as I have discovered, by any other writer, which are, however, sufficiently refuted by their own enormity. Eleg. lib. ii. p. 38.

[84] Bonamini, Memorie di Guid. Postumo, p 13.

[85] Ad Julium Secundum, Pont. ut subjectis et victis parcat hostibus. Eleg. lib. i. p 15.

too slight to be relied on.[86] It is, however, highly probable that he was here made a prisoner, since we find him in the same year at Rome; but in whatever character he first made his appearance there, it is certain that he was treated by Leo X. with particular attention and kindness, which he has endeavoured to repay by recording the praises of that pontiff in many parts of his works. Among these commendatory pieces, the elegiac poem in which he compares the happiness enjoyed under the pontificate of Leo X. with the wretched state of Italy, under his predecessors, Alexander VI. and Julius II., is deserving of particular notice. By the generosity of Leo X. Postumo was enabled to restore his family mansion at Pesaro to its former splendour; a circumstance which he has not failed to record in his writings.[87] In the amusements of the chase, of which Leo so eagerly partook, Postumo was his frequent associate, and one of the most finished poems of this author is devoted to commemorate the various incidents which attended an excursion made by the pontiff to his villa at Palo, for the purpose of enjoying this amusement, on which occasion he was accompanied by the foreign ambassadors and the prelates and nobles of his court.[88] The tranquillity and happiness which Postumo now enjoyed, were, however, interrupted by the infirm state of his health, which some of his contemporaries attributed to the luxurious banquets of which he partook in the pontifical palace,[89] but

[86] Bonamini has founded this opinion on the following lines of Postumo, in his *Epicedium* on the death of his mother:

> "Creditus hoc cum ipso est saxo mihi regius infans
> Guidus Juliades, qui quamquam mitis, et ore
> Blandus, ut ex vultu possis cognoscere matrem,
> Patrem animis tamen, et primis patruum exprimit annis."

But this is contradicted by the historical evidence of Leoni, who informs us, that the defence of this fortress was intrusted to Sigismondo Varano, who, on account of his youth, was assisted by Bernardino Ubaldino, and Battista da Venafro. Leoni, Vita di Fran. Maria Duca D'Urbino, lib. ii. p. 183. *Et vid. ante*, chap. xiv. 87.

[87] Guidi Postumi Silvestri, Eleg. lib. i. p. 7. Ed. Bonon. 1524.

[88] Ibid. lib. ii. p. 91.

[89] "Præstat nonnihil in Elegis Guidus Posthumus Pisaurensis; ausus ille aggredi phalæcios et heroicos, parum utrumque recte; sapientiæ et medicinæ studia amplexatus, nihilo plus quam in poetica profecit, secutus convivia, et Regum convictus, unde infirmam atque ægram valetudinem contraxit." Gyrald. de poet. suorum temp. in Op. ii. 538. It is observed with great truth by Count Bossi, that the judgment pronounced by Giraldi appears to be too severe; for that if Postumo

which others have supposed to have been the effects of his military fatigues, on a constitution naturally weak.[90] In hopes of deriving some advantage from change of air, he retired to the pleasant villa of Capranica, in company with his former pupil, the cardinal Ercole Rangone, whence he addressed to Leo X. an elegiac poem which is conjectured to be the last of his productions;[91] as he died at this place only a short time before the pontiff, in the year 1521.[92]

His writings.

Of the merit of the writings of Postumo very different opinions have been entertained. That they are to be ranked with the polished productions of Fracastoro, of Vida, and of Flaminio, cannot indeed be asserted; but they frequently exhibit passages of considerable merit, and are, on the present occasion, entitled to particular notice, as having preserved to us many circumstances of the private life and character of Leo X.

Giovanni Mozzarello.

Among those who contributed by their wit and vivacity to the amusement of the pontiff in his hours of leisure, was Giovanni Mozzarello, a native of Mantua; but Leo had sufficient discernment to perceive that Mozzarello, although very young, possessed superior talents, which, amidst his apparent negligence, he had cultivated with uncommon application. By his cheerful and friendly disposition, and the facility and elegance

had been unfortunate in his poetical attempts, and no less so in his medical capacity, he could scarcely have obtained either the applause of his contemporaries, or the favour of the great. The commendations, he adds, of Tebaldeo and of Giovio, if they do not serve to counterbalance the censures of Giraldi, may, at least, serve to make it doubtful whether that critic was always exempt from prejudice in the opinions he has given. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. vii. p. 335.

[90] Bonamini, Mem. Istoriche, p. 22.

[91] *Vide* App. No. LXXIII.

[92] Tebaldeo honoured the memory of Postumo with the following epitaph:—

"Posthumus hic situs est; ne dictum hoc nomine credas
In lucem extincto quod patre prodierit;
Mortales neque enim talem genuere parentes,
Calliopeia fuit mater, Apollo pater." *Jov. Elog.* lxix.

Some time after the death of Postumo, his writings were, at the instance of the cardinal Rangone, collected by his pupil Lodovico Siderostomo, and published at Bologna, in 1524, under the title of "Elegiarum Libri II.," with a dedication from the editor to Pirro Gonzaga, protonotary of the Roman see. The extreme rarity of this volume, of which very few copies are known to exist, has given rise to conjectures, that the edition was suppressed by some of those persons in power who found themselves attacked by the satirical and pungent style of the author; nor is it unlikely that this circumstance may be attributed to the freedom with which he had treated the Roman pontiffs who preceded Leo X.

which he displayed both in his Latin and Italian writings, he conciliated in an eminent degree the favour of almost all the distinguished scholars who then adorned the Roman court.[93] After having for some time observed his character and experienced his attachment, Leo removed him from the dissipation of the city, and appointed him governor of the fortress of Mondaino,[94] the income of which office afforded him an ample competency, with sufficient leisure for the prosecution of his studies. In this situation he undertook an epic poem entitled "Porsenna," which he was probably prevented from terminating by an untimely and calamitous death; having been found, after he had been sought for in vain upwards of a month, suffocated, with his mule, at the bottom of a well;[95] a circumstance which confirmed the suspicions before entertained, that his death was occasioned by the barbarity and resentment of those persons over whom he was appointed to preside. This event affected his numerous friends with real sorrow; and Bembo, in particular, has, in several letters to the cardinal da Bibbiena, lamented his fate in terms of the warmest affection and the sincerest regret.[96] Under the name of *Mutius Arelius*, by which he chose to distinguish himself, Mozzarello produced several works, some of which are yet preserved in the Italian libraries,[97] whilst others, as well Latin as Italian, have been published in different collections, and are entitled to no inconsiderable share of approbation.[98]

Latin extemporary poets.

The efforts of the Italian *Improvvisatori* were emulated by the extemporary recitations of the Latin poets; and when Leo was not detained by the correct and classical productions of Vida, of Bembo, of

[93] Bembo, writing to Ottaviano Fregoso, denominates him, "Magnæ spei adolescens, ut scis, aut etiam majoris quam quod scire possis. Magis enim magisque sese in dies comparat, cum ad mores optimos, et ad omnem virtutem, tum ad poeticæ studia, ad quæ natus præcipue videtur." Ep. Fam. lib. v. ep. vii.

[94] Or *Mondolfo*, as suggested by Bossi, for which he cites the authority of Valeriano. Ital. Ed. vol. vii. p. 197.*

[95] Valer. *ut supra.*

[96] Bembo, Ep. al Card. da Bibbiena. in Op tom. iii. p. 10.

[97] In the ducal library of Modena is a work of Mozzarello, written by him whilst very young, in the manner of the "Arcadia" of Sanazzaro, and dedicated to Elizabetta Gonzaga, duchess of Urbino. *Vide* Tirab. vol. vii. par. iii. p. 233.

[98] Ariosto has immortalized him, by enumerating him among the great scholars of the age:

"Uno elegante Castiglione, e un culto
Mutio Arelio."

Orl. Fur. cant. 42, st. 87.

Fracastoro, or of Flaminio, he might listen with satisfaction to the spontaneous effusions of Brandolini, of Morone, or of Querno, who often attended him during his convivial entertainments, and poured out their verses on such subjects as the occasion supplied, or were suggested to them by the pontiff; who hesitated not at some times to lay aside his dignity and take a part himself in the entertainment.[99] Nor ought we to conclude, as it has too generally been supposed, that these were always the illiterate efforts of men without talents and without education. Although recited extempore, it was required by the pontiff that the verse should not only be applicable, but correct, and Brandolini has in particular left several works, which prove him to have been a man of real learning.[100] To the favours conferred upon him at Naples by Charles VIII., in the year 1495, we have before had occasion to refer,[101] and he appears to have attached himself to the cardinal Giovanni de' Medici before his elevation to the pontificate.[102] Soon after that event Brandolini took up his residence at Rome, where he had apartments allotted him in the pontifical palace, and acquired in an eminent degree the favour and friendship of the pope.[103] These obligations he has in some degree repaid in his elegant dialogue entitled "Leo," to which we have had

Raffaelle Brandolini.

[99] Foliazzi, in Vita Raph. Brandolini, p. 47. Ed. Ven. 1753. It is the opinion of Count Bossi, that the art of reciting extemporary Latin verses arose in Italy, and that from this we are to derive the origin of the Italian *Improvvisatori*, who increased in number as their predecessors declined, and have carried the art to a degree of perfection unknown in any other country. Ital. Ed. vol. vii. p. 199.

[100] The Brandolini were of a noble family at Florence, and were distinguished at the close of the fifteenth century by two men of considerable literary eminence, Aurelio and Raffaelle, each of whom was known by the denomination of *Lippo*, or *Lippus Florentinus*. Of the former of these writers, who died in the year 1497, a full account may be found in Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. vol. vi. p. 2013.

[101] Vol. i. chap. iv.

[102] He collected together some of the works of his relation Aurelio; one of which, entitled, "De comparatione Reipublicæ et Regni," he dedicated to the cardinal de' Medici, afterwards Leo X., in an address which contains several curious particulars of the Medici family, and which is therefore given in App. No. LXXIV.

[103] On this account he is denominated by Gianantonio Flaminio, *Oculus Pontificis*, although Brandolini was himself in fact nearly deprived of sight. It has already been noticed that, at the desire of the pontiff, Brandolini gave instructions to the celebrated Marc-Antonio Flaminio, the son of Gian-Antonio; to which it may be added, that the father has, on many occasions, expressed his satisfaction that his son had obtained the assistance of so accomplished a tutor; who is said to have treated his pupil with as much kindness and affection as if he had been his own offspring. *Vide* J. A. Flamin. Op. ap. Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. tom. vi. p. 2019.

frequent occasion to refer in the course of the present work,[104] and where the author has preserved many curious particulars respecting that pontiff, and thrown considerable light on the general history of the times.

Andrea Marone.

Andrea Marone, another favourite attendant of Leo X., was a native of Brescia, and had passed some part of his youth in the court of Ferrara, under the protection of the cardinal Ippolito d'Este. On the journey which the cardinal undertook into Hungary, Marone expressed a desire of accompanying him, and, on his being refused, quitted Ferrara and repaired to the court of Rome.[105] The facility and promptitude with which Marone expressed himself in Latin verse on any subject that could be proposed to him, surprised and delighted all his auditors. His recitals were accompanied by the music of his viol, and as he proceeded he seemed continually to improve in facility, elegance, enthusiasm, and invention. The fire of his eyes, the expression of his countenance, the rising of his veins, all bespoke the emotions with which he was agitated, and kept his hearers in suspense and astonishment.[106] Having been desired, at a solemn entertainment given by the pontiff to several of the ambassadors of foreign powers, to deliver extempore verses on the league which was then forming against the Turks, he acquitted himself in such a manner as to obtain the applause of the whole assembly,[107] and the pope immediately afterwards presented him with a benefice in the diocese of Capua. On the celebration of the feast of Cosmo and Damiano, the tutelar saints of the family of Medici, a subject was proposed by the pope, on which all those who aspired to the character of extempore Latin poets were to display their talents, and contend for superiority. Notwithstanding many learned competitors appeared, the prize was adjudged to Marone; but the circumstance that

[104] This work was preserved in MS. until the year 1753, when it was published at Venice, by Francesco Fogliazzi, Doctor of Laws, accompanied by a life of the author, and copious notes.

[105] Calcagnini Carm. p. 172, ap. Tirab. vol. vii. par. iii. p. 211.

[106] Jov. in Elog. LXXII.

[107] Jovius, who relates this incident, has preserved the commencement of the verses recited by Marone,

"Infelix Europa, diu quassata tumultu
Bellorum."

conferred on him the highest honour, was, that on this occasion Brandolini was one of his unsuccessful rivals.[108] Of the Latin poetry of Marone very few specimens have been preserved,[109] but the commendations bestowed upon his extemporary effusions by Jovius, Valerianus, and others, may be admitted as a sufficient proof of his extraordinary endowments, and of the wonderful effects which they were accustomed to produce upon the learned audience by which he was generally surrounded.[110]

Camillo Querno.

The arch-poet, Camillo Querno, was also an extempore reciter of Latin verse, and his talents in this department have met with high commendation from some of his contemporaries;[111] whilst others have attributed the applauses which he received rather to his unblushing assurance than to his extraordinary merits.[112] On the first arrival of Querno at Rome, he brought with him from Monopoli, in the kingdom of Naples, of which place he was a native, an epic poem, entitled "Alexias," consisting of twenty thousand verses. With this and his lyre he presented himself at the literary meetings of the Roman scholars, who soon perceived that he was well qualified to afford them a rich fund of entertainment. A day was appointed on which Querno should recite his poem, for which purpose his auditors repaired to a small island in the Tiber. Here he alternately drank and sang, and after he had proved himself equally qualified for either of these

[108] Fogliazzi, in Vita Raph. Brandolini, p. 48.

[109] Two Latin epigrams of Marone, which do no discredit to his talents, are prefixed to the singular book of Francesco Colonna, entitled "La Hypnerotomachia di Poliphilo," printed by Aldus in 1499, and again in 1545, of which a full account may be found in the Menagiana, tom. iv. p. 70.

[110] "Quid si illum audieris, velut sodales
Octo audivimus, optimum sodalem!
Nos audivimus; audit hunc et omnis
Doctorum manus in dies, canentem
Mille ex tempore carmina erudita;
Quis nil sit lutulentum, inexpolitum,
Nil absurdum, et inane, nil hiulcum;
Tanquam Virgilii mora, et labore,
Tanquam tempore culta sub novenni."
Pier. Valerian. ad Dantem Aligerum. Hexam. &c. iii. p. 127.

[111] Particularly by Fr. Arsilli, in his poem "de Poetis Urbanis," to which we shall hereafter have occasion to refer.

[112] Gyraldi de Poet. suorum temp.

tasks, a crown of a new kind was prepared for him, interwoven with the leaves of vine, of cabbage, and of laurel, which was immediately placed on his head, and he was saluted by his companions with the title of *Archi-poeta*.[113] This incident soon reached the ears of the pontiff, who was highly delighted with it, and desired that the arch-poet might be introduced to him without delay. From this time he became a frequent attendant on the convivial entertainments of the pope, who usually sent him a portion from his table, which he consumed with a voracity equal to that of the heroes of Homer; but the wine was brought to him only on the condition of his reciting a certain number of stanzas, and if he made an error, either in sense or in measure, it was mixed with a due proportion of water.[114] On some occasions Leo is said to have amused himself with replying to Querno. Of this, instances have been preserved, which, if authentic, sufficiently shew, that in the extempore recitation of Latin verse, the pontiff possessed a facility not inferior to that, with the display of which in others he was himself so highly delighted.[115]

[113] "Not with more glee, by hands pontific crown'd,
With scarlet hats wide waving circled round,
Rome, in her capitol, saw QUERNO sit,
Throned on seven hills, the antichrist of wit."
Dunciad, ii. 13.

It is justly remarked by Henke, that Pope has, in these lines, confounded *Querno* with the other court-jester *Baraballa*, with whom the pageant alluded to by Pope, and hereafter described, was exhibited. *Vide* Germ. Ed. vol. iii. p. 144.

[114] On one of these mortifying occasions, Querno is said to have turned towards the pontiff, with the cup in his hand, and to have addressed him in these Leonine verses:—

"In cratere meo Thetis est conjuncta Lyæo
Est Dea juncta Deo; sed Dea major eo."
Foresti, Mappamondo Istorico, tom. iii.

[115] Of this, the following specimen has frequently been quoted:—Querno, complaining of his laborious office, exclaimed,

"Archipoeta facit versus pro mille poetis."

To which Leo instantly replied,

"Et pro mille aliis Archipoeta bibit."

Querno, who found some reinforcement necessary, shortly afterwards subjoined,

"Porrige quod faciant mihi carmina docta Falernum."

But Leo refused; and added, as a reason,

"Hoc vinum enervat debilitatque pedes."

In which it has been supposed, that he alluded to the gout, with which Querno is said to have been afflicted; but he certainly meant also to apply the word *pedes* to the *feet* of the verse, which were not likely to be improved by an additional quantity of wine. We learn from Bossi that Querno remained in Rome after the

In the same class with Querno may be placed Giovanni Gazoldo and Girolamo Britonio, both of whom aspired to the character of extemporary Latin poets, and if they failed in obtaining the applause, frequently provoked the laughter of the pope and his attendants. These exhibitions were, however, carried sometimes beyond the bounds of jocularity. Gazoldo is said to have received a reward for his bad verses in a serious bastinado, bestowed upon him by the orders of the supreme pontiff, and the arch-poet was so disfigured by a wound given him in the face, by some person who had taken offence at his intemperance and gluttony, that he was deterred from attending the banquets of the pontiff so frequently as he had before been accustomed to do. Several other persons are mentioned by Jovius as having contributed to the hilarity of the pontiff in his festive hours, among whom was Giovan-Francesco, one of the sons of Poggio Bracciolini.[116] They were, however, more distinguished by their devotion to the pleasures of the table, than by their intellectual endowments; and the frugal Batavian, Adrian VI., who, by an extraordinary combination of circumstances, succeeded Leo X. in the pontifical chair, was astonished at the luxury of his predecessor, and particularly at the expenses incurred in *peacock sausages*, which seem to have been a favourite dish with these voracious frequenters of the pontifical table.

Gazoldo and Britonio.

But the most remarkable instance of folly and of absurdity is preserved to us in the account given of Baraballo, abate of Gaeta, one of that unfortunate but numerous class, who, without the talent, possess the inclination for poetry, and who, like the rest of his brethren, was perfectly insensible of his own defects. The commendations ironically bestowed on his absurd productions had, however, raised him to such importance in his own opinion, that he thought himself another Petrarca,

Baraballo di Gaeta.

death of Leo X., but left it in 1528, for Naples, where he was so persecuted by his countrymen, that he was accustomed to say, "*he had found a thousand wolves in exchange for one Lion.*" According to Valeriano, he finished his days in a hospital. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. vii. p. 337.

[116] *Vide* Shepherd's Life of Poggio Bracciolini, chap. xi. p. 483.

and like him aspired to the honour of being crowned in the capitol. This afforded too favourable an opportunity for amusement to be neglected by the pontiff and his attendants; and the festival of SS. Cosmo and Damiano was fixed upon as the day for gratifying the wishes of the poet. In order to add to the ridicule, it was resolved, that the elephant, which had lately been presented to the pontiff by the king of Portugal, should be brought out and splendidly decorated, and that Baraballo, arrayed in the triumphal habit of a Roman conqueror, should mount it, and be conveyed in triumph to the capitol. The preparations on this occasion were highly splendid and expensive; but, before they were completed, a deputation arrived from Gaeta, where the relations of Baraballo held a respectable rank, for the purpose of dissuading him from rendering himself an object of laughter to the whole city. Baraballo, however, construed their kindness into an illiberal jealousy of his good fortune, in having obtained the favour of the pontiff, and dismissed them with reproaches and anger. Having then recited several of his poems, replete with the most ridiculous absurdities, until his hearers were no longer able to maintain their gravity, he was brought to the area of the Vatican, where he mounted the elephant, and proceeded in great state through the streets, amidst the confused noise of drums and trumpets, and the acclamations of the populace.[117] "I should scarcely have believed," says Jovius,[118] "unless I had myself been present at the sight, that a man not less than sixty years of age, of an honourable family, and venerable by his stature and his grey hairs, should have suffered himself to be decorated with the *toga palmata* and the *latum clavum* of the ancient Romans, and bedecked with gold and purple, to be led in a triumphal procession before the public, with the sound of trumpets." His triumph was not, however, of long continuance. On arriving at the bridge of S. Angelo, the sagacious quadruped refused to contribute any longer to the ungenerous mirth of the crowd, and the

[117] To this event Angelo Colocci refers in one of his epigrams, entitled, "De Abante Baraballa." Colocci, Op. Lat. 109.
[118] Jov. in Vita Leon. lib. iv. p. 85.

hero of the day was glad to descend in safety from his exalted station.[119] The remembrance of this important incident was, by the orders of the pope, perpetuated by a piece of sculpture in wood,[120] which yet remains upon the door of one of the inner chambers in the Vatican.

Giovanni Gorizio a patron of learning at Rome.

Among the inhabitants of Rome, one of the most distinguished patrons of learned men was a noble and opulent German, named Giovanni Gorizio, or, as he was usually denominated, Janus Corycius, who, under the pontificate of Leo X., held the office of a judge in the civil concerns of the city. For several years the house and gardens of Corycius were the usual resort of the Roman academicians. On the feast day of S. Anna, his tutelary saint, he was accustomed to provide a splendid entertainment, which was attended by the most accomplished scholars and respectable inhabitants of Rome and its vicinity, and afforded a favourable opportunity for those literary contests and exhibitions which gave additional vigour to these studies. The liberality of Corycius was repaid by the commendations of his learned friends, many of whom have perpetuated his name in their verses. About the year 1514, he erected, at his own expense, in the church of S. Agostino at Rome, a magnificent family chapel, in which he placed a beautiful piece of sculpture, the workmanship of Andrea Contucci del Monte Sansovino, representing the infant Jesus with the Virgin and S. Anna. These figures, although all formed from one block of marble, were nearly the size of life, and are mentioned by the historian of the arts as one of the finest productions of the times.[121] On this occasion the learned friends of Corycius vied with each other in paying a tribute of respect to his munificence, his piety, and his taste; and the numerous compositions to which this incident gave rise may be considered

[119] Several writers have erroneously supposed that Baraballo and the arch-poet Querno were the same person. *Vide* Bottari, Note al Vasari, tom. ii. p. 120. Lancelotto, in Op. Lat. Angeli Polocci, notis, p. 109. Baraballo was of Gaeta, Querno of Monopoli, in Apulia. Both these authors cite the authority of Jovius, in Elog., who makes no such assertion. Bottari is also mistaken in relating that Leo X. actually crowned Baraballo, for which he also cites the authority of Jovius.

[120] By Gian Barile. Bottari, Note al Vasari, tom. ii. p. 120.

[121] Vasari, Vite de' Pittor. vol. ii. p. 169.

as the most decisive proof of the proficiency which had been made in the cultivation of Latin poetry within the city of Rome.

One of the most eminent contributors to the shrine of S. Anna, was Biagio Pallai, a native of Sabina, who assumed the academic name of Blosius Palladius, by which he is frequently mentioned in the writings of his contemporaries.[122] In the year 1516, he had the honour of being admitted a Roman citizen by a public decree. This accomplished scholar was no less distinguished by his hospitality than by his talents, and his house and gardens are also celebrated as having frequently afforded a place of assembly and entertainment for his literary friends. After having been one of the principal ornaments of the Roman academy during the pontificate of Leo X., he rose to considerable eminence in the state, and filled the office of pontifical secretary to Clement VII. and Paul III., by the latter of whom his services were rewarded by the presentation to the bishopric of Foligno. To Palladius we are indebted for the publication of the poems addressed to Corycius, which the latter had carefully preserved, but which he justly conceived would subject him to the imputation of vanity, if he were to commit them to the press. The solicitations of Palladius at length removed his objections, and they made their appearance in the year 1524, in an elegant volume, now of extreme rarity, entitled "Coryciana."[123] This collection contains, besides several anonymous pieces, a specimen of the productions of no less than one hundred and twenty Latin poets, who were then found within the limits of Rome, and many of whom yet hold a high rank in the annals of learning.[124] It appears to have been usual to

The Coryciana.

[122] Particularly in the *Carmina* of Marc-Antonio Flaminio, where it appears that the most trivial circumstances have at times given rise to compositions which Horace or Catullus might not have blushed to own. Flamin. Carm. lib. ii. carm. 56—59, &c.

[123] At the close we read, *Impressum Romæ apud Ludovicum Vicentinum, et Lautitium Perusinum. mense Julio. MDXXIV.* The address of Palladius prefixed to this work, and the letters of Corycius, and of his friend Cajus Sylvanus, one of his learned countrymen then resident at Rome, and who contributed several pieces to this collection, throw considerable light on the state of literature in Rome during the pontificate of Leo X., on which account, as well as from the rarity of the volume, they are given in App. No. LXXV.

[124] Of the nature of these compositions, the following lines of Flaminius, whilst

present these pieces as votive gifts at the altar of S. Anna, but the offerings became so numerous, that Corycius was at length obliged to close the doors of his chapel, and to terminate this more than half idolatrous worship.

The collection of the "Coryciana" is terminated by a poem of Francesco Arsilli, entitled "De Poetis Urbanis," which celebrates the names, and characterizes the works of a great number of Latin poets resident at Rome in the time of Leo X. Its author was a native of Sinigaglia, and was of a respectable family, his brother Paolo having been deputed by his countrymen to congratulate Lorenzo de' Medici, duke of Urbino, on his acquisition of that state. After having finished his studies at Padua, and devoted himself to the practice of medicine, Francesco took up his residence at Rome.[125] He appears, however, neither to have been

Poem of Francesco Arsilli, entitled De Poetis Urbanis.

they exhibit a singular mixture of Christian piety and heathen sensuality, may afford a sufficient idea.

De Sacello Coryciano.

"Dii, quibus tam Corycius venusta
Signa, tam dives posuit sacellum,
Ulla si vestros animos piorum
Gratia tangit,
Vos jocos risusque senis faceti
Sospites servate diu; senectam
Vos date et semper viridem, et Falerno
Usque madentem.
At simul longo satiatus ævo
Liquerit terras, dapibus Deorum
Lætus intersit, potiore mutans
Nectare Bacchum."
Carm. lib. i. car. vii.

Ye sacred powers, to whom this shrine,
These sculptured forms, *Corycius* rears,
If e'er your favouring ear incline
To votive sighs and mortal prayers,
O grant him still with jest and song
The blissful hours of life to pass;
To healthful age his years prolong;
And crown with wine his festive glass;
Till satiate with this earthly fare,
You lead him to your seats divine,
The banquets of the gods to share,
And into nectar change his wine.

[125] Tirab. vol. vii. par. iii. p. 200, where it appears that Arsilli returned to Sinigaglia, in the year 1527, not richer than he left it, and lived there till 1540; several other works of this author yet remain in MS., among which Tiraboschi enumerates, "Amorum," libri iii. "Pirmillieidos," lib. iii. "Piscatio. Helvetiados," lib. i. "Prædictionum," lib. iii.

favourable to the pontiff, nor to have obtained his friendship; as a reason for which, it has been said that he was too fond of his own liberty to attend on the court, and that the court therefore neglected or forgot him.[126] Hence Arsilli was one of the few instances which these times afforded of unrewarded merit; and his dissatisfaction is pointedly expressed in the commencement of his poem, addressed to Paulus Jovius, where he enters into the following comparison between the patronage afforded to the poets of antiquity, and to those of his own days:—

Long have I, Jovius, in my mind revolved
Whether the laureate wreath to former times,
Or to our modern bards be rather due.
—But sure the muses in those better days
Were blest, when great Augustus ruled the earth,
And when Mæcenas with his liberal hand
Foster'd the flowers of genius. Witness thou,
Melodious Horace, and thou, Mighty Bard,
Who sang'st the labours of the Phrygian chief,
And, Naso, thou, and ye, the numerous throng
Whose fame survives the lapse of rolling years.
Then to the poet's song the sovereign bent
With ear benignant; but in modern times
We to the deaf our tuneful warblings pour.
Rude was the breast that from th' imperial smile
Caught not a warmer fervour; and 'tis hence
We yield (if yet we yield) to elder days.
—But when I note this avaricious age,
Aud the scant boon the modern patron gives;
—An age, in which the tuneful maids themselves
Might ask admittance at the door in vain,
And unprotected on Parnassus' hill
The laurel droops and dies: I boldly then
Prefer to ancient talents modern worth.
For not by hopes of lucre led, the bard
To virtue only consecrates his song.
O that the shepherd would, with timely care,
Collect his scatter'd flock, and lead them forth
To richer pasturage, and guard them safe
From ravenous wolves, that with unsparing tooth
Tear the fair fleece from Phœbus' favourite train.
Then to the envy of each former age
Should flow the nectar'd melody. Even now,
Though chill'd by cold neglect, the heavenly flame
Glows ardent; and forgetful of his lot
The poet raises his immortal strain.

To these querulous effusions, the numerous instances of the liberality of the pontiff to the professors of every department of literature, and the general testimony of his

[126] Jov. in Elog. Arsilli, ciii.

contemporaries, would afford a sufficient reply;[127] but for this purpose it is not necessary to resort further than to the poem itself, which exhibits in a striking point of view the astonishing proficiency which, in the course of a very few years, had taken place in the city of Rome. This proficiency the author, it is true, affects to consider as the spontaneous result of the genius, the talents, and the virtues of those whom he has celebrated; but he might as well have informed us, that in those days the flowers of summer bloomed in the midst of winter, as attempt to conceal a truth which is demonstrated by every line of his work; there being scarcely a person of any eminence mentioned by him, who was not indebted to Leo X. for the competence, and perhaps for the credit, which he enjoyed.[128] On the merits of Sadoleti and of Bembo, this author has dwelt with peculiar complacency.

> Hence numerous are the bards that Rome infolds
> In her maternal bosom; heirs of fame
> While yet they live. For say what future age
> Shall rob thee of thy honours, or refuse
> Thy praise, O Sadoleti? in whose verse
> The breathing marble of Laocoon glows
> With strong expression, as in serpent-folds
> He and his sons expire; or Curtius wheels
> His foaming steed, and rushes on to fate
> To save his country. Nor inferior praise
> Is thine, O Bembo; who amidst the waves
> Of Venice nursed, couldst tune thy infant voice
> To notes of Tuscan melody, or wake
> To Latian sounds the elegiac lyre,
> From amorous Pan as Galatea flies.
> Sing'st thou the hero's praise? thy rival verse
> Aspires to emulate his deeds, and bears
> The palm of excellence from every age.
> Or if to narrower bounds confined, thou know'st
> To rein thy steed and bend thy fervid wheels
> Within prescriptive limits. These the bards
> Of kindred mind, amid th' Idalian groves
> Oft social wander, emulous to crop
> Their brightest flowers; and when the sister-train
> Of Phœbus seek on Aganippe's brink A shelter

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[127] Even Jovius, to whom the poem of Arsilli is addressed, attributes the sudden improvement of polite literature to the liberality of Leo X. Jov. in Arsilli Elog. ciii.

[128] I am happy to find this opinion strongly confirmed in an excellent note by Count Bossi, in which he has recapitulated and particularly insisted on the merits of Leo X. as a restorer of literature; but for which I am compelled, on account of its length, to refer my readers to the Italian edition, vol. vii. p. 338.*

A shelter from the day-star's burning rage,
Then to her lyre Calliope attunes
Their melting numbers, that like music sweet
Sink deep into the vacant mind; and they,
The tuneful maids, responsive to the song,
In choral harmony applaud the strain.

This poem, as published in the "Coryciana," consists of only one hundred and ninety-two distichs; but Tiraboschi had the good fortune to obtain another copy in the handwriting of the author, which is enlarged by the addition of many other names, and extends to three hundred and twenty-seven distichs. The perusal of this poem will afford the admirer of Latin poetry a characteristic idea of the numerous authors there mentioned; and the republication of it, at the close of the present volume, may therefore relieve us from the necessity of prosecuting our researches on a subject, which, if pursued, would carry us beyond the limits to which this portion of the present work must necessarily be confined.

Medal of Bembo.

Leo X. and his nephew, Ippolito de' Medici.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1518—1519.

Selim usurps the Ottoman throne—Defeats the sophi of Persia—Conquers Egypt—Apprehensions entertained for the safety of Europe—Leo X. endeavours to form an alliance among the Christian powers—Publishes a general truce for five years—His plan of an offensive league against the Turks—The Christian sovereigns engage only in a defensive alliance—Marriage of Lorenzo de' Medici with Madelaine de Tours—Munificence of the pope on that occasion—Charles of Austria endeavours to obtain the title of king of the Romans, and the investiture of Naples—Death of the emperor elect, Maximilian—Charles of Austria and Francis I. contend for the imperial crown—Views and conduct of Leo X.—Election of the emperor Charles V.—Death of Lorenzo, duke of Urbino—Ippolito de' Medici—Alessandro de' Medici—Consequences of the death of Lorenzo—State of the Florentine government—Memoir of Machiavelli—The cardinal de' Medici directs the affairs of Tuscany—Urbino united to the dominions of the church.

THE states of Italy were now freed from the calamities of internal war, but the apprehensions entertained of the increasing power and desolating ferocity of the Turks, diminished that satisfaction which their inhabitants had begun to experience. Nor was there ever a time when these apprehensions were more justly founded. The Ottoman throne was now filled by a monarch, who to the most ardent and persevering courage, united the most insatiable thirst of conquest, and the

1518. Æt. 43. Pont. VI.

Selim usurps the Ottoman throne.

utmost cruelty of disposition. By a successful rebellion, and the murder of his father Bajazet, Selim had prematurely seized upon the reins of empire, to the exclusion of his brother Achmet; whom, having afterwards defeated in an engagement, he publicly put to death. The two sons of Achmet, and a younger brother of Selim, with many others of the family, experienced a similar fate; and such was the unnatural hatred by which this monster was actuated against his own blood, that he intended to deprive of life Solyman his only son; who lived, however, to inherit the sanguinary jealousy of his father, and to complete the unnatural example by the destruction of his own offspring.[1]

Defeats the sophi of Persia.

Having by these means endeavoured to secure himself against all competition at home, Selim directed his efforts towards the conquest of the surrounding states, and it was for some time doubtful whether Asia, Europe, or Africa, would first have to sustain the fury of his attack. A shade of difference in construing the law of the great prophet, and the offence of having afforded assistance to Achmet, his unfortunate brother, determined him, however, to turn his arms against Ismael, sophi of Persia, whom he defeated in a decisive engagement, and possessing himself of the city of Tauris, delivered it up to be plundered by his soldiery; having first sent the principal inhabitants as slaves to Constantinople. The sterility of the country, which disabled him from obtaining supplies for his numerous army, compelled him, however, to relinquish his conquests; but Selim found no delight except in slaughter, and no relaxation except in preparing for a new expedition. After possessing himself of a great part of the country lying between the Tigris and the Euphrates, he attacked the sultan of Egypt; and notwithstanding the power and resources of that sovereign, and the courage and fidelity of the Mamelukes, he succeeded in subjugating that kingdom,

Conquers Egypt.

[1] Solyman put to death two of his sons, Mustapha and Bajazet, with their innocent offspring: "I principi di questa casa nascono," says Sagredo, "come i giovenchi al Coltello, per essere vittime scannati e sacrificati al idolo dell' ambizione." *Vide* Memorie Istoriche de' Monarchi Ottomani, lib. ii. p. 119; lib. iii. p. 122 lib. vii. pp. 343, 349. Robertson's Hist. Charles V. lib. xi. vol. iii. p. 289.

and annexing it to the Ottoman dominions. In this contest the sultan Campson perished in battle, and his successor Tomombey, the last sovereign of the Mamelukes, having been made a prisoner, was put to death by Selim, with circumstances of peculiar ignominy and cruelty.[2]

The fall of such a long-established and powerful empire, which had been supported by a military system of unexampled vigour for upwards of three hundred years, struck all Europe with terror, which the preparations carrying on at Constantinople for another, and apparently still more important expedition, were not calculated to allay. This general alarm was also increased by the knowledge of the personal character of Selim, who sought to cover the enormity of his guilt by the splendour of his triumphs. He is also said to have inflamed his passion for conquest by perusing the narratives of the deeds of Alexander and of Cæsar, which he caused to be translated and read to him. Thus is the world destined to pay the penalty of its blind admiration of those whom it dignifies with the name of heroes. At some times it was supposed that the island of Rhodes and the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who then possessed it, and were considered as the bulwark of Christendom, would be the first objects of his attack. At other times, apprehensions were entertained that the kingdom of Hungary, then governed, during the infancy of its sovereign, by a regency, would most probably excite his ambition; whilst others deemed it probable that the example of his grandfather Mahomet, who had, in the year 1480, captured Otranto, and gained a footing in the kingdom of Naples, might induce him to attempt the conquest of Italy.

Apprehensions entertained for the safety of Europe.

At this juncture Leo X. conceived it to be his peculiar office and duty, as head of the Christian church, to endeavour to form such an alliance among the sovereigns of Europe, as might not only repress the incursions of these formidable enemies, but, by carrying the war into the Ottoman dominions, might either expel them from the countries which they had

Leo X. endeavours to form an alliance of the Christian powers.

[2] Sagredo, Mem. Istor. lib. iii. p. 141.

recently occupied, or afford them sufficient employment in providing for their own defence. But although the circumstances of the times were the immediate motives which induced the pontiff to take an active part in opposing the power of the Turks, yet his dread and abhorrence of them had long been avowed. From the commencement of his pontificate, his efforts had been employed to engage the sovereigns of Christendom to unite together in a common attack upon the infidels, and the harmony which now subsisted among them seemed to afford a more favourable prospect of accomplishing this great object than had ever before presented itself. The exertions of the pontiff were stimulated by the representations made to him on behalf of the sovereigns of those countries which bordered on the Turkish dominions, and particularly by the governors and inhabitants of the provinces of Croatia and Dalmatia, who were obliged to maintain their independence by a cruel and continual warfare.[3] He was also incited to persevere in this attempt by many noble and learned Greeks, resident in Italy, who yet flattered themselves with faint and distant hopes of regaining their native country, and by several eminent Italian scholars, who had imbibed from their preceptors a hatred of the Turks, as the enemies alike of learning, of liberty, and of religion.[4] Nor can it, perhaps, with truth be denied, that Leo was also prompted to this attempt by the ambitious desire of being considered as the author of this general league of the Christian powers, and

[3] *Vide* App. No. LXXVI.

[4] Among these was Andrea Navagero, who, in his epistolary address to Leo X. prefixed to the first volume of his edition of the orations of Cicero, employs all his eloquence to incite the pontiff to this great undertaking, and promises him a complete triumph over his enemies. "Erit, erit profecto dies illa, quum te longissime prolatis finibus, devictis omnibus, quæ Christiano unquam nomini infensæ fuerint nationibus, cum insigni laurea redeuntem intueri liceat; quum tota te Italia, totus terrarum orbis, ut quemdam ad levanda nostra incommoda e cœlo delapsum Deum, venerctur; quum tibi obviam cunctis ex oppidis, omnium generum, omnium ætatum, multitudo se omnis effundat; tibi patriam, tibi penates, tibi salutem, ac vitam denique, depulso crudelissimum hostium metu, acceptam referat." Nauger. Ep. ad Leon. X. Yet more impassioned is the language of Vida, who addressed the pontiff on this occasion in a Sapphic ode, in which, like another Ossian, he offers his personal services in the war, and exults in that immortality which would be the certain result of his military achievements. *Vidæ* Op. tom. ii. p. 137. Edit. Comin. 1731. We have had the hopes of the Greeks revived in our own days with a greater prospect of success. May the wishes of the friends of liberty, justice, and literature, be speedily and fully gratified! (1826.)

of seeing himself placed at their head, as the supreme director of their movements.

The first public measure adopted by the pontiff, was the calling together the cardinals in full consistory, where he laid before them his vast project, and published a general truce among the potentates of Europe for the space of five years; subjecting, in the severest terms, all such princes or states as should contravene it, to the penalties of excommunication. He then despatched as his legates to the principal sovereigns of Europe, such of the cardinals as enjoyed the highest character for their talents, and held the chief place in his confidence. Bernardo da Bibbiena was sent to France, Lorenzo Campegio to England,[5] Egidio of Viterbo to Spain, and Alessandro Farnese to the emperor elect, Maximilian; all of them furnished with ample instructions as to the object of their mission, and with directions to give to these different sovereigns the most positive assurances, that the sole object which the pontiff had in view was the general safety of Europe, and the protection and honour of the Christian church. In order to promote the success of these exertions, or to give a greater degree of solemnity and importance to the measures which he meant to adopt, Leo directed that public supplications should be made in Rome for three successive days; in the course of which he walked in the public processions with head uncovered and naked feet; performed in person divine offices, distributed his bounty to the poor, and by every mark of humility and devotion endeavoured to conciliate the favour of Heaven, or at least to evince the sincerity of his intentions. On this occasion Jacopo Sadoleti also delivered a public oration, encouraging the intended enterprise, and highly commending the pontiff for the piety, zeal, and activity, with which he devoted himself to the common cause, and the different sovereigns of

Publishes a general truce for five years.

[5] Wolsey was joined with Campegio in this commission, without which measure Leo well knew there would be no chance of success. *Vide* Rapin's History of England, book xv. vol. i. p. 739. The bull from Leo to Wolsey is given in Rymer's Fœdera, vol. vi. p. 140. An original letter on this subject, from the bishop of Worcester, then ambassador at Rome, to Wolsey, which strongly marks the earnestness of the pope on this occasion, is preserved in the British Museum, and is given in App. No. LXXVII.

Europe for the ardour which they had already manifested in its support.[6]

General plan of an offensive alliance against the Turks.

Leo was, however, well aware, that the success of his undertaking was not to be solely intrusted to measures of this nature. "It is folly," said he, "to sit still and suppose that these ferocious enemies can be conquered by prayers alone. We must provide our armies and attack them with all our strength."[7] He therefore consulted with the most experienced soldiers of Italy; he sought out and examined those persons who were best acquainted with the military force of the Turks, the disposition of the inhabitants of the different countries which they held in subjection, and the places most open to an attack; and having obtained the fullest information in his power, he sketched the great outline of his undertaking. By this he proposed, that an immense sum of money should be raised from the voluntary contributions of the European sovereigns, and a compulsory tax upon their subjects; that the emperor of Germany should provide a numerous army, which, uniting with large bodies of cavalry, to be furnished by the Hungarians and the Poles, should proceed down the Danube into Bosnia, and thence, through Thracia, towards Constantinople; that, at the same time, the king of France, with all his force, the armies of the Venetians, and other Italian states, and a powerful body of Swiss infantry, should assemble at the port of Brindisi, on the Adriatic gulf, whence they might easily pass to Greece, which was still inhabited by great numbers of Christians, impatient of the tyranny of the Turks; that the fleets of Spain, of Portugal, and of England, should meet at Carthagena, and its adjacent ports, whence two hundred vessels should be despatched with Spanish soldiers, to attack the Dardanelles, and join the allies in storming the Turkish capital. In the mean time, the pope, who meant to take a personal part in the attempt, proposed to proceed from Ancona, accompanied by one hundred well-armed vessels;

[6] Sadoleti Op. tom. ii. p. 257.

[7] Fabron. in Vita Leon. X. p. 73. This may be thought a bold truth from the mouth of a pontiff; but Sagredo, the historian, avows the same sentiment. Mem. Istoriche de' Monarchi Ottoman. p. 144.

so that the Turks being attacked both by land and by sea with such immense numbers, a happy termination of the expedition might be speedily and confidently expected.[8]

Thus far this mighty enterprise seems to have proceeded with favourable omens, and Leo had already, perhaps, anticipated in his own mind, the time so frequently foretold, when he should be hailed as the restorer of the eastern empire, the deliverer of the Holy Land, and the avenger of the atrocities committed on Christendom by the Turks. But these magnificent expectations were not destined to be realized. It is true, that the general truce for five years which he had proclaimed among the European sovereigns, was accepted by them with apparent cheerfulness, and that they vied with each other in avowing their readiness to afford their assistance in promoting so just and so important an enterprise.[9] A treaty was also concluded between the kings of England, of France, and of Spain, in express compliance with the requisition of the pope, and in which he was declared to be chief of the league ;[10] but, although the avowed object of this union was the mutual defence of each other's dominions, and the protection of Christendom against the Turks, yet it was merely defensive, and by no means calculated to answer the purposes which Leo had in view. How, indeed, was it to be expected that so many different states, some of them immediately, and others only remotely interested in the cause, should concur in carrying on a distant and offensive war? After the instances which had been exhibited since the commencement of the century, of restless ambition, unprovoked aggression, the overturning of states and kingdoms, and the breach of the most solemn treaties, could it be expected that the voice of the pontiff should at once allay all suspicions, and destroy those sanguinary passions which now only slumbered to acquire new strength! Add to this,

The sovereigns of Christendom engage only in a defensive alliance.

[8] Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 154.

[9] The declaration of Henry VIII. on this subject, is preserved among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, and is given in App. No. LXXVIII.

[10] This treaty, bearing date 2d October, 1518, is given in Du Mont, Corps Diplomat. tom. iv. par. i. p. 266. But, in the title, the editor has erroneously called Charles of Austria the emperor Charles V.' The ratification of Charles bears date the 14th January, 1519.

that the political horizon of Europe, although calm, was not cloudless. The young sovereign of Spain had already given indications of a vigorous and decided character, and the advanced age of his grandfather, Maximilian, afforded reason to suppose that it would not be long before discussions might arise of the highest importance to the public tranquillity. Under such circumstances it was scarcely to be supposed, that the principal sovereigns of Europe would desert their stations, or weaken their strength by engaging in distant and dangerous expeditions, which afforded no prospect of an adequate recompense, and might expose those who were sincere to the designs of those who might not hesitate to take advantage of any circumstances that might contribute to their own aggrandizement. The ratification of the defensive treaty among the chief powers of Europe, which was afterwards confirmed by the pope, prevented him, however, from experiencing the mortifying reflection that his exertions had been wholly in vain; and perhaps the notoriety of this formidable league might, in fact, have had a beneficial effect in deterring the Turkish emperor from attacking the Christian territories. The pontifical legates at the different courts still continued to promote, to the utmost of their power, the great object of their mission, towards which they affected to consider the treaty already formed as only a previous step, and they obtained at least the credit of having performed their duty with vigilance and with ability;[11] but, notwithstanding their exertions, no further measures were adopted by the princes of Europe for carrying the project of Leo into effect; and whilst his envoys were still labouring to promote a hopeless cause, events occurred, both in the east and western world, which changed the aspect of public affairs, and afforded even Leo himself sufficient employment in other quarters.

If, however, the envoys of Leo X. failed in accomplishing the chief object of their mission, they rendered him, in other respects, a very acceptable service; and the pontifical

[11] These negotiations are greatly illustrated by the confidential letters between the cardinal da Bibbiena, and the cardinal Giulio de' Medici; in the "Lettere di Principi," vol. i. pp. 27, 34, 35, &c.

treasury was replenished by the contributions obtained both from the laity and the clergy, under the various pretexts which these crafty ecclesiastics well knew how to employ.[12] At the court of France the cardinal da Bibbiena, who, to the character of a polite scholar, and a deep politician, united an easy and insinuating address, recommended himself so far to the favour of the duchess of Angoulême, mother of the king, who exercised great influence over her son, as to obtain through her interference the presentation of the bishopric of Constance, to be held by him in addition to his many other preferments; the revenues of which were, however, so inadequate to his expensive and improvident style of life, that he is said to have been always embarrassed with debt.[13] Nor did Leo neglect the opportunity afforded him by the residence of the cardinal at the court of France, of aggrandizing his family, by a nearer connexion with that of the French monarch. To this end he proposed a treaty of marriage between his nephew Lorenzo, duke of Urbino, and Madelaine de la Tour, daughter of John, count of Boulogne and Auvergne, and related by her mother Joanna, the daughter of John, duke of Vendosme, to the royal family of France. This union was readily assented to by the king; and early in the year 1518, Lorenzo hastened to Florence, where he made the most sumptuous preparation for his approaching nuptials. In the mean time, intelligence was received of the birth of a son to the French monarch, who expressed his wishes that the supreme pontiff would become baptismal sponsor for the infant; in consequence of which, Lorenzo

Marriage of Lorenzo de' Medici with Madelaine de la Tour.

[12] The exaction of these contributions gave rise to great dissatisfaction, particularly in Germany, where the doctrines of the reformers had already made considerable progress. The oration made on this occasion by the apostolic legates before the imperial diet, was soon afterwards printed by the adversaries of the Roman see, and accompanied by a kind of answer or exhortation, not to comply with the requisition of the pope. This piece, which is attributed to the pen of Ulrich Hutten, contains many severe sarcasms on Leo X. and the family of the Medici; it is given in the Appendix, from the original edition, printed in the year 1519. *Vide* App. No. LXXIX. It is doubtful whether the dissuasive attributed to Ulrich Hutten, be from his pen or not, but Mr. Henke thinks it very probable. He is also inclined to consider the oration pretended to be made by the legates, and to which Hutten published a reply, as a happy fiction of his own. *Vide* Germ. Ed. vol. iii. p. 162.

[13] Bandini, Il Bibbiena, pp. 47, 60.

was directed to proceed with all possible expedition to Paris, as representative of his holiness on this occasion. The ceremony was performed on the twenty-fifth day of April, the other sponsors being the duke of Lorraine, and Margaret, duchess of Alençon, afterwards queen of Navarre, sister of Francis I., but this, the first-born son of the French monarch, who received the name of Francis, did not survive to enjoy the authority to which his birth would have entitled him.[14] This event was, however, distinguished by splendid banquets and great rejoicings, which were continued during ten days, and by magnificent tournaments, in which Lorenzo de' Medici is acknowledged to have acquitted himself with honour, and to have displayed great courage and address.

Munificence of the pope on that occasion.

The celebration of the nuptials between Lorenzo de' Medici and Madelaine de la Tour afforded an additional cause of exultation, and the king and the pontiff vied with each other in bestowing their favours on both the husband and the bride. On the part of the king, Lorenzo was invested with an annual revenue of ten thousand crowns.[15] But the presents sent by the pope, as well for the queen of France, as for the bride, were beyond even royal munificence, and are said to have exceeded in value the enormous sum of three hundred thousand ducats. A train of thirty-six horses conveyed to Paris these precious articles, among which was a state-bed, composed of tortoise shell, mother of pearl, and other costly materials.[16] Nor was this event less distinguished by the instances of mutual kindness which the pontiff and the monarch manifested towards each other, and which they fortunately found the means of evincing, not at their own expense, but at that of their subjects or their allies. Leo conceded to the king, in addition to the tenths of the French benefices, all the contributions that should be obtained in

[14] "Era in questo tempo nato a Francesco I. Re di Francia un figlio maschio che fu poi *Francesco II.*" Muratori, Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 136. It is surprising that this eminent historian should have fallen into such an error; Francis II. being the son of Henry II. and grandson of Francis I.

[15] Ammirato, Ritratto di Lor. duca d'Urbin. in Opusc. vol. iii. p. 106. Guicciard. lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 155.

[16] Fabron. Vita Leon. X. in adnotat. lxix. p. 291.

France towards the projected crusade against the Turks; the king promising to repay the amount when that expedition should be actually commenced. On the other hand, the king transmitted to his holiness the written engagement which he had subscribed, to restore to the duke of Ferrara the cities of Modena and Reggio.[17] Such were the circumstances under which a marriage was celebrated, which, although not destined to be of long duration, was fatally inauspicious to the destiny of France, and prepared the way to some of the greatest calamities that Europe has ever experienced.

Charles of Austria endeavours to obtain the title of king of the Romans, and the investiture of Naples.

This period, in which Europe enjoyed a state of comparative tranquillity, may be considered as the termination of that long course of events, which commenced with the arrival of Charles VIII. in Italy, and had been continued throughout all the vicissitudes of the league of Cambray; until the causes, having produced their effects, had now almost ceased to operate.[18] But, whilst the scene was closing on the transactions of the past, the prospect of the future opened on the view, and discovered the commencement of a new series of affairs, not less striking in their contemplation, nor less important in their consequences, than those which have before engaged our attention. Charles, the young king of Spain, had already turned his attention to the securing and uniting in his own person, the government of those extensive possessions to which he was either entitled by his birth, or which his situation, as the representative of the sovereign houses of Spain and of Austria, gave him a right to expect. His succession to those dominions, was not, however, unattended with difficulties. In Castile and Aragon the refractory proceedings of the Cortes,

[17] Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 155.

[18] About this period (5th December, 1518) died, at seventy-eight years of age, the celebrated Gian Giacopo Trivulzio, who had acted so important a part in the commotions of Italy, and had for twenty-four years been engaged in the service of the French sovereigns against his own countrymen; a service which was repaid on the part of Francis I. with suspicion and neglect, from which he was only excited by the remonstrances of Leo X. who sent his nuncio, and wrote a letter to the king, in which he reminded him of the merits of Trivulzio, and complained of the treatment he had received. *Vide* Rosmini, Hist. of Gian Jacopo, vol. pp. 535, 536.*

or representative assemblies of the nation, had occasioned him no small share of trouble. His title to the crown of Naples had not yet been judicially recognised by the holy see, which confessedly enjoyed the power of deciding who should be considered as the rightful sovereign of that kingdom; and his succession to the imperial throne, on the death of his grandfather Maximilian, would depend on the will of the electors, by whom the extent of his hereditary possessions might be considered rather as an objection, than an inducement to his becoming the object of their choice. Under these circumstances, Charles thought it advisable to apply to Leo X. to grant him a bull of investiture for his Neapolitan territories, and to endeavour, during the lifetime of his grandfather, to obtain the title of king of the Romans, which would secure to him the indisputable succession to the imperial dignity. The gratification of Charles in the accomplishment of these great objects was not, however, consistent with the views and wishes of the pontiff; who, whilst he could not contemplate without dissatisfaction the permanent establishment of any foreign power in Italy, still more justly dreaded the union of the Imperial, Spanish, and Neapolitan crowns in the same person. He therefore, by means of his legate Bibbiena, communicated the request of Charles to Francis I., who, although he had lately concluded with Charles a close alliance, and had contracted to give him one of his daughters in marriage, was greatly alarmed at the ambitious views and active measures of the young sovereign, and earnestly entreated the pontiff not to comply with his request. To the nomination of Charles, as king of the Romans, it was objected, that his grandfather Maximilian had never received the imperial crown, and that there was no instance in the history of the Germanic constitution, of a successor having been appointed under such circumstances.[19] On this account, Charles prevailed upon Maximilian to apply to the pope, and to request that he would send a nuncio to crown him at Vienna. He also endeavoured to engage the king of France to forward his views with the

[19] Guicciard. lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 158. Robertson's Life of Charles V. book i. vol. ii. p. 49.

pontiff, but, instead of complying with his request, Francis opposed himself to it with still greater earnestness, and advised the pope to declare to Maximilian, that in conformity to ancient custom he could not invest him with the imperial crown, unless he, like his predecessors, would repair in person to Rome. If Maximilian assented to this proposal, it was not likely that he would undertake such an expedition without a considerable military escort, which would afford a pretext for Francis to oppose his progress; for which purpose he declared that he should not only engage the Venetians to take an active part, but should hold himself in readiness to march into Italy with a great force, as soon as he was apprized of the necessity of such a measure.[20] By the vehemence of Francis on this occasion, his own projects were sufficiently disclosed. In order to engage the pope more firmly in his interests, he gave him the most solemn assurances of his attachment, obedience, and affection, and pretended that he was now ready to join him in an offensive league against the Turks, and would undertake to furnish, as his contingent, three thousand men at arms, forty thousand infantry, and six thousand light horse; that to these he would add a formidable train of artillery; and would, if required, accompany the expedition in person.[21] These magnificent offers seem, however, to have been duly appreciated by the pope, who stood in need of no inducements to oppose himself to the aggrandizement of Charles.[22] The reasons which Leo alleged for this opposition were, that with respect to Naples, it was a fundamental law of the kingdom that the sovereignty of that country could not be united with the imperial dignity, which Charles was evidently endeavouring to obtain;[23] and that with respect to the title of king of the Romans, it

[20] These particulars appear in a letter from the cardinal da Bibbiena to the cardinal Giulio de' Medici. *Vide* Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p. 56.

[21] Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p. 57.

[22] It appears to be in reference to these promises, that the cardinal Giulio de' Medici observes, in one of his letters to the cardinal da Bibbiena, "Di tanti sogni, che fanno il Re, la Regina, e Madama, par gran cosa a N.S. e a tutti questi Signori; benchè non sia da prestar lor fede alcuna." Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p. 66.

[23] This law was founded on a bull of Clement IV. *Vide* Seckendorf, lib. i. sec. xxxiii. p. 123.

was already enjoyed by Maximilian himself, and consequently could not be conferred on another. The utmost efforts of both Charles and Maximilian to remove the difficulties of the Germanic succession in the diet of the empire were ineffectual; and as Leo still persevered in his refusal to transmit his bull for the coronation of Charles as king of Naples, that monarch was obliged, for the present, to relinquish all hopes of obtaining the objects which he had so ardently desired.

If, however, Francis imagined that on this occasion Leo was actuated by any desire to further his views, it is highly probable that he was mistaken. To the pontiff the two monarchs were alike objects of dread, and to have divested them of their Italian possessions, would have been considered by him as a triumph superior even to that of a victory over the Turkish sultan. But his enmity to Francis, who had deprived him of the territories of Parma and Piacenza, was perhaps the most implacable. Amidst all his professions of esteem and affection for the French monarch, he never for one moment relaxed in his determinations to seize the first opportunity that might present itself, of divesting him of the duchy of Milan; and at this very time his agents were employed in engaging large bodies of Swiss mercenaries, who had assembled under various pretexts, and were intended to be in readiness to act on the part of the pontiff, as circumstances might require.[24]

Death of the emperor elect, Maximilian.

In order, however, to remove the difficulties which had arisen to obstruct the election of Charles of Austria to the dignity of king of the Romans, Maximilian at length resolved to undertake a journey to Rome, to receive from the hands of the pontiff the imperial crown. This intention he communicated to the pope, under the pretext of shewing him a mark of his respect, with which he had not thought proper to honour his predecessors, Alexander or Julius.[25] His proposal embarrassed the pontiff; who, whilst he was unwilling to promote the views of the Spanish monarch, was sensible of the dignity and importance which the Roman see would

[24] *Vide* Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p. 38, b.

[25] Ibid. p. 66.

derive from the restoration of the ancient custom, of the chief of the Germanic body resorting to Rome to receive the imperial crown. But whilst he was deliberating on the measures which it might be proper to adopt, he was relieved from his difficulties by an event which wholly changed the posture of public affairs, and prepared the way for new commotions. This was the death of the emperor elect, Maximilian, which happened on the twelfth day of January, 1519. Of the weak and fluctuating character of this monarch, sufficient instances have appeared in the preceding pages. An ostentatious vanity, and an inordinate desire of fame, were accompanied by an imbecility of mind, that frustrated all his purposes, and rendered his magnificence contemptible, and his pretensions to heroism absurd. His whole life was employed to demonstrate how insignificant the first monarchy in Christendom might be rendered by the want or the misapplication of the personal talents of the sovereign; and his death was of no other importance, than as it opened the way to a successor, who might vindicate the imperial dignity from disgrace, and restore to it that influence in the affairs of Europe which Maximilian had lost.[26]

1519. Æt. 44. Pont. VII.

The dominions which, by a singular concurrence of fortunate events, had been united in the person of Charles, were of great extent and importance. From his father Philip, archduke of Austria, he inherited the rich patrimony of the Netherlands, which Philip had himself acquired in right of his mother, Mary of Burgundy. His title to the crowns of Castile and of Aragon was derived from Ferdinand and Isabella, by their daughter Joanna, the mother of Charles, who was yet living, and whose name was in fact united with his own in the sovereignty; although she was incapacitated by a derangement of intellect from taking any share in the administration. The crown of Sicily had descended in peaceable succession for several generations, and Charles

Charles of Austria and Francis I. contend for the imperial crown.

[26] For some further observations on the character of Maximilian, the reader may consult the Italian Edition, vol. iii. pp. 205, 206, &c., and *vide ante*, chap. viii.*

now assumed it as representative of the legitimate branch of the house of Aragon. Of that of Naples, Ferdinand of Aragon had lately divested the illegitimate branch of that house, to whom it had been limited by Alfonso I., but although this kingdom was for the present held by the sword rather than by an acknowledged title, yet Ferdinand died in the exercise of the royal authority, and Charles was possessed of resources sufficient to maintain his pretensions. By the death of Maximilian, he now entered upon the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria; and to these he had the fairest prospect of uniting the imperial dignity, for which he immediately offered himself a candidate. He found, however, in Francis I. an early and a determined competitor, and the respective claims of these powerful rivals divided the votes of the electors, and suspended for a considerable time the important decision which they were called upon to make.

Views and conduct of Leo. X.

The conduct of Leo on this occasion was such as was consistent with his desire of maintaining a proper equilibrium among the European states, and providing for the safety and independence of Italy.[27] He would gladly have seen any other person preferred to these powerful candidates; but he well knew that his open opposition would be fruitless, and it was by no means his policy to incur the resentment of either of the rival sovereigns, much less to manifest a decided hostility to both. Thus situated, he had recourse to a project, which, if it had

[27] It is related, on the authority of a MS. attributed to Spalatino, that after the death of Maximilian, the three ecclesiastical electors, and the elector palatine, met to consult together on their common defence, during the vacancy of the imperial functions. That the cardinal of Gaeta, the pope's legate, went to this meeting, and required three things in the name of the pontiff. I. That they should turn their thoughts on electing an emperor possessed of great talents and resources. II. That they should not elect Charles of Austria, he being also king of Naples, which sovereignty could not be held with the imperial crown, such an union being prohibited by the bull of Clement IV. III. That they should explicitly inform the legate of their intentions. To these demands, the electors replied, that they had not met for the choice of an emperor, but to consider on their own affairs; that, however, they had no doubt, that such a person would be chosen as would be found desirable to the pontifical see, and to all Christendom, and formidable to their enemies; but that they were much surprised that the pope should in so unusual a manner attempt to prescribe laws to the electors. This anecdote is probably well founded, and may serve to shew the active part which Leo took in influencing the election. Seckendorf. Comm. de Luther. lib. i. sec. xxxiii. p. 123.

been executed by his agents with a degree of ability equal to that by which it was conceived, might have produced an incalculable alteration in the political state of Europe. That of the two competitors, Charles was the most likely to obtain the important prize for which they contended, was sufficiently apparent. His German origin, his extensive possessions in the empire, and the length of time during which the imperial dignity had been almost hereditary in his family, seemed to exclude the pretensions of any other potentate, however powerful by his dominions, or distinguished by his personal merit. The first object of Leo, whilst he appeared to maintain a perfect neutrality between the parties, was, therefore, to encourage Francis to persevere in his pretensions, for which purpose he sent, as his confidential envoy, his near relation Roberto Orsini, archbishop of Reggio, with directions to exhort the king to maintain his pretensions; but with secret instructions, that when a proper opportunity occurred he should alarm the French king with doubts of his success, and should endeavour to prevail upon him, as the next desirable measure, to frustrate the election of Charles, by proposing to the choice of the electors, and supporting with all his influence, one of the inferior princes of the German empire. Nor can it be denied, that if Francis had consulted his true interests, this would have been the proper conduct for him to adopt. As sovereign of a rich and powerful kingdom, and surrounded by a loyal and warlike people, he would still have enjoyed a degree of consideration and of influence superior to that which Charles could have derived from his scattered possessions, or a subordinate German prince, from the mere splendour of the imperial crown. In executing the first part of his task, Orsini found no difficulty; but ambition is not easily stayed in its career, and it required more skill and address than he seems to have possessed, to prevent its exceeding its proposed limits. Instead of listening to the voice of prudence, Francis endeavoured, by the most shameless bribery, to influence the electors in his favour.[28] But

[28] "As the expeditious method of transmitting money, and the decent mode of conveying a bribe by bills of exchange, was then little known, the French

as the deliberations of the electors grew more critical, Charles adopted a yet more effectual method. Under the pretext of securing the freedom of election, he suddenly marched a powerful body of troops into the vicinity of Franckfort, where the members of the diet were assembled. After this measure their debates were not of long continuance, and on the twenty-eighth day of June, 1519, Charles, then only nineteen years of age, was proclaimed king of the Romans, or emperor elect; a title which he, however, transposed into that of *emperor elect of the Romans*, in which he has been imitated by his successors; except that they have since omitted, as superfluous, the derogatory phrase, *elect*.[29]

Election of the emperor Charles V.

The secret but severe disappointment which Leo experienced from the result of this election, was preceded by a domestic misfortune which had occasioned him great anxiety. On the twenty-eighth day of April, 1519, his nephew Lorenzo, duke of Urbino, died at Florence, of a disorder which is said to have been the consequence of his licentious amours during his visit to France. His wife, Madelaine of Tours, had died in childbed only a few days before him, leaving a daughter named Catherina, who by a concurrence of events which cannot with truth be called fortunate, rose to the dignity of queen of France, and became the mother of three kings and a queen of that country, and of a queen of Spain. The death of Lorenzo greatly deranged the projects of the pontiff, who

Death of Lorenzo, duke of Urbino.

ambassadors travelled with a train of horses, loaded with treasure; an equipage not very honourable for that prince by whom they were employed, and infamous for those to whom they were sent!" Robertson's Life of Charles V., book i. vol. ii. p. 52. Nor did Charles scruple to forward his cause by similar methods. In particular, he sent a large sum of money to Frederick, elector of Saxony, the great patron of Luther, to whom the imperial crown had been offered by his associates, and who, after having magnanimously rejected it, and given his vote to Charles, was not likely to disgrace himself by accepting such a reward. Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p. 73. Henry VIII., who had flattered himself with some distant hopes of the imperial dignity, sent his agent, Richard Pace, to the diet, who applied to the elector of Saxony, and offered his master's interest if he would accept the imperial crown; otherwise requesting the vote of the elector for the king his master. Ex MS. Spalatini ap. Seckend. lib. i. sec. xxxiii. p. 123; and *vide* Lord Herbert's Hist. of Hen. VIII. p. 74.

[29] Mr. Henke observes, that the title of emperor elect of the Romans, remained customary until the dissolution of the German imperial dignity. For some observations on this subject he has referred to Häberlin, "Facts in the Hist. of Empires," vol. x. p. 320.*

now found himself the only legitimate surviving male of the elder branch of the house of Medici, as derived from Cosmo, the father of his country. An illegitimate offspring was not, however, wanting. Of these, the eldest was the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, whose origin was derived from the elder Giuliano, who fell in the conspiracy of the Pazzi. The younger Giuliano, brother of the pontiff, usually called duke of Nemours, had also left a son by a lady of Urbino, who was born about the year 1511, and named Ippolito. It was generally believed that the inhuman mother had exposed her child; from the perils of which situation he had been preserved by the care of Giuliano, who is said, however, not to have been without his suspicions that he was the offspring of a rival.[30] At the age of three years, this infant was sent to Rome, where he was received under the protection of Leo X., and gave early indications of a lively and active disposition. The pontiff took great pleasure in observing his childish vivacity, and at his request the portrait of Ippolito, as engaged in his sports, was painted by Raffaelle, and placed in one of the apartments of the Vatican.[31] The education which Ippolito here received, brought those talents with which he was endowed by nature to early perfection, and led the way to that eminence, both as a patron and a professor of literature, which, under the name of the cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, he afterwards obtained. Yet more equivocal was the origin of Alessandro de' Medici, usually denominated the first duke of Florence. The time of his birth may be placed in the year 1512, and he has generally been considered as the son of Lorenzo, duke of Urbino, by a Moorish slave, or woman of low rank; but it is much more probable that he was the son of the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII., and the earnestness displayed by that pontiff in raising him to the high station which he afterwards filled, may be considered as no slight indication that the latter supposition is well founded.

Ippolito de' Medici.

Alessandro de' Medici.

[30] Ammirato, Ritratti d'Uomini di Casa Medici, in Opusc. vol. iii. p. 134.

[31] This early favourite of fortune is often mentioned in the letters of the cardinal da Bibbiena, written to Giuliano de' Medici, about the year 1515. Lettere di Principi, vol. i. pp. 16, 17.

Consequences of the death of Lorenzo.

The obsequies of Lorenzo were celebrated at Florence with a magnificence suitable to his high station as chief of the Tuscan state, and duke of Urbino; but the respect paid to the dead is in fact a tribute to the living, and these extraordinary honours are to be placed to the account of his near relationship to the supreme pontiff. In consequence of the exile and early death of his father, the education of Lorenzo had been principally left to his mother Alfonsina, who had instilled into him such ideas, and brought him up in such habits and manners, as would better have suited an Italian baron of high birth, than a Florentine citizen. Hence he devoted himself wholly to projects of ambition and aggrandizement, in which, through the partiality and assistance of Leo X. he flattered himself with the most sanguine hopes of success. It was supposed, and not without reason, that by these means, and by the concurrence of the French monarch, he meant to possess himself of Siena and Lucca, and by uniting them with the duchy of Urbino and the Florentine state, to establish a dominion extending from one coast of Italy to the other, and to assume the title of king of Tuscany. With this view he had, in the latter part of the year 1518, paid a visit to Rome, expecting to prevail on the pontiff to assent to his ambitious design; but found that Leo was not inclined to favour the attempt.[32] By the true friends to the honour and character of the pontiff, the information of the death of Lorenzo was received with satisfaction rather than with sorrow. The earnestness which Leo had shewn in promoting the advancement of his nephew, and the unjustifiable, expensive, and dangerous methods which he had in some instances resorted to for that purpose, were attributed by them to his affection for one who was endeared to him no less by a similarity and participation of misfortunes, than by the ties of blood, and it was now generally expected that the pontiff, having no equal object of his partiality, would consult only the dignity of his own character, and the honour and interest of the Roman see. These expectations were in some degree

[32] Nerli, Commentar. lib. vi. p. 131.

confirmed by the conduct of the pontiff, who on this event expressed his submission to the will of God, and appeared to resume the natural rectitude of his character. That he had not on all occasions fulfilled the hopes that had been entertained of him, is sufficiently apparent from the bold and remarkable language of Canossa, bishop of Bayeux, who, in giving his sentiments on this event to the cardinal da Bibbiena, considers it as a cause of universal satisfaction, and expresses his hopes "that his holiness will now become such as he was expected to be, on the day when he was created pope."[33]

State of the Florentine government.

The death of Lorenzo rendered it necessary for the pontiff to adopt new measures for the government of the Florentine state, which had now become wholly subservient to the authority of the Medici, although it still retained the name and external form of a republic. This undertaking was attended with no inconsiderable difficulties. Leo might, indeed, at this period have assumed the sovereignty, and extinguished even the pretext of a free government; but if we suppose that he would have felt no reluctance, in sacrificing to his own ambition the liberties of his native place, yet he was perhaps aware, that his dignity of supreme pontiff was scarcely compatible with the assumption of a monarchical power. He might also reasonably suspect, that such a measure would not be regarded without jealousy by the principal sovereigns of Christendom; and might entertain apprehensions, that notwithstanding the devotion and subservience of the Florentines, he might, by too severe a pressure, occasion an elasticity and resistance, which would entirely throw off his authority. On the other hand, to restore the Florentines to the full enjoyment of their ancient liberties, although the attempt would have conferred great honour on the pontiff, would have been a total surrender of that power and influence which his family had maintained for so many years, and preserved by so many sacrifices; nor could it with certainty be presumed, that the citizens of Florence were now capable of preserving the palladium of their freedom, even if the pontiff had been

[33] Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p. 57.

inclined to restore it to them. In this emergency, Leo judged it expedient to resort to the advice of Nicolo Machiavelli, whose general knowledge on political subjects, and whose intimate acquaintance with the state of his native place, pointed him out as the fittest person to be consulted on such an occasion. The memorial which Machiavelli presented to the pope on this subject yet remains, and like his other works, contains many acute remarks, without, however, unfolding those extensive views which the nature of the inquiry, and the circumstances of the times, seem to have required. In taking a retrospect of the ancient state of Florence, he observes, that the fluctuations which it has experienced are to be attributed to its having been neither strictly a republic, nor an absolute government. This mixed or intermediate state he considers as the most difficult of any to maintain, because, as he asserts, an absolute dominion is only in danger of being dissolved by one cause, that of inclining towards a republic, and, in like manner, a republic is only in danger by inclining towards a monarchy; but a mixed government is in constant danger from two causes, and may be destroyed by inclining too much towards either republicanism or despotism. On this account he advises the pontiff to adopt either the one or the other of these definite forms of government, and either to erect an absolute sovereignty, or to establish a perfect republic. He then proceeds to shew, that the choice of these two forms must depend on the condition and character of the people, and particularly, that a sovereignty can only be supported where there is great diversity of wealth and of rank, whilst a republic, on the contrary, requires a considerable degree of equality among its citizens, of which he adduces several instances. Under the latter description he includes the inhabitants of Florence, and thence takes occasion to sketch a form of government which he denominates a republic, but in which he gives to the pontiff, and to the cardinal de' Medici, such a preponderating influence, by the nomination, during their lives, of the persons intrusted with the supreme authority, as must inevitably prevent the exercise of that liberty on which alone a popular government can be founded. To restore

Memorial of Machiavelli.

the freedom of the republic seems, however, to have been the chief object which Machiavelli had in view; but conceiving that there was no probability that the pontiff and the cardinal could be prevailed on voluntarily to relinquish their authority, he was induced to relax in his purpose, and to propose that the republic should not enjoy its full liberties until after their death. "If this plan," says he, "be considered without reference to the authority of your holiness, it will be found in every respect sufficient to answer the purpose intended; but during the lifetime of your holiness and the cardinal, it is a monarchy; because you command the army, you control the criminal judicature, you dictate the laws, insomuch, that I know not what more can be required in a state." At the same time that he thus endeavoured to satisfy the pope as to the continuance of his power, he attempted to awake in him the desire of being considered as the founder or the restorer of the liberties of his native place. "I conceive," says he, "that the greatest honour which a man can enjoy, is that which is voluntarily given him by his country; and I believe the greatest good we can do, and that which is most acceptable to God, is that which we do for our country. On this account there are no persons held in such high honour as they who, by their institutions and laws, have reformed a republic or a kingdom. These are they, who, next to the gods, have been thought entitled to the highest praise. But as the opportunities for this purpose are few, and as the number of those persons who know how to make use of them is still fewer, so we find that this great undertaking has seldom been performed. Such, however, is the honour attending it, as to have induced many persons who could not accomplish it in reality, to attempt it in their writings; as Aristotle, Plato, and many others, who have been desirous of shewing to the world, that if they had not, like Solon or Lycurgus, been able to establish a civil community, it did not arise from want of ability, but of a proper opportunity for carrying their ideas into effect."

The system thus proposed by Machiavelli was not, however, adopted by the pontiff. From the important changes which had taken place in Europe, and particularly

in Italy, the state of Tuscany was not merely to be considered as an independent government, but as affected by the powerful influence of its foreign relations, and as combining at this juncture with the Roman see to give strength and importance to the pontiff, in the great attempts which he now meditated. It is probable, too, that, for reasons sufficiently obvious, neither Leo nor the cardinal thought it advisable that the commencement of the freedom of the republic should depend, as a simultaneous event, on the termination of their own lives. Under these circumstances, Leo resolved to permit the Florentines to continue the established forms of their government; but, at the same time, he retained such a control over their proceedings, as he thought would be necessary, not only to repress their internal dissensions, but to secure their conformity to the views and interests of the family of the Medici and of the Roman see. A few days prior to the death of Lorenzo, Leo had despatched to Florence the cardinal de' Medici, who now assumed the superintendence of the state, and under the directions of the pontiff, established such regulations as were calculated to ensure its tranquillity, without further encroachments on its municipal rights.[34] The conduct of the cardinal during his residence at Florence, which continued nearly two years, furnishes a decisive proof both of his talents and his moderation, and notwithstanding his future dignity, may be considered as the most brilliant period of his life. By his intimate acquaintance with the state of the city, and the views and temper of the opposing factions, he was enabled to allay their dissensions, or to defeat their projects. Without imposing extraordinary burthens on the people, he discharged the public debts, and replenished the treasury with considerable sums. Under his influence, the commerce of the city again revived, and the inhabitants began with confidence to employ their capitals in the acquisition of additional wealth. Whilst by these measures the cardinal acquired the respect and attachment of the Florentines, he evinced his prudence and his fidelity by maintaining a strict intercourse with the Roman see, and a

The cardinal de' Medici directs the affairs of Tuscany.

[34] Nerli Commentar. lib. vi. p. 133.

due submission to the supreme pontiff; to whose advice he constantly resorted on all doubtful points, and to whose directions he strictly and faithfully conformed.

The power which Leo X. possessed over the duchy of Urbino was yet more absolute than that which he enjoyed in the Florentine state. By the tenor of the investiture, the sovereignty had been extended, in default of males, to the female offspring of Lorenzo, and his infant daughter was now entitled to the ducal sceptre; but the disadvantages which might arise from such a government were easily foreseen, and Catherina, under the care of her powerful relatives, was reserved for a still higher destiny. To any reconciliation between its former sovereign and Leo X. the animosities which had arisen between them, in the course of the contest in which they had been engaged, had placed an insuperable bar; and even if the pontiff had been inclined to an accommodation, the restoration of the duchy of Urbino to the duke, could only have been considered as an acknowledgment, on the part of the pope, that in expelling him from his dominions he had committed an act of injustice. Having therefore first dismembered the duchy of Urbino of the fortress of S. Leo, and the district of Montefeltro, which he gave to the Florentines as a compensation for the expenses incurred, and the services rendered by them in the acquisition of these domains, he annexed the remainder of that territory, with its dependent states of Pesaro and Sinigaglia, to the dominions of the church.

Urbino united to the dominions of the church.

Medal of Clement VII.

Luther publicly burns the bull of Leo X.

CHAPTER XIX.

1519—1521.

Progress of the Reformation—Leo X. endeavours to conciliate Luther—Conferences between Luther and Miltitz—Public disputation at Leipsic—Luther is prevailed upon to write to the pope—Sarcastic tenor of his letter—His doctrines condemned at Rome—Purport of the papal bull—Its reception at Wittemberg—Luther publicly burns the bull, with the decretals of the church—He endeavours to obtain the favour of the emperor—Aleandro papal legate to the imperial court—Harangues the diet of the empire against Luther—Luther cited to appear before the diet—His journey to Worms—His first appearance before the assembly—His second appearance—He refuses to retract his writings · Observations on his conduct—The emperor declares his opinion—Further efforts to prevail upon Luther to retract—Condemned by an imperial edict—Is privately conveyed to the castle of Wartburg—Henry VIII. writes against Luther—Reformation of Switzerland by Zuinglius—Conduct and character of Luther—His bold assertion of the right of private judgment—His inflexible adherence to his own opinion—Uncharitable spirit of the first reformers—Effects of the Reformation on literary studies—On the fine arts—On the political and moral state of Europe.

Progress of the Reformation. 1519. Æt. 44. Pont. VII.

THE death of the emperor Maximilian, and the negotiations and intrigues occasioned by the election of his successor, Charles V., had for a time withdrawn the attention of the court of Rome from the proceedings of Luther. Of this opportunity he and his followers had availed themselves to spread his opinions, both by preaching and writing, through various parts of Germany. The effect of these exertions was most visible in Saxony, where, during the vacancy of the imperial throne,

the vicarial authority had devolved on the elector Frederick; who, if he did not openly espouse the cause of the Reformation, at least raised no obstructions to its progress. Under his protection the new opinions gained considerable strength; and as his reputation for integrity, talents, and personal worth, was equal to that of any sovereign of his time, the partiality which he manifested to Luther greatly contributed to the success of the efforts of that daring innovator.[1]

Leo endeavours to pacify Luther.

No sooner had the political ferment subsided, than Leo again turned his attention to the progress of Luther, which from its rapidity and extent now began to excite a real alarm at Rome. The new decretal which Leo had issued in confirmation of indulgences, had answered no other purpose than to impel Luther to a more direct opposition. To whatever height the pontifical authority erected its crest, Luther opposed himself to it with equal confidence, and Leo at length resolved to try the effect of conciliatory measures. In this it is probable that he followed the dictates of his own temper and judgment, which were naturally inclined to lenity and forbearance; and it is certain that the measure which he adopted was warmly reprobated by many of the firm and orthodox adherents of the church.[2] The person selected by the pontiff for this purpose was Charles Miltitz, a Saxon nobleman, who had served him for some years in a military capacity, and had been afterwards nominated to the office of counsellor and apostolic chamberlain. To this choice Leo was perhaps, in some degree, led by the consideration that the elector Frederick was supposed to have long wished for the honour of the consecrated rose, which is annually given by the pontiff to some distinguished personage; and he therefore thought that, by transmitting this mark of his

[1] "Procedebat feliciter Evangelium sub umbra istius principis, et late propagabatur. Movebat ejus autoritas plurimos, qui cum esset sapientissimus et oculatissimus princeps, non poterat, nisi apud invidos, suspicionem incurrere quod hæresin aut hæreticos vellet alere et tueri."—Luther in præf. ad Op.

[2] The effects that might have been produced by a reasonable concession on the part of the Roman court in point of discipline, retaining that which is supposed to be essential in point of faith, have been fully considered and stated by Count Bossi, in his observations on this passage, and on other occasions. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. vi. p. 323, vol. ix. p. 9, and *passim*.*

esteem by the hands of Miltitz, he should, at the same time, conciliate the favour of the elector, and find an opportunity of treating with Luther, without humiliating himself by the appearance of sending an express messenger for that purpose. To this it may be added, that Miltitz had already acted the part of a mediator with the pope on behalf of Luther, to obtain a hearing of his cause in Germany; which office he had been solicited to undertake by a letter from the university of Wittemberg. Nor is it improbable that Leo preferred a secular to an ecclesiastical envoy, in the hope of avoiding those speculative disputations which had hitherto only tended to widen the breach which he wished to close.

The reception of Miltitz at the electoral court gave but an ill omen of his success. Neither the letters of the pontiff, nor the recommendations which Miltitz had brought to Degenhart Pfeffinger and George Spalatino, two of the principal officers of the court, could remove the unfavourable impressions which had preceded his arrival. Instead of receiving with satisfaction and respect the high mark of pontifical favour of which Miltitz was the bearer, the elector desired that it might be consigned to an officer of his court, who would convey it to him without the formality of a public interview;[3] and to the remonstrances of Miltitz respecting Luther, he coldly answered, that he would not act as a judge, to oppress a man whom he hitherto considered as innocent.[4]

These discouraging appearances tended still further to

[3] This rose the pontiff describes in his letter to the elector as "——Sacratissimam auream Rosam, quarta dominica Sanctæ Quadragesimæ a nobis chrismate sancto delibatam, odoriferoque musco inspersam, cum benedictione Apostolica, ut vetus est consuetudo, aliis adhibitis sacris ceremoniis consecratam; munus quippe dignissimum et magni mysterii, a Romano pontifice non nisi alicui ex primoribus christianorum orbis Regi aut Principi de Sancta Apostolica sede bene merito quotannis dicari et mitti solitam."—Leon. X. Ep. ad Fred. Ducem, ap. Seckend. p. 65. Luther, however, asserts, that the elector treated the present of the pope with contempt: "Nam et Rosam quam vocant auream, eodem anno ei a Leone X. mi sam, nullo honore dignatus est, imo, pro ridiculo habuit, ita desperare coacti sunt Romanistæ a studiis fallendi tanti principis." Luth. in præf. *et vide* Pallavicini, Concil. di Trent. lib. i. p. 96.

[4] In a note on this passage, Bossi has considered the conduct of the elector at great length, and is of opinion that he did not manifest any improper partiality towards Luther, but only accorded to him that protection, which a wise sovereign might grant to a subject, in a matter upon which he did not himself pretend to be a competent judge. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 178.*

convince Miltitz that the mediation of the elector would be hopeless, except he could first prevail upon Luther to listen to pacific measures. He therefore requested an interview with him, which was with some difficulty obtained. On this occasion, Miltitz cautiously avoided all theological questions, and endeavoured, by the most earnest persuasions, to induce him to lay aside the hostility which he had manifested to the holy see. He acknowledged the abuses to which the promulgation of indulgences had given rise, and highly censured the misconduct and the violence of Tetzel, whom he called before him, and reprehended with such severity, as being the cause and promoter of these dissensions, that the unfortunate monk, terrified by the threats of the legate and by the letters which were afterwards addressed to him, fell a sacrifice to his vexation and his grief.[5] By these and similar measures, Luther was at length prevailed upon to relax in his opposition, and to address a letter to the pontiff, in which he laments, with apparent sincerity, the part which he had acted, and to which, as he asserts, he had been impelled by the misconduct, avarice, and violence of his enemies; and declares, in the sight of God and the world, that he had never wished to impeach the authority of the Roman see and of the pontiff, which was held by him as supreme over all in heaven and in earth, except our Lord Jesus Christ. He also professes his readiness to refrain from the further discussion of the question concerning indulgences, provided his adversaries would do the like.[6] From the pacific and obedient tenor of this letter, there is indeed reason to infer that Luther was not at this time averse to a reconciliation; nor did Leo hesitate to reply to it in terms equally pacific; insomuch, that the friends of peace began to flatter themselves that these disturbances would soon be amicably ter-

Conferences between Luther and Miltitz.

[5] When Luther was informed of his sickness, he addressed a letter to him, entreating him "to keep up his spirits, and to fear nothing from his resentment," &c. Luth. Op. in præf. Whether this was really intended as a consolation, the reader will judge. "How can it be doubted?" says Mr. Henke; "if Luther's own words be read, not at all. 'Ita fregit Miltitius hominem, ut inde contabesceret, et tandem ægritudine conficeretur; quem ego, ubi hoc rescivi, ante obitum literis benignita scriptis consolatus sum, ac jussi animo bono esse, *nec mei memoriam metuere.*'" *Vide* Germ. Ed. vol. iii. p. 188.

[6] *Vide* App. No. LXXX.

minated.[7] But other circumstances arose which revived the fermentation of theological disputes, and gave new life to those animosities which seem to be their natural and invariable result.

Andrew Bodenstein, better known by the name of *Carlostadt* or *Carlostadius*, assumed by him from the place of his birth, was at this time archdeacon of the cathedral at Wittemberg, and having embraced the opinions of Luther, had published a thesis in their defence. This again called forth the papal champion Eccius, and, after much altercation, it was at length determined, that the dispute should be decided by single combat, substituting only the weapons of argument for those of force. Of this contest, which was carried on in the city of Leipsic, in the presence of George, duke of Saxony, the uncle of the elector Frederick, and a large concourse of other eminent persons both ecclesiastical and secular, the partisans of the Roman church and the adherents to the Reformation have each left a full account.[8] After the parties had tried their skill for several successive days, Luther himself, who had accompanied his friend Carlostadt, entered the lists with Eccius. The battle was renewed with great violence, and if the disputants did not succeed in enlightening the understanding, they at least inflamed the passions of each other to a degree of animosity which sufficiently discovered itself in their future conduct.[9] Hoffman, the principal of the university

Public disputation at Leipsic.

[7] *Vide* Mosheim, Ecclesiast. Hist. vol. ii. p. 21, note (*u*).

[8] Melchior. Adam, in Vita Carlostadii, p. 38.

[9] This famous dispute commenced on the 27th day of June, 1519. The principal question agitated between Carlostadt and Eccius was, *whether the human will had any operation in the performance of good works, or was merely passive to the power of divine grace?* The debate continued *six days;* Eccius maintaining that the *will co-operated* with the divine favour, and Carlostadt asserting its total inefficacy for any meritorious purpose. The debate between Luther and Eccius occupied *ten days*, in the course of which Luther delivered his opinion respecting *purgatory*, the existence of which he asserted could not be proved by scripture; of *indulgences*, which he contended were useless; of *the remission of punishment*, which he considered as inseparable from the remission of sin; of *repentance*, which he asserted must arise from charity and love, and was useless if induced by fear; of *the primacy of the pope*, which he boldly contended was supported by human, and not by divine authority. This last point was contested by both parties with great earnestness and ability. Luther, however, acknowledges that he and his friends were overcome, at least by clamour and by gestures: "Ita, me Deus amet, fateri cogor victos nos esse clamore et gestu." Excerpta Lutheri, de suis et Carolostadii thesibus, ap. Seckend. p. 73. It is remarkable that Milton appears as an

of Leipsic, who sat as umpire on this occasion, was too discreet to determine between the contending parties. Each, therefore, claimed the victory; but the final decision upon the various questions which had been agitated, was referred to the universities of Paris and of Erfurt. This debate was again renewed in writing, when not only Carlostadt, Eccius, and Luther, but Melancthon, Erasmus, and several other eminent scholars, took an important part in asserting or opposing the various opinions which had been advanced at Leipsic. By the publication of these works the spirit of discussion and inquiry was still further extended; and whether the truth was with the one, or the other, or with neither of the parties, the prolongation of the contest proved almost as injurious to the court of Rome, as if its cause had experienced a total defeat.

On the return of Luther to Wittemberg, Miltitz renewed his endeavours to prevail upon him to desist from further opposition, and to submit himself to the authority of the holy see. For the accomplishment of this object he laboured unceasingly, with such commendations of the virtues and talents of Luther, and such acknowledgments of the misconduct and corruptions of the Roman court, as he thought were likely to gain his confidence, and disarm his resentment; a conduct which has been considered by the papal historians as highly derogatory to the Roman pontiff, of whom he was the legate, and injurious to the cause which he was employed to defend. They have also accused this envoy of indulging himself too freely in convivial entertainments and the use of wine; on which occasions he amused his friends with many exaggerated anecdotes, to the discredit and disgrace of the Roman court; which being founded on the authority of the pope's nuncio,[10] were received and repeated as

advocate for the Catholic doctrine of free-will, in opposition to the Lutheran and Calvinistic opinion of the total inefficacy of the human mind to all good purposes:—

> "Freely they stood, who stood, and fell, who fell;
> Not free, what proof could they have given sincere
> Of true allegiance, constant faith, or love?
> Where only *what they needs must do* appear'd,
> Not *what they would*, what praise could they receive?"
>
> Par. Lost, book iii. v. 102.

[10] It is remarked by Bossi, that, strictly speaking, Miltitz was neither the legate

authentic.[11] Finding, however, that all his efforts to subdue the pertinacity of Luther were ineffectual, he had recourse to the assistance of the society of Augustine monks, then met in a general chapter, whom he prevailed upon to send a deputation to their erring brother, to recall him to a sense of his duty. Luther appeared to be well pleased with this mark of respect, and promised that he would again write to the pontiff, with a further explanation of his conduct. Availing himself therefore of this opportunity, he addressed another letter to Leo X., which in its purport may be considered as one of the most singular, and in its consequences as one of the most important, that ever the pen of an individual produced.

Luther is prevailed upon to write to the pope.

1520. Æt. 45. Pont. VIII.

Under the pretext of obedience, respect, and even affection for the pontiff, he has conveyed the most determined opposition, the most bitter satire, and the most marked contempt; insomuch, that it is scarcely possible to conceive a composition more replete with insult and offence, than that which Luther affected to allow himself to be prevailed on to write by the representations of his own fraternity.[12] "Amongst the monsters of the age," says Luther, "with whom I have now waged nearly a three-years' war, I am compelled at times to turn my regards towards you, O most holy father Leo; or rather I might say, that as you are esteemed to be the sole cause of the contest, you are never absent from my thoughts. For although I have been induced by your impious flatterers, who have attacked me without any cause, to appeal to a general council, regardless of the empty decrees of your predecessors, Pius and Julius, which by a kind of stupid tyranny were intended to prevent such a measure, yet I have never allowed my mind to be so far alienated from your holiness, as not to be most earnestly solicitous for the happiness both of

Sarcastic letter from Luther to the pope.

nor the nuncio of the pope, but sent in the character of an envoy, for a special purpose only; in admitting the remark, I have not thought it necessary to alter the phraseology of the text, which sufficiently answers the purpose. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. ix. pp. 13, 18.*

[11] Pallav. Conc. di Trento, lib. i. cap. xviii. p. 114.

[12] *Vide* App. No LXXXI.

yourself and your see, which I have always endeavoured, as far as in my power, to obtain from God by continual and ardent supplications. It is true, I have almost learnt to despise and to exult over the threats of those who have sought to terrify me by the majesty of your name and authority; but there is one circumstance which I cannot contemn, and which has compelled me again to address your holiness. I understand I have been highly blamed, as having had the temerity to carry my opposition so far as even to attack your personal character.

"I must, however, most explicitly assure you, that whenever I have had occasion to mention you, I have never done it but in the best and most magnificent terms. Had I done otherwise, I should have belied my own judgment, and should not only concur in the opinion of my adversaries, but most willingly acknowledge my rashness and impiety. I have given you the appellation of a Daniel in Babylon, and have even endeavoured to defend you against your great calumniator Silvester (Prierio) with a sincerity which any reader will abundantly perceive in my works. The unsullied reputation of your life is indeed so august, and so celebrated in every part of the world by the applauses of learned men, as to set at defiance any aspersions which can be thrown upon it. I am not so absurd as to attack him whom every one praises, when it has always been my rule to spare even those whom public report condemns. I delight not in blazoning the crimes of others, being conscious of the mote which is in my own eye, and not regarding myself as entitled to throw the first stone at an adultress."

After justifying the asperity with which he has commented on the misconduct of his adversaries, by the example of Christ, and of the prophets and apostles, he thus proceeds: "I must, however, acknowledge my total abhorrence of your see, the Roman court, which neither you nor any man can deny is more corrupt than either Babylon or Sodom, and, according to the best of my information, is sunk in the most deplorable and notorious impiety.[13] I

[13] It must be observed, that Luther had been in Rome, in the year 1510, on the affairs of his convent, where he had been greatly disgusted with the conduct of the

have been therefore truly indignant to find, that under your name, and the pretext of the Roman church, the people of Christ have been made a sport of; which I have opposed, and will oppose, as long as the spirit of faith shall remain in me. Not that I would attempt impossibilities, or expect that my efforts could avail against such a hostile throng of flatterers, and in the midst of the commotions of that Babylon. I owe, however, something to my brethren, and conceive that it behoves me to keep watch that they are not seized in such numbers, nor so violently attacked, by this Roman plague. For what has Rome poured out for these many years past (as you well know), but the desolation of all things, both of body and soul, and the worst examples of all iniquity. It is, indeed, as clear as daylight to all mankind, that the Roman church, formerly the most holy of all churches, is become the most licentious den of thieves, the most shameless of all brothels, the kingdom of sin, of death, and of hell; the wickedness of which not antichrist himself could conceive.[14]

"In the mean time, you, O Leo, sit like a lamb amidst wolves, and live like Daniel amidst the lions, or Ezekiel among the scorpions. But what can you oppose to these monsters? Three or four learned and excellent cardinals! but what are these on such an occasion? In fact, you would all sooner perish by poison than attempt a remedy to these disorders. The fate of the court of Rome is decreed; the wrath of God is upon it; advice it detests; reformation it dreads; the fury of its impiety cannot be mitigated, and it has now fulfilled that which was said of its mother, *We have medicined Babylon, and she is not healed; let us therefore leave her.* It was the office of you and of your cardinals to have applied a remedy; but the

clergy, and the manners of the people, in the performance of religious worship. Luther. Op. German. tom. vi. Jenæ, ap. Melch. Adam in Vita, 49. Speaking of this journey in his "Colloquia," he observes, that he would not have exchanged it for a thousand florins. Ibid.

[14] Count Bossi is shocked at these gross expressions, which he thinks cannot be approved by the moderate and judicious friends of the Reformation. But the statement of them is, he conceives, useful to history, as they serve to shew the character and temperament of this reformer, and to demonstrate how useless it would have been for Leo, or any other pontiff, to have opposed the progress of reform. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 23.*

disorder derides the hand of the physician, *nec audit currus habenas*. Under these impressions I have always lamented, O most excellent Leo, that you, who are worthy of better times, should have been elected to the pontificate in such days as these. Rome merits you not, nor those who resemble you, but Satan himself, who in fact reigns more than you in that Babylon; would that you could exchange that state which your inveterate enemies represent to you as an honour, for some petty living; or would support yourself by your paternal inheritance; for of such honours none are worthy but Iscariots, the sons of perdition."

After pouring out these invectives, and others of a similar kind, always pointed with expressions of the most contemptuous kindness for the pontiff, Luther proceeds to give a brief history of his conduct, and of the efforts made to pacify him by the Roman court; in which he speaks of Eccius as the servant of Satan, and the adversary of Jesus Christ, and adverts to the conduct of the cardinal of Gaeta with an acrimony by no means consistent with his former professions in this respect. He then declares, that in consequence of the representations of the Augustine fathers, who had entreated him at least to honour the person of the pontiff, and assured him that a reconciliation was yet practicable, he had joyfully and gratefully undertaken the present address. "Thus I come," says he, "most holy father, and prostrating myself before you, entreat that you will, if possible, lay hands on and bridle those flatterers who, whilst they pretend to be pacific, are the enemies of peace. Let no one, however, presume to think, most holy father, that I shall sing a *palinode*, unless he wishes to give rise to a still greater storm. I shall admit of no restraints in interpreting the word of God; for the word of God, which inculcates the liberty of all, must itself be free. Except in these points, there is nothing to which I am not ready to submit. I hate contention, I will provoke no one; but being provoked, whilst Christ assists me, I will not be mute. With one word your holiness might silence these commotions, and establish that peace which I so earnestly desire.

"Allow me, however, to caution you, my good father

Leo, against those sirens who would persuade you that you are not altogether a man, but a compound of man and God, and can command and require whatever you please. This, I assure you, will be of no avail. You are the servant of servants, and of all mankind, are seated in the most deplorable and perilous place. Be not deceived by those who pretend that you are lord of the earth, that there can be no christian without your authority, and that you have any power in heaven, in hell, or in purgatory. They are your enemies, and seek to destroy your soul, as it was said by Esaias, *O my people, they who pronounce you happy deceive you.* Thus they impose upon you who exalt you above a council, and the universal church; and who attribute to you alone the right of interpreting the scriptures, and endeavour under your name to establish their own impiety. Alas, by their means, Satan has made great gain among your predecessors."[15]

[15] Some of the protestant writers, willing to attribute the schism of the church wholly to the rash and intemperate conduct of the Roman pontiff, have passed over in silence this provoking letter of Luther, although published in the general collection of his works (*vide* Cha. Chais. Mosheim, Robertson, &c.); others who have cited it, have supposed that Luther was serious in his professions of respect and attachment to Leo X., and that the pontiff should have considered it as a peace-offering (*vide* Sleidan and Seckendorf); but it is not difficult to perceive that the whole is a bitter satire, rendered more galling by the pretended anxiety of the writer for the temporal and eternal welfare of the pope. Seckendorf has also attempted to prove, that although this letter bears the date of the 6th of April, 1520, it was not written till the month of October following; in which opinion he has been incautiously followed by other writers. To say nothing of the decisive internal evidence of the letter having been written before the issuing of the papal bull, it may be sufficient to notice the following facts; a due attention to which would have prevented Seckendorf and his followers from falling into such an error. I. The letter in question was prefixed, as the actual dedication to Leo X. of the book of Luther, "de Libertate Christiana." In this form it appears in the Jena edition of the works of Luther, where it immediately precedes the treatise, and is entitled, "Epistola Lutheri ad Leonem X. Rom. Pontificem, LIBELLO DE LIBERTATE CHRISTIANA PRÆFIXA." The dedicatory words at the close of the letter admit of no doubt that it was published with the book, "In fine, ne vacuus advenerim, B. P. mecum affero tractatulum hunc, *sub tuo nomine editum*, vel ut auspicio pacis componendæ et bonæ spei," &c. II. The precise time of the publication of this treatise is marked by the dedicatory letter itself; viz. the 6th April, 1520. It preceded, in the order of publication, the treatise, "de Captivitate Babylonica;" and the latter treatise had made its appearance in the month of August, 1520. *Vide* Sleidan. lib. ii. Seckend. lib. i. sec. lxxiii. III. The Jena edition of the works of Luther was superintended by his particular friends soon after his death, and the greatest care was taken in arranging his writings, in order of time, according to their proper dates. This is repeatedly insisted on, in the preface by Amsdorf, as one of the chief merits of the work. "Nam multi, non considerata temporum serie, turpiter hallucinantur, *dum prætextu Scriptorum Lutheri, Christum et Belial conciliare student.*" In this edition the letter appears in its proper place, with the date of the 6th of April, and before the bull of Leo X., which is dated the 15th of

This letter, which bears date the sixth day of April, 1520, was prefixed by Luther as a dedication to his treatise on Christian Liberty, which he professes to transmit to the pope as a proof of his pacific disposition, and of his desire to attend to his studies, if the flatterers of the pontiff would allow him; but which the advocates of the Roman church have considered as an aditional proof of his arrogance and his disobedience. The measure of his offences was now full; the pontiff, indeed, had long been solicited to apply an effectual remedy to these disorders. The friars accused him of negligence, and complained that whilst he was employed in pompous exhibitions, in hunting, in music, or other amusements, he disregarded affairs of the highest moment. They asserted, that in matters of faith, the least deviation is of importance; that the time to eradicate the evil is before it has begun to spread itself; that the revolt of Arius was at first a spark that might have been extinguished, but which, being neglected, had set fire to the world. That the efforts of John Huss and Jerome of Prague would have been attended with similar success, if they had not been frustrated in the commencement by the vigilance of the council of Constance.[16]

The doctrines of Luther publicly condemned at Rome.

June. IV. Any correspondence between Luther and Leo X. after the issuing the bull must have been well known, and given rise to great observation, as it would have shewn the conduct of Luther in a very different light from that in which it now appears, and led to very different conclusions respecting his character. To have omitted or misplaced it in the Jena edition of the works of Luther, which professes to give a history of the Reformation for the years 1517, 18, 19, 20, and 21, by a regular series of authentic documents, would have been unpardonable Even Seckendorf himself has not ventured to introduce, or even to mention such letter in his commentaries, at the time when he contends it was written; and only undertakes, in a former part of his work, to raise some doubt on the subject; '*dubitationem quandam infra aperiam;*" a doubt, which a proper examination would effectually have removed. It is the opinion of Mr. Henke, that the letter was dated the 6th of September, and was actually sent to the pope with that date; founding this opinion on a copy of it in German, in his own possession. I am well aware of this edition, and have now by me another of the same date in Latin, but I consider these as *reprinted* publications; the work having before been printed at Antwerp by Michael Hillenium, *vide* Panzer, Ann. Typ. vol. vi. p. 7, 40. where it was again reprinted in the same year. The letter may, however, safely be trusted to its own internal evidence. I shall therefore only add, that Lord Herbert, in his Life of Henry VIII., particularly cites this letter, and says, "I believe he meant this, as the pope himself understood it, only for a pasquil, or satyr, *which made him also assemble the cardinals, and consult with them herein, who all condemned Luther,*" &c., evidently considering this letter as not only having been written before, but as being the ground of the *papal bull.* Life of Henry VIII. p. 84.

[16] Sarpi, Hist del Concil. di Trento, lib. iv. p. 10. But Bossi has sufficiently

These sentiments were by no means agreeable to the pontiff, who, so far from wishing to resort to severity, regretted that he had already interfered so much in the business, and made himself a party where he ought to have assumed the more dignified character of a judge.[17] The remonstrances, however, of the prelates and universities of Germany, added to those of the Roman clergy, and, above all, the excess to which Luther had now carried his opposition, compelled him at length to have recourse to decisive measures; and a congregation of the cardinals, prelates, theologians, and canonists, was summoned at Rome, for the purpose of deliberating on the mode in which his condemnation should be announced.

The form of the bull by which Luther and his doctrines were to be condemned, gave rise to many debates, and a great variety of opinion; and the authority of the pontiff was necessary to terminate a contest between the cardinals Pietro Accolti and Lorenzo Pucci the datary, each of whom had proposed the form of the bull, and were earnest in defence of their respective opinions. At length, the model of Accolti was, with some variations, adopted; and this formidable document, which has been considered as the final separation of Luther and his adherents from the Roman church, and as the foundation of the celebrated council of Trent, was issued, with the date of the fifteenth day of June, 1520.[18]

Purport of the papal bull.

By this bull, the supreme pontiff, after calling upon Christ to arise and judge his own cause, and upon St. Peter, St. Paul, and all the host of saints, to intercede for the peace and unity of the church, selects forty-one articles from the assertions and writings of Luther, as heretical, dangerous, and scandalous, offensive to pious ears, contrary to Christian charity, the respect due to the Roman church, and to that obedience which is the sinew of

shewn, that although Huss was dragged to execution in defiance of an imperial safe-conduct, his death gave rise to a dreadful civil war, in which his followers, to the number of 40,000, spread slaughter and devastation throughout all Bohemia. "It cannot, therefore," adds Bossi, "be correctly said by the Roman theologians, that the efforts of Huss were defeated by the vigilance of the council of Constance." *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 184.*

[17] Sarpi, Hist. del Concil. di Trento, lib. iv. p. 11.

[18] Ibid. Pallavicini, Concil. di Trento, cap. xx. p. 119.

ecclesiastical discipline. He then proceeds to condemn them, and prohibits every person, under pain of excommunication, from advancing, defending, preaching, or favouring the opinions therein contained. He also condemns the books published by Luther, as containing similar assertions, and directs that they shall be sought out, and publicly burnt. Proceeding then to the person of Luther, the pontiff declares, that he has omitted no effort of paternal charity to reclaim him from his errors, that he has invited him to Rome, offered him a safe-conduct, and the payment of the expenses of his journey, in the full confidence that he would, on his arrival, have acknowledged his errors, and have discovered, that in his contempt of the Roman court, and his accusations against the holy pontiff, he had been misled by empty and malicious reports. That Luther had, notwithstanding this summons, contumaciously refused, for upwards of a year, to appear at Rome; that he still persevered in his refusal; and that adding one offence to another, he had rashly dared to appeal to a future council, in defiance of the constitutions of Pius II. and Julius II., which had declared all such appeals heretical. That in consequence of these reiterated offences, the pope might justly have proceeded to his condemnation, but that being induced by the voice of his brethren, and imitating the clemency of the Omnipotent, who desireth not the death of a sinner, he had forgotten all the offences hitherto committed by Luther against himself and the holy see, had determined to treat him with the greatest lenity, and to endeavour, by mildness alone, to recall him to a sense of his duty; in which case he was still willing to receive him, like the repentant prodigal, into the bosom of the church. He then proceeds to exhort Luther and his adherents to maintain the peace and unity of the church of Christ; prohibits them from preaching, and admonishes them, within sixty days, publicly to recant their errors, and commit their writings to the flames; otherwise he denounces them as notorious and pertinacious heretics; he requires all Christian princes and powers to seize upon Luther and his adherents, and send them to Rome, or at least to expel them from their territories; and he interdicts

every place to which they may be allowed to resort; and, lastly, he directs that this bull shall be read through all Christendom, and excommunicates those who may oppose its publication.[19]

Its execution intrusted to Eccius.

The execution of this bull was intrusted to Eccius, who had repaired to Rome, in order to expedite it, and having accomplished his purpose, hastened with it to Germany, as a trophy of his victory. The delegation of this authority to an avowed and personal enemy of Luther, was not, however, calculated to allay the resentment of that fearless reformer; and has been justly censured, even by the firmest apologists of the Roman court, as affording a pretext to Luther, that this measure was not the result of an impartial consideration of his conduct, but of the odium of his declared and inveterate enemies.[20]

On the publication of this instrument, Leo X. addressed a letter to the university of Wittemberg, and another to the elector Frederick,[21] in the latter of which, taking for granted the firm attachment of the elector to the holy church, and his enmity to the efforts of that "child of iniquity," Martin Luther, he commends him highly for services which he had certainly never rendered.[22] He then proceeds to acquaint him, that all efforts to reclaim Luther having proved ineffectual, he had issued a decree against him, of which he had transmitted him a copy, printed at Rome; and entreats him to use his authority to prevail upon Luther to recant his errors, and in case of his obstinacy, to take him into custody, and retain his person under the directions of the holy see. It is, however, sufficiently apparent, that this letter was rather written from political motives, to justify to the public the conduct of the Roman court, than with any expectation of influencing the elector to take a hostile

[19] On this bull, which effected the entire separation of the reformers from the church of Rome, Ulric Hutten wrote a series of sarcastic commentaries, which were published in the works of Luther, vol. i. p. 423. The bull is given in the Appendix to the present work, No. LXXXII.

[20] Pallavicini, Concil. di Trento, cap. xx. p. 119. [21] App. No. LXXXIII.

[22] Count Bossi dissents from this opinion; and thinks the elector was desirous of maintaining the peace of the church, and that if his reasonable recommendations had been attended to, an opening might have been afforded for reconciliation. Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 185.*

part against Luther, that sovereign having, only a few months before, in a letter written to Rome, decidedly expressed his opinion, "That, if instead of endeavouring to convince the reformers by arguments and authorities from scripture, the Roman court should have recourse to threats and violence, it would inevitably occasion the most bitter dissensions and destructive tumults throughout all Germany."[23] The absence of the elector, who was at the imperial court when the letter of Leo X. arrived at Wittemberg, afforded a pretext for the university to suspend the execution of the bull until his return; but, by the instigation of Eccius, the writings of Luther were publicly burnt at Cologne, Louvain, and other cities of the Netherlands and Germany.

Its execution suspended at the university of Wittemberg.

The first measure adopted by Luther in opposition to the pontifical decree, was to renew his appeal to a general council.[24] He soon afterwards published his animadversions upon *the execrable Bull of Leo X.*,[25] in which he in his turn admonishes the pope and his cardinals to repent of their errors, and to disavow their diabolical blasphemies and impious attempts; threatening them, that unless they speedily comply with his remonstrances, he and all other Christians shall regard the court of Rome as the seat of Antichrist, possessed by Satan himself. He declares that he is prepared in defence of his opinions, not only to receive with joy these censures, but to entreat that he may never be absolved from them, or be numbered among the followers of the Roman church, being rather willing to gratify their sanguinary tyranny by offering them his life; that if they still persist in their fury, he shall proceed to deliver over both them and their bull, with all their decretals, to Satan, that by the destruction of the flesh, their souls may be liberated in the coming of our Lord. These menaces he soon afterwards carried into effect, as far as lay in his power. On the tenth day of December, 1520, he caused a kind of funeral pile to be erected without the walls of Wittemberg, surrounded by scaffolds, as for a public spectacle, and when the places thus prepared were

Luther publicly burns the bull, with the decretals of the Roman see.

[23] App. No. LXXXIV. [24] App. No. LXXXV. [25] Lutheri Op. vol. ii. p. 286.

filled by the members of the university and the inhabitants of the city, Luther made his appearance, with many attendants, bringing with him several volumes, containing the decretals of the popes, the constitutions called the Extravagants, the writings of Eccius, and of Emser, another of his antagonists, and finally a copy of the bull of Leo X. The pile being then set on fire, he with his own hands committed the books to the flames, exclaiming at the same time, *because ye have troubled the holy of the Lord, ye shall be burnt with eternal fire.*[26] On the following day he mounted the pulpit, and admonished his audience to be upon their guard against papistical decrees. "The conflagration we have now seen," said he, "is a matter of small importance. It would be more to the purpose if the pope himself, or in other words, the papal see, were also burnt."[27] The example of Luther at Wittemberg was followed by his disciples in several other parts of Germany, where the papal bulls and decretals were committed to the flames with public marks of indignation and contempt. Such were the ceremonies that confirmed the separation of Luther and his followers from the court of Rome. A just representation of that hostile spirit which has subsisted between them to the present day; and which, unfortunately for the world, has not always been appeased by the burning of heretical works on the one hand, nor of papal bulls and decretals on the other.[28]

This irreconcilable dissension between Luther and the church could not have arisen at a more critical juncture. A young and powerful monarch had just been seated on the imperial throne, and the part which he might take in this contest might either overthrow the papal authority throughout the central provinces of Europe, or frustrate the efforts of the reformers in the origin of their undertaking. Hence the eyes of all the Christian world were turned towards Charles V., on whose

Luther endeavours to obtain the favour of the emperor.

[26] Lutheri Op. vol. ii. p. 320. Pallavic. Conc. di Trento, cap. xxii. p. 126.

[27] Lutheri Op. vol. ii. p. 320.

[28] An account of the ceremony of proclaiming the sentence of the pope against Luther, and the burning his books in St. Paul's Churchyard, London, in the presence of Wolsey and the prelates of the realm, is given in the Appendix from the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum. *Vide* App. No. LXXXVI.

decision the fate of the Reformation seemed to depend. Of the importance of this decision, Luther and the pontiff were equally aware; and accordingly they neither of them spared any pains that might secure his countenance and support. In his severe reprehensions of the bull of Leo X. Luther had already called upon Charles V. to rise up and oppose himself to the kingdom of Antichrist. He also addressed a book in the German language to the emperor and his nobles, in which he had endeavoured to prove that the pope had no authority over the imperial throne, nor any right to exercise those powers which he had long claimed in the German states; and earnestly entreated the emperor not to suffer the Roman pontiff to take the sword from his hand and reign uncontrolled in his dominions.[29] Nor was Luther without a powerful friend in the elector of Saxony, who, on account of his magnanimity in refusing the imperial crown, and his effectual recommendation of Charles V. to that high dignity, enjoyed in an eminent degree the favour and confidence of that sovereign. The elector palatine, Lewis, was also supposed to be inclined towards the opinions of Luther, which had now made such a progress in various parts of Germany, as decidedly to shew that they could not be eradicated without the most sanguinary consequences. On this important occasion Luther also availed himself of the services of Ulric Hutten, and of Erasmus, the latter of whom laboured with great earnestness, by means of his friends, to discover the sentiments of Charles V. with respect to the reformers; which Luther had, however, the mortification to find were not favourable to his cause.[30]

The efforts of Leo X. to secure the favour of the emperor, and induce him to take an active part in the support of the Roman church, were also unremitting.[31] On the election of Charles V. it became necessary to despatch an envoy from Rome to congratulate him on that event, for which purpose the pontiff selected Marino Caraccioli, then an apostolic notary, and who afterwards, in the pontificate of

[29] Seckendorf. Comment. de Lutheranisimo, lib. i. sec. xxxiv. p. 127.
[30] Luther. ad Spalatinum, ap. Seckend. Comment. lib. i. sec. 29, p. 115; *et vide* Pallavic. Conc. di Trento, cap. xxiii. p. 132.
[31] *Vide* Sadoleti Ep. nomine Leonis X. ep. lxxii. p. 101. Ed. Rom. 1759.

Paul III. obtained the rank of cardinal. Conceiving, however, that this envoy would be sufficiently employed in watching over the political interests of the Roman see, and that the business of the Reformation would require all the vigilance of an active and skilful negotiator, he sent, as another nuncio, Girolamo Aleandro, to whom he intrusted the important task of exterminating the heretical opinions of Luther and his adherents. Aleandro was not only a man of great learning, but of uncommon talents and activity, and being warmly devoted to the Roman see, he engaged in its service with inconceivable earnestness. On his arrival in Flanders, where the emperor yet remained, he obtained his permission to carry into effect the bull of Leo X. throughout his patrimonial dominions. After the coronation of Charles at Aix la Chapelle, Aleandro accompanied him to Cologne, where the works of Luther were publicly burnt, as well as in other cities of Germany; not, however, without such an opposition in some places, as rendered it highly dangerous to those who undertook the office.

Aleandro sent as papal legate to the imperial court.

Soon after his coronation, Charles had summoned a diet of the empire to meet at Nuremburg, in the month of January, 1521, as well for the purpose of making some important regulations as to the German confederacy, as for taking into consideration the state of religion; but on account of the plague appearing at that place, the diet assembled at Worms. As the resolutions of this meeting were expected to be decisive of the great question of the Reformation, no exertions were spared by either of the contending parties to obtain a favourable decision. Besides the continual efforts of Aleandro, the cause of the Roman see was supported by many of the ecclesiastical electors and powerful barons of Germany, who endeavoured to instigate the emperor to the most violent measures;[32] they were, however, firmly opposed by the electors of Saxony and of Bavaria, and by many of the inferior nobility, who had espoused the cause of Luther, and who, by their represen-

Aleandro harangues the diet of the empire against Luther. 1521. Æt. 46. Pont. IX.

[32] Pallavic. Concil. di Trento, cap. xxiv. p. 137.

tations as to the extension of the new opinions in Germany, and the number and resolution of their adherents, occasioned great apprehensions among the partisans of the Roman see. When the discussion on the state of the church was opened, Aleandro addressed the diet, as legate of the pontiff, and in a speech of three hours, in which he is acknowledged to have acquitted himself with great ability, endeavoured to enforce the necessity of speedy and effectual measures. In the course of this oration he asserted, that the opposition of Luther was not confined to the pontiff and the Roman see, but was directed against the most sacred dogmas of the Christian faith. That Luther had denied the power of the supreme pontiff, or even of a general council, to decide in matters of doctrine, without which there would be as many opinions of the sense of Scripture as there were readers. That by impugning the doctrine of free agency, and preaching up that of a certain uncontrollable necessity, a door was opened for all kinds of wickedness and licentiousness, as it would be thought a sufficient excuse to allege that such crimes were inevitable. After discussing these and many similar topics, he concluded with observing, that the Roman court had laboured during four years, without effect, to subdue this detestable heresy, and that nothing now remained but to entreat the interference of the emperor and the Germanic states, who might, by an imperial edict, expose both it and its author to merited execration and contempt.[33]

Had Luther or any of his zealous and learned adherents been present on this occasion, to have replied to the arguments, and opposed the assertions of Aleandro, to have directed the attention of the assembly to the ambition and proud assumptions of the Roman pontiffs, and expatiated on the abuses of the papal see in converting the religion of Christ into an engine of rapine and a source of gain, it is probable that the effect produced by this harangue might have been in a great degree obviated; but as the assertions and reasonings of Aleandro remained unanswered, they

[33] The harangue of Aleandro is given entire by Pallavicini, from documents preserved in the archives of the Vatican. Concil. di Trento, lib. xxv. p. 142.

produced a visible impression on the diet, which was now ready to adopt the most violent proceedings against the adherents of the new opinions.[34] The elector of Saxony, whilst he appeared to agree with the rest of the assembly as to the expediency of coercive measures, observed, however, that in this instance they were about to decide not only on points of doctrine, but against Luther individually, who was supposed to have been the author of them. That this was a question of fact, which ought to be ascertained; for which purpose he ought to be called upon to appear before the diet, and to declare whether he had or had not taught those opinions which were said to be found in his books. This proposition was extremely vexatious to Aleandro, who, as well from the result of his own judgment, as by particular instructions from Rome, had avoided all opportunities of entering into disputations with the reformers, and who was apprehensive that the well-known eloquence and resolution of Luther would efface the impression which he had already made upon the assembly. The emperor, however, was inclined to favour the proposal of the elector, observing, that it might otherwise be pretended that Luther had been condemned unheard; but, in order to appease the legate, he consented that the only question to be proposed to Luther should be, whether he would retract the errors which he had published in his writings.[35] On the sixth day of March the emperor despatched his messenger, Gaspar Sturmius, with letters addressed to Luther, in terms sufficiently respectful,[36] and accompanied them by an imperial safe-conduct, which was confirmed by the princes through whose territories it was necessary that Luther should pass.

Luther cited to appear before the diet.

On receiving the imperial mandate, Luther lost no time in preparing for his journey. To the remonstrances of his friends, who endeavoured to deter him from this expedition by reminding him of the examples of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who, by the shameless violation of a similar passport, were betrayed to

He proceeds to Worms.

[34] Pallavic. lib. i. cap. xxvi. p. 157.
[35] Maimburg. ap. Seckendorf. lib. i. p. 150.
[36] App. No. LXXXIII.

their destruction, he firmly replied, that if there were as many devils at Worms as there were tiles on the houses, he would not be deterred from his purpose.[37] He arrived at Worms on the sixteenth day of April. On his journey he was accompanied by his zealous adherent Amsdorff and several other friends, and preceded by the imperial messenger in his official habit.[38] On passing through Erfurt he was met by the inhabitants, and honourably received. By the connivance of the messenger, who had orders to prevent his preaching on the journey, Luther harangued the populace in this city and other places. The papists, as they now began to be called, having flattered themselves with the expectation that he would have refused to make his appearance at Worms, and thereby have afforded a sufficient pretext for his condemnation, were alarmed and mortified at his approach with so respectable a retinue. On his arrival at that city he was surrounded by upwards of two thousand persons, many of them attached to his opinions, and all of them desirous of seeing a man who had rendered himself so famous throughout Europe.[39]

His first appearance before the assembly.

In the afternoon of the following day, Luther was introduced to the diet, by the marshal count Pappenheim, who informed him that he was not to be allowed to address the assembly, but was merely expected to reply to the questions which might be proposed to him. The person appointed to interrogate him was John ab Eyk, or Eccius, not his avowed adversary, but another person of the same name, chancellor or official to the archbishop of Treves. The first question proposed to Luther was, whether he acknowledged himself to be the author of the books published in his name. The second, whether he was ready to retract what had been condemned in those books. To the first question he answered, after

[37] Lutheri Ep. ap. Seckend lib. i. p. 152.

[38] Maimburg asserts that Luther travelled in a magnificent carriage, with an escort of honour of 100 horse; but Seckendorf has shewn that these accounts were exaggerated by his enemies for the purpose of charging him with ostentation. His appearance at Worms was, however, sufficiently respectable. *Vide* Seckend. lib. i. p. 152.

[39] *Vide* Viti Warbeccii Relationem de itinere et adventu Lutheri; ap. Seckendorf. lib. i. p. 152, addit.

hearing the titles of the books read, that he was the author of them, and should never deny them. But in reply to the second, he observed, that as it was a question concerning faith and the salvation of souls, and as it involved the divine word, than which nothing is greater in heaven or on earth, it would be rash and dangerous in him to give an unpremeditated answer, which might either fall short of the dignity of his cause, or exceed the bounds of truth; and might subject him to the sentence pronounced by Christ, *whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I deny before my Father who is in heaven.* He therefore entreated that he might be allowed time to deliberate, so that he might answer without injury to the divine word, or danger to his own soul. The emperor, having advised with the members of the diet, complied with his request, and directed that he should appear again on the following day to deliver his final answer, which he was informed would not be allowed to be in writing.[40]

Circumstances attending it.

On this first interview, some circumstances occurred which deserve particular notice. Whilst Luther was passing to the assembly, he was surrounded with immense crowds, and even the roofs of the houses were almost covered with spectators. Among these, and even when he stood in the presence of the diet, he had the satisfaction to hear frequent exhortations addressed to him to keep up his courage, to act like a man, accompanied with passages from Scripture, *Not to fear those who can kill the body only, but to fear him who can cast both body and soul into hell.* And again, *When ye shall stand before kings, think not how you shall speak; for it shall be given to you in that same hour.*[41] His adversaries were, however, gratified to find, that instead of replying, he had thought it necessary to ask time to deliberate; and the apologists of the Roman see have affected to consider it as a proof that he possessed no portion of the Divine Spirit; otherwise he would not, by his delay, have given rise to a doubt whether he meant to retract his opinions.[42] We are also informed, that his con-

[40] These particulars are given by Luther himself, Op. vol. ii. p. 412.
[41] Lutheri Op. vol. i. p. 412, &c. [42] Maimb. ap. Seckend. lib. i. p. 153.

duct on this occasion fell so far short of what was expected from him, that the emperor said, "*This man will certainly never induce me to become a heretic.*"[43] To observations of this kind the friends of Luther might have replied, that the prohibition imposed upon him before the assembly, prevented him from entering into a general vindication either of his opinions or his conduct. That with respect to his having exhibited no symptoms of Divine inspiration, he had never asserted any pretensions to such an endowment; but, on the contrary, had represented himself as a fallible mortal; anxious only to discharge his duty, and to consult the safety of his own soul. And that, as to the remark of the emperor, if in fact such an assertion escaped him, it proved no more than that he had been already prejudiced against Luther; and that by a youthful impatience which he ought to have restrained, he had already anticipated his condemnation.

On the following day, Luther again appeared before the diet, and being called upon to answer whether he meant to retract the opinions asserted in his writings, in reply, he first observed, that these writings were of different kinds and on different subjects. That some related only to the inculcation of piety and morality, which his enemies must confess to be innocent and even useful; and that he could not therefore retract these without condemning what both his friends and his foes must equally approve. That others were written against the papacy and the doctrines of the papists, which had been so generally complained of, particularly in Germany, and by which the consciences of the faithful had been so long ensnared and tormented. That he could not retract these writings without adding new strength to the cause of tyranny, sanctioning and perpetuating that impiety which he had hitherto so firmly opposed, and betraying the cause which he had undertaken to defend. That among his writings there was a third kind, in which he had inveighed against those who had undertaken to defend the tyranny of Rome, and attacked his own opinions, in which he confessed

His second appearance.

[43] Pallavic. lib. i. cap. xxvi. p. 160.

that he had been more severe than became his religion and profession. That, however, he did not consider himself as a saint, but as a man liable to error, and that he could only say, in the words of Jesus Christ, *If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil.* That he was at all times ready to defend his opinions, and equally ready to retract any of them which might be proved from reason and Scripture, and not from authority, to be erroneous; and would even, in such case, be the first to commit his own books to the flames. That with respect to the dissensions which it had been said would be occasioned in the world by his doctrines, it was of all things the most pleasant to him to see dissensions arise on account of the word of God. That such dissensions were incident to its very nature, course, and purpose, as was said by our Saviour, *I come not to send peace among you, but a sword.* He then with great dignity and firmness, admonished the young emperor to be cautious in the commencement of his authority, not to give occasion to those calamities which might arise from the condemnation of the word of God, and cited the example of Pharaoh, and of the kings of Israel, who had incurred the greatest dangers when they had been surrounded by their counsellors, and employed, as they supposed, in the establishment and pacification of their dominions. When Luther had finished, the orator of the assembly observed, in terms of reprehension, that he had not answered to the purpose; that what had been defined and condemned by the council ought not to be called in question, and that he must therefore give a simple and unequivocal answer, whether he would retract or not; Luther replied in Latin, in which language he had before spoken, in these terms:

He refuses to retract his writings.

"Since your majesty, and the sovereigns now present, require a simple answer, I shall reply thus, without evasion, and without vehemence. Unless I be convinced, by the testimony of Scripture, or by evident reason, (for I cannot rely on the authority of the pope and councils alone, since it appears that they have frequently erred, and contradicted each other,) and unless my conscience be subdued by the word of God, I neither can

nor will retract any thing; seeing that to act against my own conscience is neither safe nor honest." After which he added in his native German, "*Here I take my stand; I can do no other; God be my help! Amen.*"

The orator made another effort to induce him to relax from his determination, but to no purpose; and night approaching, the assembly separated; several of the Spaniards who attended the emperor having expressed their disapprobation of Luther by hisses and groans.[44]

Such was the result of this memorable interview, which each of the adverse parties seems to have considered as a cause of triumph and exultation. The Romish historians assert that the conduct of Luther on this occasion diminished his credit, and greatly disappointed the expectations which had been formed of him; whilst his apologists represent it as highly to be commended, and in every respect worthy of his character. Nor can it be denied, that when the acuteness of his interrogator compelled him either to assert or to retract the doctrines which he had maintained, he rose to the height of his great task with that inflexible intrepidity, which was the characteristic feature of his mind. Of the theological tenets so earnestly inculcated by Luther, different opinions will be entertained; and whilst some approve, and some condemn them, there are, perhaps, others who consider many of them as unimportant, and founded merely on scholastic and artificial distinctions;[45] as equivocal, from the uncertainty of their effects on the life and conduct of those who embrace them; or as unintelligible, being totally beyond the limits and comprehension of human reason; but all parties must unite in admiring and venerating the man, who, undaunted and alone, could stand before such an assembly, and vindi-

Observations on his conduct

[44] Lutheri Op. vol. ii. p. 412, *et seq.*

[45] "It is certain," says Bossi, "that at least nine-tenths of all the heresies and writings of sectarians, and of scholastic controversialists in general, have no other foundation. Whatever may be said of the dogmas of Plato, I cannot but think that the artificial distinctions of the Aristotelian philosophy have been very injurious to true religion, and have given rise to the greater part of controversial and heretical opinions. A great proportion of the writings of Luther are full of these cavils, as little understood by those who supported them, as by those who impugned them."—Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 56. It must be admitted that there is some truth in these remarks.*

cate, with unshaken courage, what he conceived to be the cause of religion, of liberty, and of truth; fearless of any reproaches but those of his own conscience, or of any disapprobation but that of his God. This transaction may, indeed, be esteemed as the most remarkable and the most honourable incident in the life of that great reformer; by which his integrity and his sincerity were put to the test, no less than his talents and his resolution. That he considered it as a proof of uncommon fortitude, appears from the language in which he adverted to it a short time before his death: "*Thus*," said he, "*God gives us fortitude for the occasion; but I doubt whether I should now find myself equal to such a task.*"[46]

The emperor declares his opinion in writing.

At the meeting of the diet on the following day the emperor produced a paper, written with his own hand, which he read to the assembly; and which contained a concise statement of his sentiments on the opinions and conduct of Luther and his followers.[47] Of this paper he sent a copy to his ambassador at Rome, to be communicated to the pontiff, who directed it to be read in full consistory, and immediately dismissed a brief to return his acknowledgments for it at the close of which, with a condescension unusual in the supreme pontiffs in this mode of address, he added several lines written with his own hand.[48] The emperor's *Polizza*, or address to the assembly, was to the following effect: That the assembly well knew that he derived his origin from the most Christian emperors, from the catholic kings of Spain, the archdukes of Austria, and the dukes of Burgundy; all of whom had distinguished themselves by their obedience to the Roman see and the supreme pontiff, and had been the protectors and defenders of the catholic faith. That it now became his duty, as the successor of such ancestors, to imitate their example, and to maintain and confirm the decrees of the council of Constance, and of the other councils of the church. That an individual Friar, misled by his own opinion, had now, however, ventured to

[46] Luther. ap. Seckend. tom. i. p. 152.
[47] *Vide* App. No. LXXXVIII.
[48] *Vide* App. No. LXXXIX.

overturn the decisions of all Christendom; which, if his notions were true, must hitherto have been erroneous. But that as such assertions were most false and dangerous, he had resolved to devote his dominions, his empire, his nobles, his friends, his body, and his soul too, if necessary, in order to prevent the further progress of this disorder. That after having heard the obstinate replies given by Luther on the preceding day, he lamented that he had so long hesitated in fulminating a process against him and his doctrines; and had now adopted the resolution not to hear him again, but to direct that he should quit the court, according to the tenor of his passport, the conditions of which he should be bound strictly to fulfil, and not to endeavour by preaching, writing, or in any other manner, to excite popular commotions. That for his own part he was resolved to proceed against Luther as an avowed heretic; and he called upon the assembly, as good and faithful Christians, to unite with him, as they had promised to do, in the measures necessary on this occasion.[49]

Notwithstanding this decisive declaration of the sentiments of the young emperor, the assembly were not unanimously disposed to concur in such hasty and violent proceedings.[50] Even the adversaries of Luther, intimidated by the rapid increase of his opinions, and by reports of a league of four hundred German nobles, who were said to be ready to take up arms in his behalf, were inclined rather to afford him a further hearing, than to brave the consequences of an open hostility. His friends also interposed their good offices, and perhaps the assembly in general might consider the decision of the emperor, which was made before the members present had deliberated on the subject, as at least hasty and premature, if not an infringement on their privileges. From these and

Further efforts to prevail upon Luther to retract.

[49] The nature and purport of this imperial document has been fully considered by Count Bossi, in a note on this passage, in which he has endeavoured to shew that this declaration, act, or writing, was not intended so much for the diet, as for the court of Rome; the conciliation and favour of which were necessary to the emperor in the ambitious views he had upon Italy. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. ix. pp. 61, 62.*

[50] Pallavicini (lib. i. cap. xxvii. p. 163) asserts, that the whole assembly concurred in the opinion of the emperor; but this is sufficiently contradicted by the observations in the Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p. 93.

similar causes, all parties united in requesting the emperor to allow Luther another hearing, alleging, that if he persevered in his heresy, he would afford a still better reason for the proceedings intended to be adopted against him; and although Charles still refused to grant this request in public, yet he consented to give him permission to remain at Worms three days longer, during which time any of the members of the diet might use their endeavours to prevail upon him to retract his errors.[51]

In consequence of this resolution, the archbishop of Treves, Richard de Griffelan, undertook the office of mediator between Luther and the diet, for which purpose he had several interviews with him; at which the good archbishop conducted himself with such moderation and kindness towards Luther, and made such concessions and propositions on the part of the church, as greatly displeased the papal nuncio Aleandro, without, however, effecting any alteration in the determination which Luther had adopted, to abide by the consequences of his own conduct. These conferences, by the assent of the diet, were continued for two days longer; but, although Luther appears to have been sensible of the lenity and good intentions of the archbishop, to whom he addressed himself in the most respectful and friendly terms, yet, in such a cause, he was no less on his guard against the influence of gentleness and persuasion, than he had before been against all the terrors of authority. Being at length asked by the archbishop whether he could himself suggest any expedient which might tend to restore the public quiet, he replied in the words of Gamaliel, *if this undertaking be the work of men, it will be overthrown; but if of God, ye cannot overthrow it.*[52] The result of this interview being made known to the emperor, Luther was ordered to leave the city, and not to be found within the imperial dominions after the expiration of twenty days. There were not wanting on this occasion, some who suggested to the emperor, that notwithstanding his solemn passport, he ought not to suffer so notorious a heretic to escape;[53] but,

[51] Pallavic. lib. i. cap. xxvii. p. 163.
[52] Luth. Op. vol. ii. p. 416. *b*. Seckend. lib. i. p. 157.
[53] Sarpi, Concil. di Trento, lib. i. p. 15.

besides the disgrace which this would have brought both upon him and the assembly, and the reluctance of the emperor to stain the commencement of his reign by an act of treachery, it is probable that such a measure would have occasioned commotions which would not easily have been allayed. Luther therefore left the city on the twenty-sixth day of April, accompanied by the imperial herald; and being met at the gate by a large body of his friends, proceeded on his journey to Wittemberg.

Luther is condemned by an imperial edict.

After the departure of Luther, the pontifical legates exerted all their influence to obtain a decree of the diet against him; but notwithstanding their efforts, this was not accomplished until the twenty-sixth day of May. By this document, which resembles a papal bull rather than a great national act, and which represents Luther *as the devil in the semblance of a man, and the dress of a monk*,[54] all the subjects of the empire are required to seize upon him and his adherents, to destroy their property, and to burn their books and writings; and all printers are prohibited from publishing their works without the approbation of the ordinary. In the mean time Luther had found a shelter against the approaching storm. As he was passing through a wood near Altenstein, on his return to Wittemberg, with only a few attendants, he was seized upon by several persons employed by the elector of Saxony for that purpose, and carried to the castle of Wartburg, where he remained in great privacy during the remainder of the pontificate of Leo X. At this place, which he called his *Patmos*, he devoted himself to study, and composed several of his theological tracts. He had already, however, sown the seeds, which grew equally well in his absence as in his presence, and which, notwithstanding the storm excited by the apostolic nuncios, soon spread such vigorous roots as defied all the efforts of the papal see to destroy them.

Is privately conveyed to the castle of Wartburg.

[54] The form of the edict is said to have been prepared by Aleandro. *Vide* Seckendorf, lib. i. sec. 46, p. 158. But Bossi cannot believe that it could be the work of Aleandro, who was certainly a learned man, and not altogether an inelegant Latinist. The supposition of Bossi, that Seckendorf made this statement in order to render Aleandro odious to the protestants, seems, however, to be entirely without foundation. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 188.

Henry VIII. writes against Luther.

Nor were the new opinions confined to the limits of Germany. Within the space of four years they had extended themselves from Hungary and Bohemia, to France, and to England; having in all places attracted the notice, and obtained the approbation, of a great part of the inhabitants. Such was the reception they met with in this country, that Henry VIII., who had, in his youth, devoted some portion of his time to ecclesiastical and scholastic studies, not only attempted to counteract their effects by severe restrictions, but condescended to enter the lists of controversy with Luther, in his well-known work, written in Latin, and entitled, "A Vindication of the seven Sacraments."[55] This work Henry dedicated to Leo X., and transmitted a copy to Rome with the following distich:—

"Anglorum Rex Henricus, Leo Decime, mittit
Hoc opus, et fidei testem et Amicitiæ."

It was presented to the pontiff in full consistory, by the ambassador of the king, who made a long and pompous oration; to which the pope replied in a concise and suitable manner.[56] The satisfaction which Leo derived from this

[55] "Assertio septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum." The original in an elegant MS., is still preserved in the library of the Vatican, and is usually shewn to Englishmen on their visits to Rome. *Vide* Dr. Smith's "Tour to the Continent," vol. ii. p. 200. From this copy it was printed at Rome, "in ædibus Francisci Priscianensis Florentini, 1543," as appears by the colophon, *Descriptus liber ex eo est, quem ad Leonem X. Pont. Max. Rex ipse misit,* but it had before been published in London, *in ædibus Pynsonianis,* 1521, and at Antwerp, *in ædibus Michaelis Hillenii,* in the year 1522. On this occasion several of the Italian scholars, and particularly Vida and Colocci, addressed Latin poems to the king. Vidæ Op. tom. ii. p. 161.

[56] Seckendorf, lib. i. p. 184. Luther replied to this book in his Treatise "contra Henricum VIII. Angliæ Regem;" which he addressed to Seb. Schlick, a Bohemian nobleman, in a dedication which bears date 15th July, 1522. In this work he treats the king, without any ceremony, as a *liar* and a *blasphemer*. "Nunc quum prudens et sciens mendacia componat adversus mei Regis majestatem in cœlis, damnabilis Putredo ista et Vermis, jus mihi erit pro meo Rege, majestatem Anglicam luto suo et stercore conspergere, et coronam istam blasphemam in Christum, pedibus conculcare." But, whilst he stigmatizes the book of Henry VIII. as *stolidissimum* and *turpissimum,* he acknowledges it to be "inter omnes qui contra se scripti sunt latinissimum." He insinuates, however, that it was written by some other person in the name of the king. An answer to the work of Luther was published, or republished, Lond. 1523, under the following title, &c. "Eruditissimi viri Gulielmi Rossei opus elegans, doctum, festivum, pium, quo pulcherrime retegit ac refellit insanas Lutheri calumnias; quibus invictissimum Angliæ Galliæque Regem Henricum ejus nominis octavum, Fidei defensorem, haud literis minus quam regno clarum scurra turpissimus insectatur," &c. In this work, which is attributed to Sir Thomas More, the author has not only endeavoured to refute the arguments, but to equal the abuse of the German reformer; and he concludes it by leaving

circumstance, at a time when the supremacy of the holy see was in such imminent danger, may be judged of by the desire which he shewed to express to the king his approbation of the part he had taken. After returning him ample thanks, and granting an indulgence to every person who should peruse the book, he resolved to confer upon him some distinguishing mark of the pontifical favour, and accordingly proposed in the consistory to honour him with the title of *Defender of the Faith*. This proposition gave rise, however, to more deliberation, and occasioned greater difficulty in the sacred college than perhaps the pope had foreseen. Several of the cardinals suggested other titles, and it was for a long time debated whether, instead of the appellation of defender of the faith, the sovereigns of England should not, in all future times, be denominated *the Apostolic, the Orthodox, the Faithful*, or, *the Angelic*.[57] The proposition of the pope, who had been previously informed of the sentiments of Wolsey on this subject, at length, however, prevailed, and a bull was accordingly issued, conferring this title on Henry and his posterity :[58] a title retained by his successors to the present day, notwithstanding their separation from the Roman church; which has given occasion to some orthodox writers to remark, that the kings of this country should either maintain that course of conduct in reward for which the distinction was conferred, or relinquish the title.[59]

That the spirit of the times, and in particular, a marked dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the Roman court, and an increasing latitude of discussion and inquiry, had prepared the way for the success of Luther, may sufficiently appear from circumstances which occurred about the same time in other parts of Europe.

Reformation of Switzerland by Zuinglius.

him, "cum suis furiis et furoribus, cum suis merdis et stercoribus, cacantem cacatumque." Such are the *elegantiæ* of religious controversies. A few years afterwards, when Luther began to suspect that the king was not indisposed to favour his opinions, he wrote to him to excuse the violence and abuse contained in his book, which he attributed to the advice of others, acknowledging that he had published it too rashly, and offering to make a public apology. To this Henry condescended to write a long and argumentative reply, in which he advises Luther to retract his errors, or to shut himself up in a monastery, and repent of his sins. These letters have been published without note of place or date, and are prefixed, in the copy now before me, to the treatise of Henry on the seven sacraments.

[57] Pallavic. Concil. di Trento, lib. ii. cap. i. sec. viii. p. 177.

[58] *Vide* App. No. XC.

[59] Maimb. ap. Seckend. lib. i. p. 183

Even in the year 1516, and before Luther had published his celebrated propositions at Wittemberg, Ulric Zuinglius, an ecclesiastic of Zurich, had boldly opposed himself to the assumptions of the Roman church, and engaged in a system of reform, which he carried on with a degree of ability and resolution not inferior to that of Luther himself. The promulgation of indulgences in the Swiss cantons, by the agency of a friar named Sansone, or Samson, afforded him new grounds of reprehension, of which he did not fail successfully to avail himself; and a controversy was maintained between the papists and the reformers in the Helvetic states, which resembled, both in its vehemence and its consequences, that between Luther and Tetzel in Germany.[60] As the opposition of Zuinglius had arisen without any communication with Luther, so the doctrines which he asserted were not always in conformity with those advanced by the German reformer, and on some important points were directly contrary to them. In truth, the opposition of Zuinglius to the papal see was carried to a greater extent than that of Luther, who still retained some of the most mysterious dogmas of the Roman church, whilst it was the avowed object of the Helvetic reformer to divest religion of all abstruse doctrines and superstitious opinions, and to establish a pure and simple mode of worship. In consequence of this diversity, a dispute arose, which was carried on with great warmth, and which principally turned on the question respecting the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, which was firmly asserted by Luther, but not assented to by Zuinglius, who regarded the bread and wine used in that sacrament as types or symbols only of the body and blood of Christ.[61] On this subject a conference was held between the two reformers at Marpurg, in which Zuinglius was accompanied by Œcolampadius and Bucer; and Luther by Philip Melancthon, and others of his friends. Both parties appealed with confidence to the authority of

[60] *Vide* Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist. vol. ii. p. 190, &c.

[61] Luther endeavoured to explain his doctrine of the real presence, by comparing it to *a red-hot iron*, in which, said he, as two distinct substances, viz. *iron* and *fire* are united, so is the body of Christ joined with the bread in the Eucharist. Dr. Maclaine calls this a miserable comparison. *Vide* note (z) on Mosh. Ecclesiast. Hist. vol. ii. p. 34.

Scripture for the truth of their opinions, and both discovered that an appeal to those sacred writings will not always terminate a dispute. Persevering in his original intention of restoring the Christian religion to its primitive simplicity, Zuinglius became the founder of that which is denominated, in contradistinction to the Lutheran, the Reformed Church. To this great undertaking, he devoted not only his learning and his abilities, but also his life, having, in the year 1530, fallen in battle in defending the cause of the reformers against the adherents of the Roman church ;[62] leaving behind him an example not only of heroic firmness in maintaining his own opinions, but, what is far more extraordinary, of enlightened toleration to all those who might conscientiously differ from him in matters of faith.[63]

Conduct and character of Luther considered.

In order to form a proper estimate of the conduct and character of Luther, it is necessary to consider him in two principal points of view. First, as an opponent to the haughty assumptions and gross abuses of the Roman see; and secondly, as the founder of a new church, over which he may be said to have presided until the time of his death, in 1546, an interval of nearly thirty years. In the former capacity, we find him endeavouring to substitute the authority of reason and of Scripture for that of councils and of popes, and contending for the utmost latitude in the perusal and construction of the sacred writings, which, as he expressed it, could not be chained, but were open to the interpretation of every individual. For this great and daring attempt he was peculiarly qualified. A consciousness of his own integrity, and the natural intrepidity of his mind, enabled him not only to brave the most violent attacks of his adversaries, but to treat them with a degree of derision and contempt which seemed to prove the superiority of his cause. Fully sensible of the

His bold assertion of the right of private judgment.

[62] Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist. vol. ii. p. 192. Planta's Hist. of the Helvetic Confederacy, vol. ii. p. 148.

[63] A more extended account of this great reformer may be found in a note in the Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 191; but the reader, who wishes for full information on the subject, may consult Hess's Life of Ulrich Zwingle, translated by Miss Aikin. Lond. 1812, 8vo.*

importance and dignity of his undertaking, he looked with equal eyes on all worldly honours and distinctions; and emperors, and pontiffs, and kings, were regarded by him as men and as equals, who might merit his respect, or incur his resentment, according as they were inclined to promote or obstruct his views.[64] Nor was he more firm against the stern voice of authority than against the blandishments of flattery, and the softening influence of real, or of pretended friendship. The various attempts which were made to induce him to relax in his opposition, seem in general to have confirmed rather than shaken his resolution; and if at any time he shewed a disposition towards conciliatory measures, it was only a symptom that his opposition would soon be carried to a greater extreme. The warmth of his temperament seldom, however, prevented the exercise of his judgment, and the various measures to which he resorted for securing popularity to his cause, were the result of a thorough knowledge of the great principles of human nature, and of the peculiar state of the times in which he lived. The injustice and absurdity of resorting to violence, instead of convincing the understanding by argument, were shewn by him in the strongest light. Before the imperial diet he asserted his own private opinion, founded, as he contended, on reason and Scripture, against all the authorities of the Roman church; and the important point which he incessantly laboured to establish, was the right of private judgment in matters of faith.[65] To the defence of

[64] To say nothing of his abuse of Henry VIII., it may be observed, that it was not without great reluctance that he addressed Charles V. by the title of *Dominus Clementissimus*, "cum sciat orbis," says he, "esse mihi infensissimum, et hunc fucum manifestum omnes ridebunt." Seckend. lib. i. p. 196. But the language in which he rejects the protection of his great friend the elector is yet more remarkable. "Scribo hæc Celsitudini tuæ, ut sciat me longe potentiori sub protectione quam Electorali, Wittembergam ire. Nolo a te protegi, nec gladio ad hanc causam opus est. Deus absque ullo hominum auxilio illam est curaturus. Quoniam igitur Celsitudo tua infirma est fide, non possum eam pro defensore meo habere. Quoniam autem scire vult, quid sibi agendum sit, dicitque se minus justo fecisse; dico ego, nil tibi faciendum esse, et jam nimium te fecisse. Non fert Deus ut tua Celsitudo aut ego causam vi tueamur; si hæc credis tutus eris; sin minus, ego tamen credo, et sinam ut tua te angat incredulitas. Excusatus itaque es, quoniam tibi obsequi nolo, si capior ego aut occidor." Ex fragm. Lutheri Ep. ap. Seckend. lib. i. p. 195.

[65] In a note on this passage, Count Bossi has thought proper to express his surprise, that I should not have perceived how dangerous the establishment of such a maxim would be to the interests of the human race; and seems to contemplate

this proposition, he was at all times ready to devote his learning, his talents, his repose, his character, and his life; and the great and imperishable merit of this reformer consists in his having demonstrated it by such arguments, as neither the efforts of his adversaries, nor his own subsequent conduct, have been able either to refute or invalidate.

His inflexible adherence to his own opinions.

As the founder of a new church, the character of Luther appears in a very different light. After having effected a separation from the see of Rome, there yet remained the still more difficult task of establishing such a system of religious faith and worship, as, without admitting the exploded doctrines of the papal church, would prevent that licentiousness which, it was supposed, would be the consequence of a total absence of all ecclesiastical restraints. In this task, Luther engaged with a resolution equal to that with which he had braved the authority of the Romish church; but with this remarkable difference, that, in the one instance he effected his purpose by strenuously insisting on the right of private judgment in matters of faith, whilst in the other he succeeded by laying down new doctrines, to which he expected that all those who espoused his cause should implicitly submit. The opinions of Luther on certain points were fixed and unalterable. The most important of these were the doctrine of the real presence in the Eucharist, and the justification of mankind by faith alone. Whoever assented not to these propositions was not of his church; and, although he was ready on all occasions to make use of argu-

with horror the time, when every person, capable of reading, might resort to the sacred writings, and form from thence opinions of his own! "If," says he, "this private judgment was confined to the internal conscience of each individual, no great harm could ensue; but, as religious opinions naturally lead people to dogmatize, the exercise of private judgment must open the way to an infinite number of opinions, controversies, sects, and parties, and consequently give rise to contests and wars, and to all the derangements of political society." Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 76. To this true Catholic sentiment the short reply is, that with the belief of another person no human power has any *right* to interfere. To insist upon and enforce a correct conduct, and a propriety and decency of behaviour in the moral relations of life, is all that human tribunals can possibly accomplish; and to permit an unlimited freedom of inquiry and opinion when the Searcher of hearts can alone be the judge, is not only of the very essence of *Christianity*, but is the only mode by which we can ever expect to terminate those religious dissensions which have so long afflicted and desolated the human race.*

ments from Scripture for the defence of his tenets, yet, when these proved insufficient, he seldom hesitated to resort to more violent measures. This was fully exemplified in his conduct towards his friend Carlostadt, who, not being able to distinguish between the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation, and that of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, had, like Zuinglius, adopted the idea that the bread and the wine were only the symbols, and not the actual substance of the body and blood of Christ.[66] Luther, however, maintained his opinion with the utmost obstinacy; the dispute became the subject of several violent publications, until Luther, who was now supported by the secular power, obtained the banishment of Carlostadt, who was at length reduced to the necessity of earning his bread by his daily labour.[67] The unaccommodating adherence of Luther to this opinion, placed also an effectual bar to the union of the Helvetic and German reformers, and to such an uncharitable extreme did he carry his resentment against those who denied the real presence, that he refused to admit the Swiss, and the German cities and states which had adopted the sentiments of Zuinglius and Bucer, into the confederacy for the defence of the protestant church;[68] choosing rather to risk the total destruction of his cause, than to avail himself of the assistance of those who did not concur with him in every particular article of belief.

Nor did Luther adhere less pertinaciously to the doctrine of predestination, and of justification by faith alone, than to that of the real presence in the Eucharist.[69] In support of these opinions he warmly attacked Erasmus, who had attempted to maintain the freedom of the human will, and when that great scholar and candid Christian replied, in his

[66] Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist. vol. ii. p. 165, and note (*h*) of Dr. Maclaine.

[67] Maimburg. ap. Seckendorf. lib. i. p. 199. Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist. vol. ii. p. 165, note (*k*).

[68] Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist. vol. ii. p. 192. Planta's Hist. of the Helvetic Confederacy, vol. ii. p. 147.

[69] The doctrine of predestination was first advanced by Austin, in consequence of what he had maintained in the pelagian controversy, on the subjects of *grace* and *original sin*. Priestley's Hist. of the Christian Church, vol. iii. p. 256, ed. Northumb. 1802. It was afterwards (about the year 847) more rigorously insisted on by Godeschalcus, a Saxon monk, "who seems to have pursued the leading principles of Austin nearly to their full extent." Ibid. p 257.

"Hyperaspistes," Luther increased his vehemence to scurrility and abuse. "That exasperated viper, Erasmus," says he, "has again attacked me; what eloquence will the vainglorious animal display in the overthrow of Luther!" [70] In defending his opinion as to the all-sufficiency of faith, he suffered himself to be carried to a still further extreme; and after having vindicated his doctrines against councils and popes and fathers, he at length impeached the authority of one of the apostles, asserting that the epistle of James, in which the necessity of good works to a perfect faith is expressly stated, and beautifully illustrated, was, in comparison with the writings of Peter and of Paul, a mere book of straw.[71]

Uncharitable spirit of the first reformers.

It would too far exceed the necessary limits of these pages to dwell upon the dissensions to which this inflexible adherence of Luther to certain opinions gave rise, or on the severity with which he treated those who unfortunately happened to believe too much on the one hand, or too little on the other, and could not walk steadily on the hair-breadth line which he had prescribed. Without attributing to the conduct of Luther all those calamities which a diversity of religious opinions occasioned in Europe, during the greater part of the sixteenth century, and in which thousands of innocent and conscientious persons were put to death, many of them with the most horrid torments, for no other reason than a firm adherence to those

[70] Luth. ap. Melchior Adam. in Vita Lutheri, p. 63. Luther also accused Erasmus of being an atheist, an enemy to Christianity, &c. *Vide* Erasm. Ep. lib. xxi. ep. 44.

[71] I am aware of the fate of Edmund Campian, the Jesuit, who having, in his conferences, whilst a prisoner in the Tower of London, a short time before his execution on account of his religion, accused Luther of having called the epistle of James *a book of straw*, was required to produce his authority, and not being able to discover the passage in the edition of the works of Luther brought to him for that purpose, was treated as a calumniator and a falsifier. The Protestants for some time enjoyed their triumph: "Le docte Witaker," says Bayle, "jouit de cette agréable joie toute sa vie. Il soutint que Luther n'avoit point parlé de la sorte, et que Campian le calomnioit." On further inquiry, it appeared, however, that there was more reason for the assertion of Campian than his opponents had supposed. Even Witaker at length confessed, that he had found an early edition of the works of Luther, which contained the expression alluded to, *Primum enim vidi quandam Lutheri præfationem antiquissimam, editam anno* 1525, *Wittembergæ, in qua Jacobi Epistolam, præ Petri ac Pauli Epistolis, stramineam vocat.* The Jesuits have, in their turn, considered this as a complete victory. The whole controversy is given by Bayle. Dict. Histor. Art. Luther, note *N. O.*

doctrines which appeared to them to be true,[72] it is sufficient on the present occasion to remark the wonderful inconsistency of the human mind, which the character of Luther so strongly exemplifies. Whilst he was engaged in his opposition to the church of Rome, he asserted the right of private judgment in matters of faith with the confidence and courage of a martyr;[73] but no sooner had he freed his followers from the chains of papal domination, than he forged others, in many respects equally intolerable; and it was the employment of his latter years, to counteract the beneficial effects produced by his former labours. The great example of freedom which he had exhibited, could not, however, be so soon forgotten; and many who had thrown off the authority of the Romish see, refused to submit their consciences to the control of a monk, who had arrogated to himself the sole right of expounding those Scriptures, which he had contended were open to all. The moderation and candour of Melancthon in some degree mitigated the severity of his doctrines; but the example of Luther descended to his followers, and the uncharitable spirit evinced by the Lutheran doctors, in prescribing the articles of their faith, has often been the subject of just and severe reprehension.[74] Happy indeed had it been for mankind, had this great reformer discovered, that between perfect freedom and perfect obedience there can be no medium; that he who rejects one kind of human authority in matters of religion, is not likely to submit to another; and that there cannot be a more dangerous nor a more odious encroachment on the rights of an individual, than officiously and unsolicited to interfere with the sacred intercourse that subsists between him and his God.[75]

[72] Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 238, 239.

[73] A brief sketch of the character of Luther is given by Count Bossi in a note on this passage, for which I must refer to Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 82, which he terminates, with justly observing, that we have no writers of the life of Luther, but such as are either his own partisans, or his avowed adversaries, from neither of whom we are likely to obtain the truth.*

[74] "The conduct of the Lutheran doctors," says a very candid and competent judge, "in the deliberations relating to the famous *Form of Concord*, discovered such an imperious and uncharitable spirit, as would have been more consistent with the genius of the court of Rome, than with the principles of a Protestant church." *Vide* Dr. Maclaine, note (c) on Mosh. Ecclesiast. Hist. vol. ii. p. 148.

[75] "If to deny the right of private judgment be destructive of the nature of

As the progress of literature had concurred with other causes in giving rise to the Reformation; so that great event produced, in its turn, a striking effect on the studies and the taste of Europe. Many of the reformers, and especially Luther and Melancthon, were men of sound learning and uncommon industry; and the latter in particular, if he had not engaged in the Reformation, and devoted himself to theological studies, would undoubtedly have been one of the best critics, and most elegant scholars of the age. In the Latin tongue, Luther was a great proficient; but his style, though expressive and masculine, has little pretensions to elegance, and appears to be better calculated for invective and abuse, than for the calm tenor of regular composition. He had a competent knowledge of the Greek, as appears by his translation of the New Testament, which he executed during his solitude in his *Patmos*, and published shortly afterwards. He also undertook the study of the Hebrew; a task of no inconsiderable difficulty; but which, however, he had the resolution to surmount. The intercourse that subsisted between him and the other reformers, particularly Zuinglius, Bucer, Reuchlin, and Hutten, and the controversies in which he engaged, as well with these, as with the supporters of the Romish church, called forth exertions beyond what the more tranquil spirit of literature could have inspired. The ancient authors began not only to be studied for the charms of their composition, but were called in as auxiliaries by the contending parties, who, by affecting an intimate acquaintance with the writers of antiquity, supposed that they gave additional credit to their own cause; and the period which immediately succeeded the Reformation was that in which Europe saw the luminary of classical learning at a higher meridian than at any time either before or since. For some time the important discussions which took place, in both political and ecclesiastical concerns, afforded ample topics for the exercise of that eloquence and facility of com-

Effects of the Reformation on literary studies.

Christianity in general, it is more remarkably so of the Christianity of the reformed churches. The right of private judgment is the very foundation of the Reformation, and without establishing the former in its fullest sense, the latter can be nothing but a faction in the state, a schism in the church."—Arcana, or the Principles of the late Petitions, &c. Camb. 1774.*

position, which were then so generally extended; but as the contests of the pen gave way to those of the sword, and subjects of great and general interest were neglected as useless, or prohibited as dangerous, a new style of writing arose, like a weak scion from the root of a tree felled by the axe, which ill compensates by elegance of form and luxuriance of foliage, for the loss of the more majestic trunk. To this state of literature the great Lord Bacon has alluded, in what he denominates "delicate learning,"[76] the introduction of which he attributes to the effects of the Reformation, which occasioned the "admiration of ancient authors, the hate of the schoolmen, the exact study of languages, and the efficacy of preaching;" the four causes that, according to him, brought in "an affectionate study of eloquence, and *copia* of speech, which then began to flourish. This," says he, "grew speedily to an excess; for men began to hunt more after words than matter, and more after the choiceness of the phrase, and the round and clean composition of the sentence, and the sweet falling of the clauses, and the varying and illustration of their works with tropes and figures, than after the weight of matter, worth of subject, soundness of argument, life of invention, or depth of judgment. Then grew the flowing and watery vein of Osorius, the Portugal bishop, to be in price; then did Sturmius spend such infinite and curious pains upon Cicero the orator, and Hermogenes the rhetorician, besides his own books of periods, and imitation, and the like. Then did Car of Cambridge, and Ascham, with their lectures and writings, almost deify Cicero and Demosthenes, and allure all young men that were studious unto that delicate and polished kind of learning. Then did Erasmus take occasion to make the scoffing echo, *Decem annos consumpsi in legendo Cicerone;* and the echo answered in Greek, ΩΝΕ, *Asine.* Then grew the learning of the schoolmen to be utterly despised as barbarous. In sum, the whole inclination and bent of those times was rather towards *copia* than weight."[77]

[76] Of the Advancement of Learning, book i. p. 18, 1st edit.

[77] On the advantageous effects attributed to the Reformation with reference to literary studies, Bossi has remarked, that I have not, on the other hand, taken into

Nor was the reformation of religion favourable in its consequences to the progress of the fine arts, which, extending themselves from Italy, had now begun to be cultivated with great attention in other parts of Europe. The effect of this struggle was to call off the public attention from these studies as useless and insignificant, and to fix it on those more important discussions which were supposed so nearly to affect both the temporal and eternal happiness of mankind. But the injurious consequences of the Reformation on the arts were yet more direct. Before this event, the Roman religion had not only relinquished its hostility to the productions of the chisel or the pencil, but had become the foster-mother of these pursuits, and supplied the noblest and most interesting subjects for the exercise of their powers. The artist, whose labours were associated with the religion of his country, enjoyed a kind of sacred character; and as his compensation was generally derived from princes and pontiffs, from munificent ecclesiastics, or rich monastic institutions, the ample reward which he obtained stimulated both himself and others to further exertions. To the complete success of the artist, a favourable concurrence of extraneous circumstances is often necessary, and the mind already impressed with religious awe by the silence and solemnity of the cloister, or the cathedral, dwells with additional interest on representations already in unison with its feelings, and which exemplify, in the most striking manner, the objects of its highest admiration and respect. Even the opportunity afforded the artist, of a spacious repository for his productions, where they were likely to remain secure for ages, and where they might be seen with every advantage of position, was a circumstance highly favourable to his success. The tendency of the Reformation was to deprive him of these benefits, to exclude his productions from the

Effects of the Reformation on the fine arts.

account the injury derived to those studies by the theological contests that arose in consequence of the diversity of opinions introduced by the difference of sects; which absorbed the attention and engaged the talents of the first men of the age, in scholastic inquiries, rather than in liberal pursuits and the cultivation of classical literature, a fact which he thinks was particularly demonstrated in Germany. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 87. The reader will form his own judgment on the propriety of these observations, which seem not undeserving of consideration.*

place of worship, as profane or idolatrous, to compel him to seek his subjects in the colder pages of history, and his patrons among secular, and less wealthy individuals. This effect is not, however, so much to be attributed to the opinions or the instigation of Luther himself, as to those of his over-zealous followers, who, on this head, went far beyond what he conceived to be either necessary or expedient. During his retreat at his *Patmos*, his disciple Carlostadt, in a paroxysm of religious enthusiasm, had ordered the images and representations of the saints in the church of Wittemberg to be destroyed; a circumstance of which Luther was no sooner informed, than he quitted his retirement without the knowledge of his patron the elector, and hastening to Wittemberg, effectually checked the further proceedings of Carlostadt and his adherents.[78] From the sentiments of Luther on this head, as expressed in various parts of his works, it appears that he conceived such representations might be tolerated, provided they were not regarded as objects of worship; although he did not admit that there was any merit in encouraging them, and with true sectarian spirit, thought the cost of them would be better applied to the use of *the brethren*.[79] The opinion of Erasmus in this, as in other respects, was much more liberal. "They who have attacked the images of saints," says he, "although with immoderate zeal, have had some reason for their conduct; for idolatry, that is, the worship of images, is a horrible crime; and although it be now abolished, yet the arts of Satan are always to be guarded against. But when we reflect that statuary and painting, formerly regarded as liberal arts, are a kind of silent poesy, and have often an effect on the feelings of mankind beyond that produced by the most accomplished orator, it might have been well to have corrected their superstition without destroying their utility. I could, indeed, wish that the walls of all public places were decorated with representa-

[78] Maimburg. ap. Seckend. lib. i. p. 197.

[79] Luth. ap. Seckend. lib. ii. p. 25. It is a curious fact that Luther availed himself of the assistance of Luca Cranach, one of the most eminent German artists of the time, to satirize the Roman court in a set of figures representing the deeds of Christ, and of Antichrist; to which Luther himself wrote inscriptions. *Vide* Seckend. lib. i. p. 148.

tions of the incidents of the life of Christ, expressed in a becoming manner. But as it was decreed in the council of Africa, that in places of worship nothing should be recited but the scriptural canons, so it would be proper that no subjects should be exhibited in such places, except such as the scriptural canons supply. In the porches, vestibules, or cloisters, other subjects might be represented, taken from common history, so that they inculcated good morals; but absurd, obscene, or seditious pictures should be banished not only from churches, but from all habitations; and as it is a kind of blasphemy to pervert the sacred writings to profane and wanton jests, so those painters deserve to be punished, who, when they represent subjects from the holy Scriptures, mingle with them their own improper and ridiculous inventions. If they wish to indulge their folly, let them rather seek for their subjects in Philostratus; although the annals of heathenism afford many lessons which may be exhibited with great utility."[80] That observations so rational, and from which Luther himself would scarcely have dissented, have not been sufficient to prevent the almost total exclusion of picturesque representations from the reformed churches, is greatly to be regretted; not only as being an irreparable injury to the arts, but as depriving the people of a mode of instruction, not less calculated to interest their feelings, and excite their piety, than that which is conveyed by means of speech. Whether mankind, in any state of society, were ever so ignorant as to make these visible representations the actual objects of their adoration, may well be doubted; but at all events there can now be no danger of such an error in the most uninformed part of Europe; and it may yet be hoped, that as the spirit of bigotry declines, religion may be allowed to avail herself of every aid which may engage her admirers, illustrate her precepts, or enforce her laws.[81]

[80] Erasm. ap. Seckendorf. lib. iii. p. 51.

[81] Mr. Henke is of opinion that (with some exceptions) the Reformation has not been unfavourable to the cultivation and progress of the fine arts; and observes, that no greater masters in the plastic art existed in Germany than Cranack and Durer; that Luther was himself a proficient in music; and that the finest specimens of painting are found in the churches of those cities where

Effects of the Reformation on the political and moral state of Europe.

The effects produced by the Reformation on the political and moral state of Europe, are of a much more important nature. The destruction of the authority of the Romish see, throughout many flourishing, and many rising nations, whilst it freed the monarch from the imperious interposition of an arrogant pontiff, released the people from that oppressive and undefined obedience to a foreign power, which exhausted their wealth, impeded their enjoyments, and interfered in all their domestic concerns. The abolition of the odious and absurd institutions of monastic life, by which great numbers of persons were restored to the common purposes of society, infused fresh vigour into those states which embraced the opinions of the reformers; and the restoration of the ancient and apostolic usage of the Christian church, in allowing the priesthood to marry, was a circumstance of the utmost advantage to the morals and manners of the age. To this may be added the destruction of many barbarous, absurd, and superstitious dogmas, by which the people were induced to believe that crimes could be commuted for money, and dispensations purchased even for the premeditated commission of sins.

But, perhaps, the most important advantage derived from the Reformation is to be found in the great example of freedom of inquiry, which was thus exhibited to the world, and which has produced an incalculable effect on the state and condition of mankind. That liberty of opinion which was at first exercised only on religious subjects, was, by a natural and unavoidable progress, soon extended to those of a political nature. Throughout many of the kingdoms of Europe, civil and religious liberty closely accompanied each other; and their inhabitants, in adopting measures which seemed to them necessary to secure eternal happiness, have at least obtained those temporal advantages, which, in many instances, have amply repaid them for their sacrifices and their labours.

That these and similar benefits were, however, in a great

Luther himself had often preached, as at Weimar and Merseburg. *Vide* Germ. Ed. vol. iii. p. 239.*

degree, counterbalanced by the dreadful animosities to which the Reformation gave rise, as well between the reformers and the adherents to the ancient discipline, as between the different denominations of the reformed churches, cannot be denied; and the annals of Europe exhibit a dreadful picture of war, desolation, and massacre, occasioned by the various struggles of the contending parties for the defence, or the establishment, of their respective opinions.[82] Whoever adverts

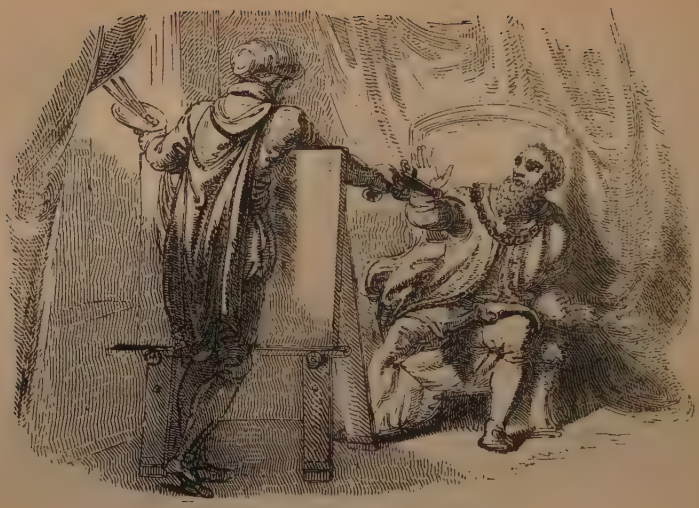
[82] The violence of the first reformers is very fully admitted by a learned prelate of the Church of England, who, in speaking of Erasmus, says, "—for the other reformers, such as Luther, Calvin, and their followers, understood so little in what true Christian charity consisted, that they carried with them into the reformed churches, THAT VERY SPIRIT OF PERSECUTION WHICH HAD DRIVEN THEM FROM THE CHURCH OF ROME." Warburton's Notes on Pope's Essay on Criticism, in Pope's Works, vol. i. p. 222. The annals of persecution cannot furnish a more atrocious instance of bigotry and cruelty, than the burning of Servetus, in a protestant city, and by protestant priests. The life of this unhappy victim of ecclesiastical tyranny, was written by Henricus ab Allwoerden, at the instance of the learned Mosheim, and published at Helmstadt, in 1728. From this work, I shall give the letters written by Servetus whilst in prison; from which the reader may judge of the cruelty and injustice of his tyrannical and bigoted persecutors, the ecclesiastics and magistrates of Geneva. *Vide* App. No. XCI. The execution of Servetus is thus described, in a MS. history of him, cited by Allwoerden, p. 112:—"Impositus est Servetus trunco ad terram posito, pedibus ad terram pertingentibus, capiti imposita est corona straminea, vel frondea, et ea sulphure conspersa, corpus palo alligatum ferrea catena, collum autem tunc fune crasso quadruplici aut quintuplici laxo; liber femori alligatus; ipse Carnificem rogavit, ne se diu torqueret. Interea Carnifex ignem in ejus conspectum, et deinde in orbem admovit. Homo, viso igne, ita horrendum exclamavit ut universum populum preterrefecerit. Cum diu langueret, fuerunt ex populo, qui fasciculos confertim conjecerunt. Ipse horrenda voce clamans, *Jesu, Fili Dei æterni, miserere mei.* Post dimidiæ circiter horæ cruciatum expiravit." Calvin, who was apprehensive that the death of Servetus might entitle him to the rank of a martyr, thought it necessary to defame his memory, by asserting that he had no religion; and inhumanly attributed the natural expression of his feelings on the approach of his horrible fate, to what he calls a *brutal stupidity.* "Ceterum ne male feriati nebulones, vecordi hominis pervicacia quasi martyrio glorientur, in ejus morte apparuit belluina stupiditas, unde judicium facere liceret, nihil unquam serio in religionem ipsum egisse. Ex quo mors ei denunciata est, nunc attonito similis hærere, nunc alta suspiria edere, nunc instar lymphatici ejulare. Quod postremum tandem sic invaluit, ut tantum, hispanico more, reboaret, *Misericordia, Misericordia.*" Calvini Opusc. ed. Genev. 1597. ap. Allwoerden, p. 101. What Calvin did not scruple to perform, Melancthon and Bullinger did not hesitate to approve. Thus the former addresses himself to the latter on this subject, "Legi quæ de Serveti blasphemiis respondistis, et pietatem ac judicia vestra probo. Judico etiam Senatum Genevensem recte fecisse, quod hominem pertinacem, et non omissurum blasphemias *sustulit;* ac *miratus sum esse qui severitatem illam improbent.*" *Vide* Jortin's Tracts, 8vo. vol. i. p. 431. Such were the sentiments of the *mild and candid* Melancthon, and such the *first fruits* of that *Reformation* which professed to assert the right of private judgment in matters of religion, and to enlighten and humanize mankind! "True enough," says Mr. Henke, "although horribly true! but to illustrate the history of Servetus, and the actual share which Calvin had in his execution, with greater certainty than Mosheim has done, I have some time ago been shewn some documents which may probably one day see the light; yet even without them, this history is luminous enough, and humiliating enough; notwithstanding the opinion of neither Calvin nor Melancthon was in this instance common to all reformers."—Germ. Ed. vol. iii. p. 243.

to the cruelties exercised on the Anabaptists, the Socinians, and various other sects of Christians, who differ in some abstruse or controverted points from the established churches; whoever surveys the criminal code of the Lutheran and Calvinistic nations of Europe, and observes the punishments denounced against those who may dare to dissent, although upon the sincerest conviction, from the established creed, and considers the dangers to which they are exposed in some countries, and the disabilities by which they are stigmatized and oppressed in others, must admit, that the important object which the friends and promoters of rational liberty had in view, has hitherto been but imperfectly accomplished, and that the human mind, a slave in all ages, has rather changed its master, than freed itself from its servitude.[83]

[83] In the year 1802, the Institute of France proposed a premium for the best Essay on the influence of the Reformation of Luther on the political situation of the different states of Europe; in consequence of which, a Dissertation, by M. Charles Villers, was presented, and obtained the premium. It was afterwards published under the title of "An Essay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation of Luther," of which there have been several editions. This work, in which M. Villers has represented the Reformation as having accomplished all that was necessary to the improvement and happiness of Europe, has occurred to the notice of Count Bossi, who has analyzed it at great length, and has endeavoured to ascertain how far the positions of M. Villers may be admitted, and how far they are susceptible of refutation. I cannot again engage in a question on which it will perhaps be thought that I have already expressed my sentiments at sufficient length, and must therefore refer the reader to the Italian edition of the present work, vol. xii. p. 194, *et seq.*, where Count Bossi has demonstrated that a great proficiency was made in the general improvement of society in Europe before the commencement of the Reformation; and has vindicated the share which the Italians had in such improvement. It was not until after the publication of the first edition of the present work, that the Essay of M. Villers occurred to my notice, and then only through the medium of an English translation. I shall not stop to reply to the censures of M. Villers on the character of Leo X., they being only the current statements of party writers, which will be found sufficiently noticed in the last chapter of the present work: but I cannot permit the opinions of M. Villers, as to the effects of the Reformation of Luther, to pass without animadversion, or admit, like him, "that *all that is necessary for a perfect and enlightened toleration in matters of religion*," has hitherto been accomplished. That much was done by the great inroad made by Luther upon the long-established and well-guarded fortress of the Romish church, I readily allow; but to the sentiments of M. Villers, that nothing further is wanting towards a perfect freedom in religious opinions, I most decidedly object. "*The Reformation*," says M. Villers, "*broke all those chains which imposed upon the human mind, and overthrew all the barriers which prevented the free communication of thoughts.*"—Is this assertion justified by the present regulations of any state in Europe? "*The Romish church*," continues M. Villers, "*said, submit yourselves to authority without examination; the protestant church says, examine and submit yourselves only to conviction.*"—The protestant church certainly says no such thing. "*Protestantism*," proceeds M. Villers, quoting the words of M. Greiling, a German writer, "*Protestantism is the repulsive power with which reason is endowed, throwing from her and repelling every thing which would usurp her place.*" Is there a protestant sect in Europe that would admit of such a definition? As little

cause is there to agree to the proposition of M. Villers, that "*the different reformed religions, some sooner, and others later, have consented to allow each individual to adore God sincerely, and to perform this high action in his own manner;*" or that can be said in the words of M. Villers, to have "*finished with philosophy and toleration.*" With much greater truth, Dr. Robertson has asserted, that *Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox*, the founders of the reformed church in their respective countries, inflicted, as far as they had power and opportunity, the same punishments which were denounced against their own disciples by the church of Rome, upon such as called in question any part of their creeds. Hist. of Charles V. book xi. "The church of Rome," says another writer, "refuses the Scriptures to the people. Some protestant churches grant the sight of the book, but retain the meaning.—Can you see any difference? Search or not search, read or not read, the sense is fixed.—'Tis at the peril of your preferment to vary."—Arcana, Camb. 1774. In a speech of Lord Hawkesbury (now Lord Liverpool) on the Roman Catholic petition, reported in the "Morning Chronicle," 11th May, 1805, that nobleman, with great truth asserted, that it had not been the policy of any state, ancient or modern, to allow magistrates to be of a different opinion from that of the state, except lately, in France and America. But it would be useless to dwell further on this subject in a country like this, where the facts for which I have contended are continually before our eyes; and where the contests for the retention of ecclesiastical authority on the one hand, and the freedom of religious opinions on the other, (unhappily combined with temporal views and political considerations) are carried on with a degree of animosity, which demonstrates that whatever else the Reformation of Luther may have accomplished, it has not yet established peace and charity and brotherly love amongst mankind.*

Medal of Luther.



The painter Titteroto terrifies Aretino.

CHAPTER XX.

1521.

Errors incident to an early state of society—Writings of Aristotle—Rival doctrines of Plato—Commentators on the philosophy of the ancients—Niccolo Leonico Tomeo—Pietro Pomponazzo—Agostino Nifo—Giovan-Francesco Pico—Study of natural philosophy—Attempts towards the reformation of the Calendar—Discoveries in the East and West Indies—Papal grants of foreign parts—Consequences of the new discoveries—Humane interference of Leo X.—Study of natural history—Moral philosophy—Matteo Bosso—Pontano—His treatise De Principe—His work De Obedientia and other writings—Baldassare Castiglione—His Libro del Cortegiano—Novel writers—Matteo Bandello—Pietro Aretino.

Errors incident to an early state of society. 1521. Æt. 46. Pont. IX.

It is a striking fact, that mankind, when they begin to cultivate their intellectual powers, have generally turned their first attention towards those abstruse and speculative studies, which are the most difficult of comprehension, and the most remote from their present state and condition. This is the natural result of that inexperience which is common to an early or unimproved state of society. Ignorant of that which relates to their immediate well-being, they attempt to rise into the realms of immaterial existence; or, if the laws of nature engage their notice, it is only in subordination to some

higher purpose. The course of the heavenly bodies would be considered as a study not deserving of their attention, were it not believed to unfold to them the secrets of futurity; and the productions of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms are disregarded, except when they are supposed to exhibit striking prodigies, or to produce miraculous effects.[1] Hence it has been the most difficult effort of the human mind to divest itself of absurdity and of error, and to quit its sublime flights for the plain and palpable inductions of reason and common sense; and hence the due estimation of our own powers, although it be of all sciences the most important, is generally the latest acquired.

In correcting these errors of early times, the ancients had made a considerable progress; but on the revival of letters, that second infancy of mankind, the powers of the human intellect were not so frequently employed on subjects of real utility, as in the investigation of the most difficult or unintelligible propositions. The writings of Aristotle, which had first been introduced through the medium of the Arabians, afforded the greatest abundance of subjects of this nature, and he therefore became the universal favourite. The study of his works superseded the study of nature; and as few topics were left untouched by his vigorous and enterprising genius, he was not only resorted to as the general authority on all subjects of science and of literature, but produced a considerable effect on the theological tenets of the times. The superiority and influence which, by the aid of the schoolmen, he had for so many ages maintained, were at length diminished by the rival system of Plato; and the dominion which he had so long exercised over the human intellect was now divided between him and his sublimer opponent. This circumstance may be considered rather as a compromise between the rulers, than as an alteration in the condition of those who were still

Writings of Aristotle.

Rival doctrines of Plato.

[1] It is observed by Count Bossi, that even with respect to the animal kingdom, more attention was shewn to the study of monsters, than of the animals then known; and hence the many fabulous animals, which all had a foundation in nature, and in which the marvellous was sought for in preference to the truth. On this curious subject Bossi informs us he had himself published a memoir at Milan. as far back as the year 1792. Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 101.*

destined to obey. The metaphysical doctrines of Plato were as remote from the business of real life, and the simple induction of facts, as those of Aristotle. It is not, however, wholly improbable, that mankind derived some advantage from this event. In dividing their allegiance, it occasionally led them to think for themselves, and perhaps induced a suspicion, that, as in opposing systems both leaders could not be right, so it was possible that both of them might be wrong.

This divided authority was not, however, without its variations, in which each of the contending parties struggled for the ascendancy, and at the close of the fifteenth century the triumph of Platonism was almost complete. The venerable character of Bessarion,[2] the indefatigable labours of Ficino, and the establishment of the Platonic academy at Florence, under Lorenzo de' Medici, were the chief causes of this superiority. With the loss of the personal influence of these eminent men, its consequence again declined; and the doctrines of Aristotle, better understood, and more sedulously inculcated by many of his learned countrymen, again took the lead. The scholars of the time devoted themselves with great earnestness to the task of translating, illustrating, or defending his writings, which now began to be freed from the visionary subtilties of the Arabian commentators, and were studied and expounded in their original language. The first native Italian who attempted this arduous task, was Niccolo Leonico Tomeo, a disciple of Demetrius Chalcondyles, and a distinguished professor of polite letters in the university of Padua, where he died in the year 1531, having taught at that place upwards of thirty years. The talents of Leonico were not, however, wholly devoted to this employment. He was not less acquainted with the doctrines of Plato than with those of Aristotle. He translated many philosophical works from the Greek into Latin with great elegance, and has left several treatises or dialogues, on moral and philosophical subjects,[3] although they are now no longer generally known.

Commentators on the philosophy of the ancients.

Niccolo Leonico Tomeo.

[2] For some account of Bessarion, and his dispute with George of Trebisond, respecting the doctrines of Plato, *vide* Life of Lor. de' Med.

[3] Among others, he published a collection of various tracts from the works of

Some specimens of his poetry are also to be found in the collections of the times.[4] His chief merit consists in his having for a long course of years, sedulously diffused the riches of ancient learning among his countrymen, and his chief honour in having numbered among his pupils many of the most eminent men of the time. The epitaph on Leonico, by his friend and countryman Bembo, is an elegant compendium of his literary and moral character, and is highly favourable to both.[5]

Another celebrated professor of philosophy at Padua, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, was Pietro Pomponazzo of Mantua, usually denominated, on account of his diminutive stature, *Peretto*. Such was the estimation in which his services were held at this university, that he was rewarded with an annual stipend of three hundred and seventy ducats; yet we are told, that notwithstanding his acquaintance with the secrets of nature, with Aristotle, with Plato, with Avicenna, and with Averrhoes, he had no knowledge of either Arabic or Greek, and that he knew no more of Latin than he had acquired at school from the seventh to the twelfth year of his age.[6] Being compelled, with the other professors, to quit Padua during the unfortunate events of the war of Cambray, he retired, in the year 1510, to Ferrara; where Alberto Pio, lord of Carpi, and Celio Calcagnini, were glad

Pietro Pomponazzo.

Aristotle and Theophrastus, which were printed from his copies, and published by the heirs of Filippo Giunti at Florence, 1527. In the dedication of this work to Bernardo Giunti, Leonico asserts, that he had carefully corrected and restored about two thousand passages in these treatises. Bandin, Juntar. Typogr. Ann. vol. ii. p. 213.

[4] Tirab. vol. vii. par. i. p. 373. He is also mentioned by Erasmus, in his "Ciceronianus," with great commendation. Ciceronian. p. 71.

[5] This inscription, which yet remains in the church of S. Francesco, at Padua, is as follows:—

"Leonico Thomæo, Veneto, mitioribus in literis pangendisque carminibus "ingenio amabili, Philosophiæ vero in studiis, et Academica Peripateticaque doc- "trina præstanti; nam et Aristotelicos libros Græco sermone Patavii primus "omnium docuit, scholamque illam a Latinis interpretibus inculcatam perpolivit, "et Platonis majestatem nostris hominibus jam prope abditam restituit; multaque "præterea scripsit, multa interpretatus est, multos claros viros erudiit, præter "virtutem bonasque artes tota in vita nullius rei appetens. Vixit autem annos "lxxv. M. i. D. 27."

Count Bossi has observed, that *Leonico* has been confounded by some with *Nicolo Leonicens*, or of *Lonigo*, a physician, who taught at Ferrara, and published many translations of the classics and other works. Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 106.

[6] Speroni, Dialogo della Istoria. par. ii. in Op. vol. ii. p. 252.

to avail themselves of his instructions.[7] In the year 1512, he left Ferrara and took up his residence at Bologna, where he taught during the remainder of his days. At this city he died in 1524, being then sixty-two years of age.[8] Bandello, many of whose novels are founded on facts that happened within his own knowledge, relates, that in the year 1520, Pomponazzo paid a visit to Modena, to be present at a public disputation held by his pupil Giovan-Francesco dal Forno, and that the orator, after having, in the presence of his preceptor, and of the inhabitants, acquitted himself with great honour, accompanied Pomponazzo through the city, to point out to him whatever might be deserving of his attention; when the singular figure, dusky complexion, and unusual appearance of the philosopher,[9] attracted the notice of two Modenese ladies, who seeing him attended by a long train of respectable followers, mistook him for a Jew celebrating his nuptials, and expressed their desire to be of the party. The reply which the novelist has attributed to Pomponazzo, would, if authentic, sufficiently demonstrate that the precepts of his philosophy had not enabled him to control his passions, and regulate his own temper.[10] Nor was Pomponazzo less remarkable for the peculiarity of his opinions, than for the singularity of his person, on which account his safety was frequently endangered from the persecuting spirit of the times. This, however, can occasion no surprise, when we find him asserting, in some of his works, that all miracles are merely the effect of imagination, and that the care of Providence is not extended to the

[7] Tirab. vol. vii. par. i. p. 374.

[8] His body was sent, by the orders of the cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, who had been his pupil, to Mantua; where it was interred in the church of S. Francesco. A statue of bronze, which yet remains, was there erected to his memory, in which he is represented sitting with a book open in one hand, and another closed at his feet, with the words,

"Obiit an. S. MDXXIV. M. M."

Below is inscribed,

"Mantua clara mihi genetrix fuit, et breve corpus
Quod dederat natura mihi, me turba Perettum
Dixit. Naturæ scrutatus sum intima cuncta."

[9] Bandell. Nov. par. iii. nov. 38.

[10] "Che diavolo dite voi? che diavolo è questo? Sono forse io riputato Giudeo da voi donne Modenesi? Che venga fuoco del cielo che tute v'arda!" &c. Ibid. Tiraboschi, in relating this anecdote, has unaccountably mistaken the Modenese ladies for *Jewesses*, vol. vii. par. i. p. 375.

transitory concerns of the present world. But the chief difficulties of Pomponazzo were occasioned by his book "De Immortalitate Animæ," in which he is said publicly to have denied the immortality of the soul. This dangerous opinion excited a host of opponents, who impugned his doctrines and threatened his person. In his defence he endeavoured to convince his adversaries that he had stated this opinion, not as his own, but as that of Aristotle, and that he had himself only asserted that the existence of a future state could not be proved by natural reason, but must be believed on the authority of the Christian church; of which he professed himself an obedient son and disciple. These explanations were of no avail. The ecclesiastics of Venice represented the book to the patriarch as being filled with the most dangerous heresies; the patriarch called in the aid of the secular power; Pomponazzo was by general consent declared a heretic, and his book was condemned to the flames. Not satisfied with these proceedings, his prosecutors transmitted a copy of his book to Bembo at Rome, entreating him to obtain, if possible, the condemnation of its author by the authority of the holy see; but neither the secretary, nor the pontiff, were inclined to treat with severity a scholar and a philosopher, who had advanced a few bold opinions, not likely to engage the attention of many followers. Bembo read the book, and not finding it so dangerous as it was represented to be, shewed it to the master of the Apostolic palace, whose office it was to take cognizance of all publications, and who agreed with him in opinion respecting it. Pomponazzo was therefore released from the terrors of persecution, and his gratitude is perpetuated in a letter addressed to Bembo.[11] Whatever were the real opinions of this writer, it is certain that he has on many occasions treated the doctrines of Christianity with no small degree of ridicule.[12] For this conduct he has endeavoured to apologize, by alleging that he wrote only as a philosopher, and that whenever the church had decided, he

[11] Tirab. vol. vii. par. i. p. 377, in nota. Ed. Rom. 1784.

[12] The works of Pomponazzo were collected and published the year after his death, under the following title: "Petri Pompanatii opera omnia; sive Tractatus acutissimi de Reactione, de Intentione formarum, de Modo agendi primarum

submitted his judgment, and firmly believed what was proposed to him. An apology which has given occasion to Boccalini to introduce Apollo as deciding, that Pomponazzo should stand exculpated as a man, and should be burnt only as a philosopher.[13]

Agostino Nifo.

Among those who distinguished themselves by their opposition to the doctrines of Pomponazzo, was Agostino Nifo, a native of Sessa, in the kingdom of Naples, and one of the learned professors who had been engaged by Leo X. to deliver instructions in the Roman academy.[14] Prior to the year 1500, Nifo had filled the chair of a professor at Padua, where he had imbibed the opinions of Averhoes, and in his treatise, "De Intellectu et Demonibus," had asserted the unity of spiritual existence, and that there is only one soul, which animates all nature. In consequence of these doctrines, he was warmly attacked by the theologians of the times, and might have experienced great vexation, had not the candid and learned Pietro Barozzi, bishop of Padua, interfered on his behalf, and afforded him an opportunity of correcting such passages in his work as were most objectionable. It was on this occasion that, as a further proof of his penitence, he wrote against the dogmas of Pomponazzo on the nature of the human soul. After having taught in various parts of Italy, and distinguished himself by the wit and vivacity with which he seasoned his instructions,[15] he was called to Rome in the year 1513, by Leo X., who received him into his particular favour, honoured him with the title of count Palatine, and allowed him to use the name and arms of the Medici; of which privilege he has accordingly availed himself in several of his works. The chief part of his time was employed in commenting on the remains of Aristotle; but he has also

qualitatum, de Immortalitate animæ, Apologia contradict. Tractatus Defensorium. Approbationes rationum Defensorii, &c. Venetiis, Hæredes Octav. Scoti, 1525, in fol. This edition, de Bure informs us, is rare. Bib. Instruct. No. 1289.

[13] Ragguagli di Parnaso. Cent. i. Rag. xc. A much more ample account of Pomponazzo, and his writings, is given by Bossi; for which I must refer to Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 227. Mr. Henke has observed, that it was probably on account of such philosophers as Pomponazzo, that Leo X., in the Lateran Council, prohibited the philosophical proposition, *that the soul of man is mortal*, from being defended for the future. Germ. Ed. vol. iii. p. 253.*

[14] *Vide ante*, chap. xi.

[15] Jovius Iscritt. p. 176.

written on various subjects, political and moral.[16] Notwithstanding his sublime meditations, it appears that Nifo could at times relax from his labours, and could even condescend so far as to render himself the object of amusement and of ridicule to the cardinals and great men of the court; and perhaps this qualification was not without its effect, in obtaining for him the favour of the supreme pontiff. Even his writings are said to bear marks of the same levity which distinguished his conduct, and to afford sufficient reason to believe, that his philosophy did not always prove a sufficient restraint on those passions, the effects of which were apparent even amidst the ravages of disease, and the decrepitude of old age.[17]

Upon the whole, however, it is impossible to observe the industry, the learning, and the acuteness which have been displayed in these abstruse speculations, without sincerely regretting such a lamentable waste of talents and of time. For what important discoveries might the world have been indebted to the genius of Giovanni Pico of Mirandula, if instead of attempting to reconcile the opinions of Plato and of Aristotle,[18] he had devoted himself to those studies which are within the proper limits of the human intellect. Nor might posterity have had less cause to admire the talents, and approve the indefatigable labours of Giovan-Francesco Pico, the nephew of Giovanni, if he had not suffered himself to be led astray from the path of nature and utility by the example of his uncle, and the inveterate prejudices of the age. When we consider the distinguished rank and important avocations of Giovan-

Giovan-Francesco Pico.

[16] In the year 1520, he published, at Florence, his "Dialectica Ludicra," and in 1521, his "Libellus de his quæ ab optimis Principibus agenda sunt;" in both of which he denominates himself *Augustinus Niphus Medices, philosophus Suessanus;* and in the dedication to him of the commentary of Alexander Aphrodisiensis on some of the works of Aristotle, by Antonius Francinus Varchiensis, he is styled, *Augustinus Niphus de Medicis, Peripateticorum Princeps.* In this dedication the merits of Nifo, and the favours conferred on him by Leo X., are recognised. Bandin. Juntar. Typogr. Ann. vol. ii. p. 173.

[17] On the follies and amorous propensities of Nifo in his old age, Bayle has, according to his custom, expatiated at large.

[18] In his treatise "De Ente et Uno," addressed by him to his friend Politiano. Of the character and writings of Pico, the reader will find the most full and interesting account which has yet been given to the world, in Mr. Greswell's Memoirs of Italian Scholars, 2d ed. 1805.

Francesco, and the turbulence and misfortunes of his public life, we cannot but wonder at his acquirements, and at the numerous and learned productions which have issued from his pen. He was born in the year 1470, and was the son of Galeotto Pico, lord of Mirandula, whom he succeeded in that government. The ambitious spirit of his brother Lodovico, who had married Francesca, the daughter of the celebrated commander Giovanni Trivulzio, prompted him to aspire to the sovereignty; and, in the year 1502, he, with the assistance of his father-in-law, and the duke of Ferrara, deprived Giovan-Francesco of his dominions, which were held by Lodovico to the time of his death, in the year 1509. On the capture of Mirandula by Julius II., in the year 1511, that pontiff expelled the widow and family of Lodovico, and restored Giovan-Francesco to his government;[19] but, before he had enjoyed his authority a year, he was again driven from his capital by the French troops, under the command of Trivulzio. On the decline of the cause of the French in Italy, Giovan-Francesco a third time assumed the government; and by the aid of the cardinal of Gurck, then the imperial envoy in Italy, a reconciliation was effected between him and the Countess Francesca, which it was expected had finally terminated their dissensions. The substantial cause of dissatisfaction still, however, remained, and each of the parties complained of the other to Leo X., who endeavoured by his influence and authority to reconcile them.[20] During the life of the pontiff, and for some years afterwards, Giovan-Francesco enjoyed a state of comparative tranquillity: but the animosities which had arisen in this family were not destined to terminate without exhibiting a horrible tragedy. In the night of the fifteenth of October, 1533, Galeotto, the son of Lodovico, entered the city of Mirandula, at the head of a chosen band of followers, and forced his way into the palace. Alarmed at the tumult,

[19] *Vide ante*, chap. viii.

[20] Leo wrote to the marquis of Mantua, and to Lautrec, governor of Milan, requesting them to interpose their authority to prevent such disgraceful dissensions. He also addressed a letter to Gian-Francesco, and another to the countess, in terms of admonition and reproof; which were tempered, however, in his letter to Gian-Francesco, by expressions of great esteem and respect for his talents and his learning. Bembi Epist. Pont. lib. xi. ep. 30, 32, 33.

Giovan-Francesco had thrown himself on his knees before a crucifix, where he was seized upon by Galeotto, who, regardless either of the ties of blood, or the supplications of the venerable prince, instantly struck off his head. His eldest son Alberto experienced on this occasion a similar fate, and his wife and youngest son were shut up in prison. Such was the eventful life, and such the unfortunate death of one of the most virtuous and learned men, and one of the most distinguished writers of the age.

The works of Giovan-Francesco, which he had produced thirteen years before his death, and of which he transmitted a catalogue to his friend Giraldi, exhibit an astonishing instance of the efforts of human industry. They embrace almost every department of literature and of science, and every mode of composition; poetry, theology, antiquities, natural philosophy, morals, and ascetics; letters, orations, translations from the Greek, and literary essays.[21] In many of his writings he has warmly opposed the doctrines of Aristotle, and evinced an extreme admiration of Plato, to whose opinions he has not, however, on all subjects conformed. In his nine books, "De Rerum Prænotione," he has followed the example of his uncle in exposing the impostures of judicial astrology; notwithstanding which, in his life of Savonarola, he has displayed a degree of credulity scarcely consistent with a correct and vigorous mind. Almost all the learned men of the time have held him in the highest esteem, both for his talents and his virtues. Sadoleti confesses that he knew no sovereign of the age, who united, like him, ability with moderation, religion with military skill, and an extensive knowledge in all arts and

[21] In the year 1516 he printed at Rome his four books "de Amore Divino," which he inscribed to Leo X. A copy in manuscript of this work is preserved in the Laurentian Library, at the beginning of which are the family arms of the Medici richly illuminated. But his principal work is his "Examen Vanitatis Doctrinæ Gentium, et Veritatis Christianæ Disciplinæ," printed by him at his own press at Mirandula, in the year 1520, and also dedicated to Leo X. This work is preceded by an apostolic license, in the form of an Epistle to Giovan-Francesco, in which the pontiff recognises the great merits of the celebrated Giovanni Pico, and the friendly intimacy which subsisted between him and Lorenzo, the father of the pontiff; and highly commends Giovan-Francesco for imitating the example of his illustrious predecessor in the prosecution of liberal studies. The works of Giovan-Francesco have generally been printed with those of his uncle, of which several editions have been published at Basle, in 2 vols. folio.

sciences, with a close application to the cares of government; nor are the applauses of Giraldi and Calcagnini less honourable to his character, as a sovereign, a scholar, and a man.[22]

But, if the Italian scholars in the infancy of science wandered through the regions of incorporeal existence, without a system, and without a guide, it might yet have been expected that they would have studied with more success, the appearances and relations of the visible world, and have applied them to some useful end. Certain, however, it is, that for a long course of ages no study was so much abused to the purposes of imposing on the credulity of mankind, as that which professes to develop the system of the universe, and to explain the nature, the relations, and the motions of the heavenly bodies. Until the close of the fifteenth century, the factitious science of judicial astrology maintained its full credit in Italy. Most of the sovereigns and eminent men of that country retained a greater number of astrologers in their service, and did not venture to engage in any undertaking of importance without their decision and approbation. The early attempts of the Italian scholars to investigate the real system of the universe were weak and uncertain. One of the first who undertook this task was Francesco Stabili, usually called, from the place of his birth, Cecco d'Ascoli, in his poem entitled "L'Acerba;" written early in the fourteenth century.[23] But such a vehicle was not likely to convey much philosophical information, even if the author had been better acquainted with his subject. His opinions, which may at least pass for the opinions of the times, were, that the earth was a fixed and immoveable body in the

Study of natural philosophy.

[22] Ap. Tirab. vol. vii. par. i. p. 398, &c. After the account here given, the Italian reader may consult with advantage the additions made to it by Count Bossi, who has enumerated several other learned works of Gian-Francesco Pico, and considered the singular circumstances of his life more at large. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. ix. pp. 114, 115, 235.*

[23] Of this work, Bossi informs us he possessed a fine MS. on vellum, written about the middle, or perhaps the commencement of the fifteenth century, the margins of which were ornamented with miniature figures, representing subjects of natural history, and especially animals, designed with great care and accuracy; from which he infers, that the study of natural history had begun to make some progress, even at that early period. Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 242, and for some further account of Cecco d'Ascoli, *vide* Ital. Ed. vol. xii. p. 240.*

midst of the heavens, from every part of which it was at an equal distance; and this he endeavours to demonstrate by observing, that from whatever part of the earth we view the stars, they appear to be equally bright and numerous. He describes the planets as revolving in their orbits round the earth, and attempts to explain the eclipses of the moon. In accounting for the appearance of comets he conceives them to be vapours emanating from the planets; and to portend or occasion various calamities to the human race. But these inquiries occupy only the first part of his work, which is divided into five books, and comprises numerous subjects of natural and moral philosophy. The style of this writer is so rude and barbarous, as sometimes to be scarcely intelligible; a circumstance which reflects additional honour on the superior genius of Dante, of whom Cecco was the contemporary, and over whom he affects to triumph in having devoted his writings to the investigation of truth, whilst Dante employed himself in composing fabulous narrations;[24] representing the great Florentine as having at length lost his way, and taken up his final residence in his own "Inferno." These faint attempts to discuss with freedom subjects which were supposed to have been sufficiently explained in holy writ, were, however, observed with great jealousy by the persecuting bigots of the age, and the author of the "Acerba," being accused of heresy and magic, expiated his temerity in the flames.[25] In the early part of the fifteenth century, another poem was written by Gregorio Dati of Florence, entitled "La Sfera;[26] which led the way to more successful attempts. About the year 1468, Paolo Toscanelli erected the great gnomon in the cathedral of Florence, and thereby gave a decisive proof of the proficiency which he had made in mathematical and astronomical science. It appears from the evidence of Cristoforo Lan-

[24] L'Acerba, lib. v. cap. 13.

[25] He was burnt by the sentence of the inquisition at Florence, in the year 1327. An ancient MS. copy of the proceedings against him, with his sentence, is in my possession; but I have not had an opportunity of comparing them with those published by Lami, in his catalogue of the Riccardi library.

[26] Of this poem, several editions are cited by Quadrio; Storia d'ogni Poesia vol. iv. p. 41. I have also a MS. copy of the fifteenth century, ornamented with astronomical and geographical figures, coloured, explaining the system of the heavens, the signs of the zodiac, the divisions of the earth, &c.

dino, in his commentary on Virgil, that Toscanelli had also applied himself with great diligence to the study of geography. His conjectures on the discovery of a passage by sea to the East Indies were communicated in several letters to Fernando Martinez, canon of Lisbon, and to the fortunate navigator Cristoforo Colombo.[27] He also transmitted a chart of navigation to the latter; who was probably indebted to the suggestions of Toscanelli, for no small share of his subsequent success. Towards the close of the fifteenth century, the learned Pontano undertook to illustrate the science of astronomy, both in prose and verse; in the former by his fourteen books "De Rebus Cœlestibus," in the latter, by his five books, entitled "Urania, sive de stellis," and in his book "Meteororum;" but, although he has displayed much acuteness in the one, and much elegance in the other of these works, yet he has done little towards the real promotion of the science; his chief object having been to ascertain the effects produced by the heavenly bodies upon the earth and its inhabitants. The celebrated Fracastoro devoted a considerable portion of his time to astronomical studies, as appears from his treatise, entitled "Homo Centricus;" and Celio Calcagnini of Ferrara wrote and published a work in Italian, before the system of Copernicus issued from the press in 1543, by which he undertook to prove the motion of the earth.[28] These laudable attempts at improvement are not, however, to be considered as detracting from the glory of that eminent and successful philosopher, who is justly rewarded for his labours, in having his name inseparably united with that true system of the universe, which he was the first to develop and explain.[29]

[27] From these letters it appears, that Colombo had imparted his intentions, as early as the year 1474, to Toscanelli, who had encouraged him to proceed in his enterprise, and furnished him with such instructions, both historical and geographical, as seemed most likely to ensure his success. These letters have been published in the life of Cristoforo, by Ferdinando Colombo, and are particularly stated by Tiraboschi, vol. vi. par. i. pp. 179, 309. But this subject has been more amply treated in the "Life of Colombo," by Count Bossi, published by him at Milan, in 1818. in 8vo. and accompanied by many curious documents and graphic illustrations.

[28] "Quod cœlum stet, terra autem moveatur." *Vide* Tirab. vol. vii. par. i. p. 427.

[29] To these observations on the progress of scientific studies in Italy, Count Bossi has made very considerable additions, and vindicated the claims of his countrymen to an early proficiency in them; but for these I can now only refer to Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 243, vol. xii. p. 242.*

To the reformation of the Calendar Leo X. paid great attention, and endeavoured to accomplish that desirable object by every effort in his power. One of the first persons who ventured to point out the errors in the common mode of computation, was an ecclesiastic named Giovanni di Novara, or *Johannes Novariensis*, who presented to Julius II. a book on that subject, in which he also proposed a mode of correcting them.[30] As this was treated as a theological inquiry, the professed object of the philosopher being to ascertain the precise time for the due observance of Easter, Julius listened to his representations, and invited him to remain and pursue his studies at Rome, promising that further measures should be taken for carrying his proposal into effect. After the death of Julius, Leo undertook the task, and particularly recommended to the ecclesiastics assembled in the council of the Lateran, to attend to the correction of the tables then in general use. He also addressed himself in earnest terms to the principals and directors of the Italian academies, and to many learned individuals, entreating them to consider this important subject, and to transmit to him in their writings the result of their observations and researches.[31] In consequence of these measures several works were produced, which at least prepared the way for more effectual efforts. Paul of Middleburg, bishop of Fossombrone, presented to the pontiff a treatise, "De recta Paschæ celebratione," in twenty-three books, for the printing and publishing of which Leo granted him an exclusive privilege.[32] Basilio Lapi, a Cistercian monk, dedicated to him a work, "De Ætatum computatione et Dierum anticipatione;" a manuscript copy of which yet exists in the Nani library at Venice;[33] and in the Laurentian library at Florence is preserved a Latin tract of Antonius Dulciatus, "De Kalendarii

Attempts towards the reformation of the Calendar.

[30] Some earlier attempts are indicated by Bossi, Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 252.*

[31] Leo wrote to Henry VIII., requesting that he would employ his professors of Astrology and Theology, to take the subject into their consideration. *Vide* App. No. XCII.

[32] Fabron. in Vita Leon. X., p. 275. This work was printed at Fossombrone, in 1513, in folio.

[33] Basilio was also the author of another work, "De varietate Temporum." He was a native of Florence, and had been a pupil of Vespucci.

Correctione," also inscribed by the author to Leo X.[34] The early death of the pontiff prevented, in all probability, the further progress of these inquiries, and it was not until the pontificate of Gregory XIII., in the year 1582, that the reformation of the Calendar was carried into full effect, and adopted throughout the Catholic countries of Europe.

Discoveries in the East and West Indies.

The proficiency made in geographical and astronomical studies, prior to and during the pontificate of Leo X., is not, however, so much to be collected from the written documents of the times, as from the great practical uses to which those studies were applied.[35] That the researches of the early navigators were instigated and promoted by many of the most eminent scholars of the times, appears from undoubted evidence. The assistance thus afforded to these daring adventurers was, however, amply repaid. By the successful result of their labours, the form of the globe and the revolutions of the heavenly bodies were decidedly ascertained. Nor can it be doubted, that their experience first served to establish that more correct system of the universe, which has since been fully demonstrated. These discoveries gave rise, however, to many extravagant ideas, which afford a striking proof of the credulity of the age. It is asserted by Monaldeschi, that the kingdom of Peru required a whole year to traverse it from one extremity to the other; and that New Spain was at least twice the size of Peru.[36] Bembo, in his history of Venice, has also expatiated on the productions of the new world, and on the persons and customs of the inhabitants, with a mixture of truth and fiction highly amusing.[37] The success which attended the expeditions to the eastern world, was no small cause of anxiety to the Venetians, who foresaw in the new intercourse to which they would undoubtedly give rise, the destruction of that commerce which the republic had so long monopolized; but although the states of Italy derived fewer advantages from

[34] This work consists of xxv. propositions of which the first six are lost or mutilated. Bandini. Catal. Bib. Laurent. tom. ii. p. 31.

[35] *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 253.*

[36] Comment. Istorica, Ven. 1584.

[37] Dell' Istoria Veneta, lib vi. In Op. vol. i. p. 138, *et seq.*

these discoveries than any other country in Europe, yet it is observable, that the persons by whose courage, skill, and perseverance, they were made, were principally Italians. Cristoforo Colombo was a native of Genoa; Amerigo Vespucci, who contended with him for the honour of having been the first to touch that new continent, which is yet designated by his name, was a Florentine; Giovanni Verazzini, to whose efforts the French were so much indebted for their foreign possessions, was of the same country; and John and Sebastian Cabot, who, under the reigns of Henry VII., Henry VIII., and Elizabeth, rendered such important services to the English crown, were of Venetian origin.

From the earliest attempts at discovery, the Roman pontiffs had interested themselves with great earnestness in the result; and no sooner had these efforts proved successful, than they converted them to the purpose of extending the credit and authority of the holy see. A plausible pretext for this interference was found in the promised universality of the church of Christ, and the duty consequently incumbent on the supreme pontiff to watch over the souls of all mankind. It was upon this principle that Eugenius IV. had made a formal grant to the Portuguese of all the countries extending from Cape Naon, on the continent of Africa, to the East Indies. This grant had been confirmed or extended by the subsequent bulls of Nicholas V. and Sixtus IV. The dissensions which arose between Ferdinand king of Spain, and John king of Portugal, respecting the right of occupying the countries newly discovered, were submitted to the decision of Alexander VI., who, as is well known, with a boldness peculiar to his character, directed that the globe of the earth should be divided by an imaginary line, extending from north to south, and passing one hundred leagues to the west of the Azores and Cape Verd islands; that whatever lands were discovered on the eastern side of this line should belong to the king of Portugal, and those on the west to the king of Spain.[38]

Papal grants of foreign parts.

[38] "Questa Bolla che va inserita nel Codice Diplomatico di Leibnitz, a ag. 472, viene impugnata da molti e gravi scrittori, ed in specie dal celebre

It has already been noticed, that in the year 1514, Leo X. made also a formal concession to Emanuel king of Portugal; extending not only to all countries which were then discovered, but to such as were even unknown to the pontiff himself.[39] The Roman see having thus acquired an acknowledged jurisdiction, began to assume over the new world the same authority that it had long exercised over the old; and the grants thus made were accompanied with conditions that the sovereigns should send out priests to convert the natives to Christianity. These grants, absurd and futile as they may now appear, were not without their effects, whether beneficial or injurious to mankind. From the respect paid by the sovereigns of Europe to the apostolic see, they might prevent, in some instances, that interference of different nations in foreign parts, which, in all probability, might have given rise to violent and destructive wars, and defeated the common object of both parties. At the same time, the commanders employed in these expeditions engaged in them with a thorough conviction, that in seizing on a newly-discovered country, and subjugating its inhabitants, they were only vindicating the rights of their sovereign, and extending the jurisdiction of the holy Roman church.[40]

Consequences of the new discoveries.

The exultation which these discoveries occasioned throughout Europe is supposed to have been of the most just and allowable kind. The extension of the bonds of society to distant nations, and people before unknown; the important additions to the conveniences and the luxuries of life, and the great influx of riches which Europe was to experience, all seem to entitle it to the denomination of one of the happiest, as well as one of the most important events in the history of the world. Whether an impartial estimate would confirm this opinion, may perhaps be doubted. In the decision of this question two parties are concerned; the native inhabitants of the newly-

Ugone Grozio, nel suo trattato intitolato *Mare liberum.*" Bandin. Vita di Amerigo Vespucci, p. 40. Flor. 1745.

[39] *Vide ante*, chap. xii.

[40] *Vide* the proclamation of Alonso do Ojeda, translated by Robertson, in his History of America, vol. i. note xxxiii.

discovered countries, and their European invaders. To the former the visitation of a pestilence which sweeps whole nations from the earth, was not more dreadful than the arrival of their Spanish conquerors; and the dispirited remnant of an unoffending and unwarlike people was destined to a gradual but sure extirpation by a long and hopeless series of labour and of suffering. The history of the discovery of America is, in fact, that of the destruction of its population, and of the usurpation of its territory by a foreign power.[41] On the other hand, what are the advantages which Europe has hitherto derived from this intercourse? Had the people of these distant shores any new information in science, in politics, in morals, or in arts, to impart to us? Has the communication between the two countries given rise to situations which have called into action those generous propensities and virtuous qualities, on which alone are founded the dignity and happiness of the human race? Or has it not given us, on the contrary, a new representation of the deformity of our nature, so horrid and so disgusting, that experience alone could have convinced us of its reality? The nations of Europe, instead of being tranquillized by prosperity, or enriched by a new influx of wealth, have from that period either sunk into a debilitating indolence, or been roused to action by dissensions, to which these discoveries have afforded new causes, and by which even the indignant manes of the slaughtered Indians might well be appeased. If we seek for more consolatory views, we must turn towards a new people who have risen upon these ruins, where we may discern the origin of a mighty empire, destined, perhaps, to be the last refuge of freedom, and to carry to higher degrees

[41] Las Casas has therefore entitled his work, with strict propriety, "The History of the Destruction of the Indies:" "Relacion de la Destruycion de las Indias." From the introduction to this most dreadful and affecting history, which was translated into Italian by Giacomo Castellani, and published at Venice, in 1643, I shall only give the following passage:—"I positively and truly assert, that within the space of forty years, there have unjustly and tyrannically perished, by the oppression and infernal conduct of the *Christians*, more than TWELVE MILLIONS of persons, men, women, and children; and I believe that I am not mistaken in asserting, that there are more than FIFTEEN MILLIONS." It is to be hoped, for the credit of human nature, that Robertson is right in asserting, that the accounts of Las Casas are not to be implicitly believed, especially when he speaks of numbers.

of excellence those arts and sciences which it has received from the exhausted climes of Europe.

Humane interference of Leo X.

If, however, the spirit of ecclesiastical domination conspired with the lust of ambition, in extending the conquests of the maritime nations of Europe, it must be remembered, to the credit of the Roman church, that the first persons who opposed themselves to the atrocities committed on the unoffending natives, were the missionaries of the different orders of monks, who had been sent for the purpose of preaching among them the Christian faith. In this generous undertaking the Dominicans took the lead. The horrible practice of seizing upon the persons of the native Americans, and distributing them in proportionate numbers among the new settlers, to be held in perpetual slavery, was represented by the monks of this fraternity as wholly inconsistent with the mild spirit of Christianity, and subversive of the great object of their own mission.[42] The Franciscans, without attempting to justify these enormities to their full extent, opposed themselves to the benevolent views of the Dominicans. Their dissensions soon reached Europe, and the supreme pontiff was resorted to for his decision on this novel and important subject. His sentence confers honour on his memory. He declared that not only religion, but nature herself, cried out against slavery.[43] He observed, with equal justice and benevolence, that the only mode by which civilization and religious improvement could be extended, was by the adoption of mild and equitable measures;[44] and he employed his utmost endeavours to prevail on Ferdinand of Spain to repress the avarice and ferocity of the new settlers, in the countries subjected to his authority. On this occasion the humane and indefatigable ecclesiastic, Bartolommeo de las Casas, made the most strenuous and persevering efforts for the relief of the unhappy objects of colonial oppression; but the errors of good men are sometimes more fatal to the happiness of mankind than the crimes of the wicked; and the expedient which he

[42] Robertson's Hist. of America, book iii. vol. i. p. 214, &c.

[43] "Requisitus sententiam Pontifex judicavit non modo religionem, sed etiam naturam reclamitare servituti."—Fabron. in Vita Leon. X. p. 227.

[44] Fabron. *ut sup.*

proposed, of alleviating the distresses of the Americans by enslaving and transporting the natives of Africa, has given rise to still greater calamities than those which it was intended to remedy. After the lapse of nearly three centuries, some efforts have been made to remove this reproach, which, if successful, would have displayed the greatest triumph of virtuous principle ever yet exhibited to the world. But the guilt of so many ages is not likely to be expiated by repentance; and the course of Providence seems too plainly to indicate, that a practice begun in rapacity and injustice, can only terminate in revenge, in horrors, and in blood.[45]

Study of natural history.

If, however, the benefits that might have been derived from the great events before referred to have in general been either neglected, or perverted to the most injurious purposes, yet the discoveries made, both in the eastern and western world, opened a new field of speculation and instruction, which has been cultivated by the labours of succeeding times to a high degree of perfection. Besides the general knowledge of the globe which was thus obtained, it is certain that the great diversity of animal, vegetable, and mineral productions, observed in regions so remote from each other, and distinguished by such a variety of temperature, of soil, and of climate, excited the desire of examining their nature, their qualities, or their effects The progress of these studies was not, however, rapid. The only motive by which the early navigators were actuated was the desire of gain. Gold in its natural state was the universal object of their inquiry. Where this could not be obtained, other articles were sought for, which might be converted to the greatest profit; and the most beautiful, or the most surprising productions of nature, were regarded only as they might be converted into advantageous objects of merchandise. The study of nature

[45] The author is happy in being enabled to state, that since the above was written, in 1805, he has had the high gratification of uniting his voice, as a representative of his native town of Liverpool, with that of a majority of the British House of Commons, which in the year 1807 abolished the horrible practice of trading for slaves to the coast of Africa; a measure which he hopes will prepare the way for the ultimate extinction of slavery in the British colonies, and thereby prevent the dreadful consequences above adverted to.*

in her animal and vegetable kingdoms, although of all others the most obvious and simple, seems to have been one of the last which in the rise of learning attracted the attention of mankind. After all the researches that have been made on this subject, it is yet probable that the garden of Lorenzo de' Medici at Careggi, affords the earliest instance of a collection of plants extending beyond the mere object of common utility. From several passages in the works of Pontano we may, however, discover that this author devoted himself to the practical study of nature; and his poem in two books on the cultivation of the lemon, the orange, and the citron, entitled, "De Hortis Hesperidum," sufficiently demonstrates that he was acquainted with some of the most curious operations in horticulture.[46] A more striking indication of a rising taste for these occupations, appears in the estimation in which the works of the ancients who have treated on these subjects now began to be held. The writings of Theophrastus and Dioscorides had been translated into Latin, and published before the close of the fifteenth century. Of the latter, a new and more correct version was completed by the learned Marcello Virgilio Adriani, and published at Florence in the year 1518. Besides the various editions of the Natural History of Pliny, which in the infancy of the art of printing had issued from the press, and the illustrations on that work by Ermolao Barbaro, Niccolo Leoniceno, and others, it was translated into Italian by Cristoforo Landino of Florence, and published at Venice, in the year 1476. The decided propensity which now appeared towards the cultivation of natural history, was further increased by the extension of the theatre on which it had to expatiate; and the singular productions of foreign countries, by exciting the curiosity of the European students, led them to examine those of their own with an intelligent and a discriminating eye. It was not, however, until nearly

[46] Among other observations in the works of Pontano, there is one which particularly deserves the attention of the practical gardener. He asserts, on his own experience, that if a graft be cut from the extremity of a fruit-bearing branch, it will itself bear fruit the first year of its being ingrafted; but that if it be taken from a sucker, or unripe part of the tree, it will be many years before it bear fruit. Pontan. Op. vol. ii. p. 180. This has since been observed by other naturalists, and the reason is explained by Dr. Darwin, in his "Phytologia," sect. ix. ii. 7, 156.

the middle of the sixteenth century, when the commentaries of Pier-Andrea Mattioli on the six books of Dioscorides were first published, that the science of Botany began to assume a distinct form, and to be studied as a separate and interesting branch of natural knowledge. Still more recent has been the attention paid to the other departments of natural history. If we except the small tract of Paullus Jovius, "De Piscibus Romanis," published in the year 1524,[47] and a few other detached and unimportant treatises, we shall find no attempt made to investigate the history of animated nature, and to reduce the science of zoology to a general system, until the time of Gessner and of Aldrovando; the former of whom in Switzerland, and the latter in Italy, devoted their talents at the same period to this important task, and by their elaborate works laid those broad foundations, which have served to support the extensive and still increasing superstructure of subsequent times.[48]

Moral philosophy.

Nor had the science of ethics, that most important branch of knowledge, hitherto received that attention which its intimate connexion with the concerns of human life indisputably demands. Some occasional parts of the writings of Petrarca, and several of the treatises and dialogues of Poggio Bracciolini, may be considered among the earliest and most successful

[47] In folio, and reprinted in 1527, 8vo. This work Jovius dedicated to the cardinal Louis, of Bourbon, who deluded his expectations of a great reward, by presenting him with an imaginary benefice in the island of Thule, beyond the Orkneys. "La fatica de' Pesci," says he, "m'andò vota col Cardinal de Borbone, al qual dedicai il libro, rimunerandomi esso con un beneficio fabuloso situato nell' Isola *Tile*, oltre le *Orcadi*."—Lettera di Giovio a M. Galeaz. Florimonte. ap. Tirab. vii. 2. 20. With this malicious sarcasm the cardinal seems to have reproved Jovius for quitting his theological studies to write the treatise inscribed to him.

[48] A particular account of the rise of the science of natural history, and of its progress to the present time, may be found in Sir J. E. Smith's introductory Discourse, prefixed to the first volume of the Transactions of the Linnean Society. Lond. 1791, 4to. I have repeatedly stated that my object in this work was only to advert to subjects of science and literature, as far as they were connected with the character and conduct of Leo X., in order to shew how they were influenced by his personal interference. I cannot therefore assent to the frequent remarks of Count Bossi, that *I ought* to have introduced other persons (with whom it does not appear that Leo X. had any intercourse). *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 139. Much less can I conceive that it was incumbent on me to trace the progress of natural studies (as Count Bossi has done) through the remainder of the sixteenth century, (*vide* Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 261,) although I admit that such inquiries are in themselves highly interesting and instructive.

attempts to illustrate the principles of moral conduct, and to regulate the intercourse of society. Before the close of the fifteenth century, Matteo Bosso, principal of the monastery of Fiesole, had also undertaken to recommend and to enforce various branches of moral duty in separate Latin treatises, written with great apparent sincerity, and not without pretensions to perspicuity and to elegance.[49] It may indeed be admitted as a characteristic of a vigorous and an independent mind, that, at a time when theological subtilties and scholastic paradoxes had so deeply entangled the human faculties, this venerable ecclesiastic could free himself from their bonds, so as to observe, with a distinct and penetrating eye, the relations and connexions of human life, and to apply to their regulation the dictates of sound reason and the precepts of genuine religion.

Matteo Bosso

A more powerful and more successful effort was made by the celebrated Pontano, whose prose works consist chiefly of treatises on the various branches of moral duty; some of which, as applying more generally to the concerns of states and of princes, may be considered as illustrating the science of politics; whilst others, relating to individual conduct, are intended to define the duties of private life. Under the former head may be classed his treatise "De Principe," addressed to Alfonso, duke of Calabria, in which he has attempted to define and exemplify the duties and conduct of a sovereign. This piece, written upwards of twenty years before the treatise of Machiavelli, under the same title, and on the same subject, is greatly to be preferred to it for the sound maxims of policy which it professes to inculcate, and the noble examples which it holds up for future imitation. The great distinction between these productions is, that in the work of Pontano politics are considered as a most important branch of morals, whilst in that of Machiavelli they appear to be merely an artifice employed to accomplish some

Pontano.

His treatise De Principe.

[49] For some account of him, *vide ante*, chap. i. Life of Lor. de' Medici, chap. viii. His moral works are published under the following titles:—"De veris ac salutaribus animi gaudiis." Flor. MCCCCLXXXXI. "De instituendo sapientia animo." Bonon. MCCCCLXXXXV. "De tolerandis adversis." Lib. ii. "De gerendo magistratu, justitiaque colenda." The two last tracts are published in the general collection of the works of their author: Argentor. 1509, et Flor. 1513.

immediate end, which is frequently most injurious to him who obtains it. "He who wishes to govern well," says Pontano, "should propose to himself liberality and clemency as the first rules of his conduct. By the former he will convert his enemies into friends, and even recall the treacherous to fidelity. The latter will secure to him the affection of all men, who will venerate him as a divinity. United in a sovereign they render him indeed most like to God, whose attribute it is to do good to all, and to spare those who fall into error."[50] * * * * * "It is not, however, of so much importance to be esteemed even humane and liberal, as it is to avoid those vices which are considered as their opposites. An inordinate desire to obtain that which belongs, and is dear to others, is, in a sovereign, the origin of great calamities. Hence arise proscriptions, exiles, torments, executions; and hence, too, it is often truly said,

> "Ad generum Cereris, sine cæde et vulnere pauci
> Descendunt Reges, et sicca morte Tyranni."
>
> Few are the tyrant-homicides that go
> Unpierced and bloodless to the realms below.

"What indeed can be more absurd in a sovereign, or less conducive to his own safety, than, instead of displaying an example of humanity, to shew himself severe and arrogant? Inhumanity is the mother of hatred, as haughtiness is of cruelty, and both of them are bad protectors either of life or of authority."[51] These maxims he confirms by numerous examples from ancient and modern times, which shew the extent of his acquirements, and greatly enliven his work. But the strongest instance that history affords of the truth of these maxims, is perhaps to be found in that of Alfonso himself, to whom they were so ineffectually addressed.[52]

His work, De Obedientia, and other writings.

Of the other pieces of Pontano, one of the most extensive and important, is his treatise "De Obedientia," in five books; under which title he has comprehended no inconsiderable portion of the system of moral duty.[53] In the commencement of this work he observes,

[50] Pontan. Op. tom. i. p. 87. [51] Ibid. p. 91. [52] *Vide ante*, chap. iv.
[53] First published at Naples, 1490, in a well-printed and elegant edition, 4to, and dedicated by the author to Roberto Sanseverino, Prince of Salerno.

that "the efforts of both ancient and modern philosophy, as well as of both divine and human law, are chiefly directed to compel the passions of the mind to submit to the dictates of reason, and to prevent them from breaking loose, and wandering without a guide." Under this extensive idea of obedience, he takes occasion to treat on the chief duties of life, as justice, prudence, firmness, and temperance; continually intermixing his precepts with examples, many of which, being the result of his own observations, have preserved a great number of historical and literary anecdotes, not elsewhere to be found. Besides these works, Pontano produced several others on various topics connected with moral conduct, which he has illustrated in a similar manner.[54] These writings of Pontano display great reflection, learning, and experience; and if the severity of his judgment had been equal to the fertility of his genius, and had been suffered to exert itself in correcting those superfluities with which his works sometimes abound, he would have merited a rank, in this most important department of science, to which very few writers, either of ancient or modern times, could justly have aspired. It might have been expected that his example would have prepared the way to a further proficiency in these studies, especially as he had divested them of the scholastic shackles in which they had been confined, and had directed them to the great objects of practical utility; but, amidst the convulsions of war, and the dissipations of domestic life, his works were probably neglected or forgotten; and it is certain, at least, that the age in which he lived produced no moral writer of equal industry, or of equal merit. The professors of Rome, of Padua, and other Italian academies, thought it sufficient to confine their comments to the works of Aristotle; and for some time afterwards, the treatise of Cicero "De Officiis," instead of being considered as a model of imitation, was regarded as an object of criticism and of reproof.[55]

With respect, however, to the regulation of individual intercourse by the rules of civility and good breeding, which may be reckoned among the minor duties of society, a work

[54] *Vide ante*, chap. ii.

[55] Tirab. vol. vii. par. ii. p. 236.

of extraordinary merit was written in the time of Leo X. This is the "Libro del Cortegiano," of the Count Baldassare Castiglione, who has before occurred to our notice; but a more particular account of so accomplished a nobleman, and so elegant a scholar, who shared in an eminent degree the esteem of Leo X., cannot be uninteresting. He was born at his family villa of Casatico, in the territory of Mantua, in the year 1478, and was the son of the Count Cristoforo Castiglione, by his wife Louisa Gonzaga, a near relation of the sovereign family of that name. In his early years he was sent to Milan, where he was instructed in the Latin language by Giorgio Merula, and in Greek by Demetrius Chalcondyles. Having there distinguished himself by his personal accomplishments, and particularly by his skill in horsemanship and arms, he entered into the military service of Lodovico Sforza, without, however, relinquishing his literary pursuits, in which he derived assistance from Filippo Beroaldo the elder. With him he devoted a great part of his time to the study of the ancient authors, on whose works he committed to writing many learned notes and observations. His principal favourites were Cicero, Virgil, and Tibullus. Nor did he neglect the distinguished writers of his own country; among whom he is said particularly to have admired the energy and learning of Dante, the softness and elegance of Petrarca, and the facility and natural expression of Lorenzo de' Medici, and of Politiano.[56] Castiglione.

The death of his father, which was occasioned by a wound received at the battle of the Taro, and the subsequent overthrow of Lodovico Sforza, having induced Castiglione to leave Milan, he resorted to his relation, Francesco, marquis of Mantua, whom he accompanied to Naples, where he was present at the battle of the Gariglione, in the year 1503. With the consent of the marquis, he soon afterwards paid a visit to Rome, where he was introduced, by his intimate friend and relation, Cesare Gonzaga, to Guidubaldo da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, who had been called to Rome in consequence of the elevation of Julius II. to the pontificate. Attracted by the liberality and elegance

[56] Serassi, Vita del Castiglione, p. 10.

of manners which distinguished the duke and the gentlemen of his court, "Castiglione entered into his service, to the great dissatisfaction of the marquis of Mantua, and accompanied him to the siege of Cesena, which place was then held for Cæsar Borgia, but which, together with the city of Imola, soon afterwards surrendered to the besiegers. By the fall of his horse Castiglione here received a severe injury in his foot, which rendered it necessary that he should enjoy some repose; and he accordingly retired to Urbino, where he met with a most gracious reception from the duchess, and from Madonna Emilia Pia, with whom he ever afterwards maintained a friendly intercourse, rendered more interesting, and not less honourable, by difference of sex.[57] In the tranquillity which he here enjoyed, he again devoted himself to his studies, or occasionally took a distinguished part in the conversation of the many eminent and learned men who resided at that court, and were admitted to the literary assemblies of the duchess. In particular he formed a strict intimacy with Giuliano de' Medici, whom he has introduced as one of the principal characters in his "Cortegiano," the æra of which work is assigned to this period. Such was the friendship between them, that Giuliano had negotiated a marriage between his niece Clarice, the daughter of Piero de' Medici, and Castiglione; but political motives induced her friends to dispose of her in marriage to Filippo Strozzi, through the powerful influence of whose family in Florence they hoped to regain their native place.[58] Castiglione continued in the service of the duke until the death of that learned and accomplished prince, in the year 1508; having represented him in several embassies to foreign powers, and particularly in the year 1506, when he came to England to be installed as a knight of the garter, in the name of the duke, upon whom that honour had been conferred by Henry VII.[59]

[57] *Vide ante*, chap. vii. [58] Serassi, Vita del Castiglione, p. 14.

[59] M. Ant. Flaminio has applied to Castiglione the following lines:—

"Rex quoque te simili complexus amore Britannus,
Insignem clari TORQUIS honore facit:"

which have led his biographers to suppose, that Castiglione was himself admitted into the order of knighthood. "Fu raccolto (dal Re Arrigo) con modi così onorati

After the death of the duke, Castiglione continued in the service of his successor, Francesco-Maria della Rovere. The assassination of the cardinal of Pavia by the hands of the duke, and the resentment of Julius II., who in consequence of this sacrilegious murder deprived his nephew of his dignities and estates,[60] threw the court of Urbino into great agitation and distress, and every method was resorted to that was thought likely to mitigate the anger of the pontiff. On his journey to Rome to receive absolution for his crime, the duke was accompanied by Castiglione. The various services rendered by him to the duke were rewarded by a grant of the castle and territory of Ginestrato, which were afterwards exchanged, at his request, for the territory of Nuvellara, about two miles from Pesaro, where he had an excellent palace, good air, fine views both by sea and land, and a

e pieni di tanta cortesia, che furono da ciascuno riputati molto straordinarj; e tanto più *avendolo ornato e degnato del Collaro della Cartiera*, che il Re soleva dare a pochissimi, e di grandissima condizione."—Marliani, Vita di Castiglione. Serassi says, "Ebbe in dono (dal Re) *una richissima Collana d'oro;* tanto piacque ad Arrigo questo gran Gentiluomo." On this subject some doubts have, however, lately been raised, by the Abate D. Francesconi; who has very justly suggested the improbability that the king would confer on the ambassador the same honour as he had before bestowed on his sovereign; to which he adds, "Lo schiarire un tal fatto appartiene a chi avesse l'assunto d'illustrare la Storia di un ordine cavalleresco coi nomi degli Uomini, che ascritti vi furono, simili al Castiglione." *Vide* Francesconi, Discorso al Reale Academia Fiorentina. Flor. 1799, p. 80. By the obliging assistance of Sir Isaac Heard, Garter principal King of Arms, I am enabled to clear up these doubts, and to state, with confidence, that Castiglione was not of the order of the Garter. King Henry VII. transmitted the ensigns to the duke of Urbino, by the Abbot of Glastonbury, and Sir Gilbert Talbot; after which the duke sent Castiglione to England to be installed in his name. On his landing at Dover, on the 20th day of October, Sir Thomas Brandon was despatched with a considerable retinue to meet him; and in the College of Arms are yet preserved the particulars of his reception by the Lord Thomas Doquara, Lord of St. John's, and Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King of Arms; who conducted him to London, where he was lodged in the house of the pope's vice-collector. But, although Castiglione was not created a knight of the garter, there is yet reason to believe that he received some distinguishing mark of the favour of the king. In the letter which he soon afterwards addressed to that sovereign, giving him an account of the death of the duke, whom he denominates, "virum a CONFRATRIBUS TUIS, quem adeo dilexisti ut illum præclarissimo GARTERII ordine tuo decorare dignatus sis," he refers to certain honours conferred also on himself; "me a tua majestate DIGNITATE ac MUNERIBUS auctum." In addition to which it may be observed, that the MS. from which Anstis published the letter of Castiglione, at the end of his second volume, on the Order of the Garter, and which MS. is by him stated to be deposited in the museum of Mr. Thoresby, at Leeds, was embellished with the arms of Castiglione, surrounded by a collar of SS., ending with two portcullises, and having at the bottom a rose, gules and argent; which affords a strong proof that Henry VII., whose badges were a portcullis and united rose, had decorated Castiglione with such a collar at the time of his mission to this country.

[60] *Vide ante,* chap. viii.

fertile soil; advantages with which he declares himself so perfectly satisfied, that he has only to pray that God would give him a disposition contentedly to enjoy them.

On the death of Julius II., in February 1513, and the election of Leo X., Castiglione was despatched by the duke of Urbino to Rome, in the character of ambassador to the holy see; where he obtained the particular favour of the pope, who confirmed to him the grant of his territory of Nuvellara, and manifested on all occasions the greatest respect for his talents and opinions, particularly on subjects of taste. He had now frequent opportunities of enjoying the society of his former friends; among whom were Sadoleti, Bembo, Filippo Beroaldo the younger, the poet Tebaldeo, and Federigo Fregoso, archbishop of Salerno, nephew of the duchess of Urbino. He maintained a strict intimacy with Michelagnolo, with Raffaello, and with the many other eminent artists then resident at Rome; nor was there perhaps any person of his age whose opinion was with more confidence resorted to, on account of his judgment in architecture, painting, sculpture, and other works of art; insomuch, that it is said that Raffaello himself was frequently accustomed to consult him on his most important works.[61] To the predilection of an amateur he united the science of an antiquarian, and was indefatigable in collecting not only the works of the great masters of his own times, but also busts, statues, cameos, and other remains of ancient art.

The marriage of Castiglione, in the beginning of the year 1516, with Ippolita, daughter of the Count Guido Torello, a lady of great accomplishments and high rank, her mother being the daughter of Giovanni Bentivoglio, lord of Bologna, detained him for some time at Mantua. It appears, however, that even after his marriage he continued to spend the chief part of his time at Rome, whilst his wife remained with her friends at Mantua; a circumstance which may be supposed to have given rise to those tender and affectionate remonstrances which he has himself so elegantly expressed in an Ovidian epistle, written in the name of his wife,

[61] Serassi, in Vita del Castiglione, p. 18.

which not only displays many traits in his character and conduct, but affords a satisfactory proof, that as a Latin poet he might justly rank with the most eminent of his contemporaries.[62] The death of his lady, which happened in child-bed, whilst he was still detained at Rome in the character of ambassador, from his relation the marquis of Mantua, rendered him for some time inconsolable. The attention of the cardinals and most distinguished persons in the Roman court was devoted to mitigate his grief, and Leo X., as a mark of his particular esteem, conferred on him, about the same time, a pension of two hundred gold crowns.

On the death of the pontiff, Castiglione remained in Rome until the election of Adrian VI., soon after whose arrival at that city he returned to Mantua; but on the election of Clement VII., in the year 1523, he was again despatched by the marquis of Mantua to Rome. The new pontiff, who was well acquainted with his integrity, talents, and experience, and who had occasion to send an ambassador to the emperor Charles V., selected him for this purpose, and having obtained the consent of the marquis of Mantua, despatched him to Madrid, where he arrived in the month of March, 1525, greatly honoured, as he expresses it, throughout his whole journey, but especially on his arrival at Madrid; where the emperor received him with particular attention and kindness. Whilst he was engaged in this mission, and endeavouring to the utmost of his abilities to reconcile the differences between the European powers, he received the alarming intelligence of the capture and sacking of the city of Rome, and of the imprisonment of the supreme pontiff. The extreme grief which he experienced on this occasion was rendered still more poignant, by a letter from the pope, complaining that he had not given him timely information, so as to enable him to avoid the disaster. This produced a long justificatory reply from

[62] This piece, entitled "Hippolyta, Balthasari Castilioni Conjugi," has given rise to an erroneous opinion, that the lady of Castiglione wrote Latin poetry; but although it affords no positive evidence of this circumstance, yet it is not improbable, that the ideas and sentiments it contains were such as were conveyed to him by his wife during his absence, and which he has thought proper to transpose into Latin verse. *Vide* Carm. Illust. Poet., edit. Venet. 1548, p. 171.

Castiglione, in which he recapitulates his efforts and his services, both before and after this unfortunate event, the plan of which had not been laid in Spain, but in Italy, and asserts, that he had prevailed on the Spanish prelates to suspend the performance of divine offices, and to address themselves in a body to the emperor to demand the liberation of their chief, the vicar of Christ on earth. By these representations he succeeded in removing the unfounded prepossessions which the pope had entertained against him; but the wound which his own sensibility had received from these imputations, was too deep to admit of a cure. The favours of the emperor, who conferred on him the privileges of a denizen in Spain, and nominated him bishop of Avila, which see produced a large revenue, were insufficient to restore him to his former tranquillity; and a feverish indisposition of six days' continuance, terminated his life at Toledo, on the second day of February, 1529, at the age of little more than fifty years. His eulogy was pronounced in a few words, but with great justice, by the emperor himself, who, on this event, said to Lodovico Strozzi, nephew of Castiglione, "I assure you we have lost one of the most accomplished gentlemen of the age."[63]

His Libro del Cortegiano.

The celebrated "Libro del Cortegiano," which had engaged the attention of Castiglione for several years, was terminated in 1518, when it was sent by its author to Bembo, that he might revise it and give his opinion upon it. Castiglione was, however, in no haste to commit it to the press, the first edition being printed in the year 1528, by the successors of Aldo at Venice. Of a work which has been so generally read, and

[63] The body of Castiglione was interred in the Metropolitan church of Toledo, whence it was afterwards removed by his daughter to the church of the *Frati Minori*, at Mantua, and deposited in a handsome chapel erected for that puprose, with the following inscription, written by Bembo:—

BALDASSARI CASTILIONI MANTUANO,
OMNIBUS NATURÆ DOTIBUS, PLURIMIS BONIS ARTIBUS, ORNATO; GRÆCIS LITERIS ERUDITO; IN LATINIS ET ETRUSCIS ETIAM POETÆ; OPPIDO NEBULARIÆ IN PISAUREN. OB VIRT. MILIT. DONATO; DUABUS OBITIS LEGATIONIBUS, BRITANNICA ET ROMANA; HISPANIENSEM CUM AGERET, AC RES CLEMENTIS VII. PONT. MAX. PROCURARET, QUATUORQUE LIBROS DE INSTITUENDA REGUM FAMILIA PERSCRIPSISSET; POSTREMO CUM CAROLUS V. IMPERATOR EPISCOPUM ABULÆ CREARI MANDASSET; TOLETI VITA FUNCTO, MAGNI APUD OMNES GENTES NOMINIS. QUI VIX. ANNOS L. MENS II. DIEM I. ALOYSIA GONZAGA, CONTRA VOTUM SUPERSTES. FIL. B. M. P. ANNO DOMINI MDXXIX.

which has been translated into most of the modern languages of Europe, a particular account is now superfluous. It may, however, be observed, that although this treatise professes only to define the qualifications of a perfect courtier, yet it embraces a great variety of subjects; insomuch that there are few questions of importance, either in science or morals, which are not therein touched upon or discussed. The merit of the work is greatly enhanced by a pervading rectitude of principle, by the inculcation of true sentiments of honour, and by precepts of magnanimity, of propriety, of temperance, of modesty, and of decorum, which render it equally fit for perusal in all times, by both sexes, and by every rank. The style, although confessedly not uniformly Tuscan, is pure and elegant, and if we could excuse in some of the interlocutors a prolixity which seems to have been common to the age, this production might be esteemed a perfect model of colloquial composition.[64]

Novel writers.

To enumerate among the moralists the writers of novels and romances, may scarcely be thought allowable; yet as human life and manners are their professed subjects, they may perhaps, without any great impropriety, be noticed on this occasion. It is true their end is, in general, rather to amuse than to instruct; and if we may judge from the works of this nature which were produced in the time of Leo X., they were rather calculated to counteract than to promote those maxims of virtue and decency, which the moralist is most earnest to inculcate. The earliest collection of novels, and perhaps one of the earliest specimens that now remains of the Italian language, is the "Cento Novelle Antiche,"[65] of which numerous copies

[64] Castiglione has also left a few poetical compositions in his native tongue, which display equal elegance with his Latin writings. Both Mr. Henke and Count Bossi have adverted to the opinion of J. C. Scaliger, who had no hesitation in placing the Latin poems of Castiglione in competition with the most excellent productions of antiquity, and as presenting the grandeur of the ideas of *Lucan*, and the elegance of the style of *Virgil*. *Vide* Germ. Ed. vol. iii. p. 286, Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 268.*

[65] "Le ciento Novelle Antike. Fiori di Parlare, di belle cortesie, e di belle valentie e doni secondo ke per lo tempo passato anno fatto molti valentiuomini. In Bologna, nelle case di Girolamo Benedetti, 1525." This edition was published at the instance of Bembo by his friend Carlo Gualteruzzi, who preserved throughout the ancient orthography; but Zeno met with an edition without note of date or place, which he supposed to be of greater antiquity. *Vide* Note al Fontanini,

existed before the time of Boccaccio, who has occasionally been indebted to it for the materials of some of his tales.[66] This production is wholly different from the "Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles," which is an original French work of much later date, and is supposed to have been written for the amusement of Louis XI. before his accession to the throne, and during his retreat to the castle of Guénépe, in Brabant, between the years 1457 and 1461.[67] Soon after the publication of the "Decamerone," which, whatever may be thought of its moral tendency, certainly contributed in an eminent degree to purify and polish the Italian tongue, several other writers employed their talents on similar subjects. The novels of Franco Sacchetti appeared about the year 1376;[68] those of Giovanni-Fiorentino, under the name of "Pecorone," in 1378;[69] and those of Masuccio Salernitano, under the title of "Cento Novelle," soon after the year 1400.[70] These writers were, however, rather collectors of singular incidents and extraordinary facts, than original inventors of their own stories, as sufficiently appears from a comparison of their narratives with the historians of their own and preceding times.[71] In the year 1483, Giovanni Sabadino Degli Arienti of Bologna published a work consisting of seventy novels, and entitled "Porrettane," from their being supposed to have been narrated at the baths of that name, which he inscribed to Ercole d'Este, duke of Ferrara.[72] The celebrity of these productions was, however,

vol. ii. p. 181. Count Bossi is of opinion, that the "Cento Novelle Antiche" do not exhibit one of the earliest specimens of the Italian language, and thinks them probably not earlier than the fourteenth century. He has also given a specimen from a MS. in his own possession, of a fragment of a romance, or novel, which begins, "*Incipit liber Panfili,*" and is followed by the words "*e panfilo parla en lo començamento sovra si medesemo,*" which he thinks is of much earlier date, and as presenting the *primordj*, or *incunaboli*, of the Italian language; but for a further account of which I must refer to Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 269.*

[66] Manni Istoria del Decamerone, p. 153.

[67] Menagiana, tom. iii. p. 401.

[68] The best edition is that of Florence, 1724, 2 vols, 8vo.

[69] Printed at Milan, 1558, and several times reprinted.

[70] Printed at Venice, 1510, 1531, 1541, &c.

[71] Manni Istoria del Decamerone, p. 134. Count Bossi has observed, that many historical facts would have been lost had they not been preserved in the writings of the novelists; that they frequently serve to verify a date, to clear up some doubtful point, or to commemorate some illustrious person of the time; on which account he had long intended to write *a dissertation on the historical utility of the Novelists.* Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 161.*

[72] The first edition, in folio, 1483, is extremely rare. *Vide* Pinelli, Sale Catal. No. 4283. These novels were reprinted at Venice, by Marchio Sesso, 1531, 8vo.

greatly surpassed in the beginning of the ensuing century, by the writings of Matteo Bandello, which have given him a rank in this department of letters, second only to Boccaccio himself.

Matteo Bandello.

Bandello was born at Castelnuovo, in the district of Tortona, and repaired at an early age to Rome, where he remained for some years under the patronage of his uncle, Vincenzio Bandello, general of the order of Dominicans, with whom he also travelled through various parts of Italy, France, Spain, and Germany, where it was the duty of the general to inspect the convents of his order.[73] After the death of his uncle, at the convent of Altomonte, in Calabria, in the year 1506, Bandello passed a considerable part of his time at the court of Milan, where he had the honour of instructing the celebrated Lucrezia Gonzaga, in whose praise he wrote an Italian poem, which still remains, and where he formed an intimacy with many eminent persons of the age, as appears from the dedicatory epistles prefixed to his novels. Having early enrolled himself in the order of Dominicans in a fraternity at Milan, he entered deeply into the ecclesiastical and political affairs of the times, and after various vicissitudes of fortune, obtained at length the bishopric of Agen, in France, conferred on him by Henry II. Whilst he was thus engaged in frequent journeys and public transactions, he omitted no opportunity of collecting historical anecdotes and narratives of extraordinary events, as materials for his novels, which were composed at different periods of his life, as occasion and inclination concurred. These tales, of which three large volumes were collected and published by him after he had obtained his episcopal dignity, under the title of "Le Novelle del Bandello,"[74] bear the peculiar character which in general distinguishes the literary productions of the ecclesiastics of that age from those of the laity, and are no less remarkable for the indecency of the incidents, than for the natural simplicity with which they are related. Some of the literary

[73] Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. vol. iii. p. 201.

[74] They were printed at Lucca, in 1554, in 4to; a fourth volume was afterwards published at Lyons, 1574, 8vo. They have since been several times reprinted, particularly in London, 1740, in 4 vols, 4to.

historians of Italy have endeavoured to extenuate that want of decorum in these writings, which they cannot entirely defend,[75] whilst others have congratulated themselves, that the appearance of so scandalous a work at so critical a period, did not afford the reformers those advantages which they might have obtained, had they known how to avail themselves of them.[76] In point of composition, these novels, although much inferior to those of Boccaccio, are written with a degree of vivacity and nature which seldom fails to interest the reader, and which, combined with the singularity of the incidents, will probably secure a durable, although not a very honourable reputation to the author.[77]

Pietro Aretino.

Whilst Bandello was collecting the materials for his works, the precincts of literature were polluted by the intrusion of an author yet more disgracefully notorious, the unprincipled and licentious Pietro Aretino. Were it the object of the present pages to collect only such circumstances as might confer honour on the age, the name of this writer might well be omitted, but the depravity of taste and morals is no less an object of inquiry than their excellency. The life of Aretino may be denominated the triumph of effrontery. His birth was illegitimate. The little learning which he possessed was obtained from the books which in his early years it was his business to bind.[78] He was driven from his native city of Arezzo, for having been the author of a satirical sonnet, and having afterwards found a shelter in Perugia, he there gave a further specimen of his indecorum, by an alteration made by him in a picture on a sacred subject. An early confidence in his own talents induced him to pay a visit to Rome, where he arrived on foot, and without any other effects than the apparel which he wore. Being retained in the service of the eminent merchant Agostino Chigi, he was dismissed on account of having been detected in a theft. He then

[75] Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. vol. iii. p 204.

[76] Tirab. vol. vii. par. iii. p. 93.

[77] But see the observations of Count Bossi on this subject in Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 273, where much additional information will be found respecting this author.*

[78] Mazzuch. Vita di Pietro Aretino, p. 14. Ediz. Brescia, 1763, 8vo. This work of the Count Giammaria Mazzuchelli, however unworthy the subject of it may be, may justly be considered as a perfect specimen of literary biography.

became a domestic of the cardinal di S. Giovanni, on whose death he obtained an employment in the Vatican under Julius II., by whose orders he was, however, soon afterwards expelled from the court. On an excursion which he made into Lombardy, he rendered himself remarkable by the extreme licentiousness of his conduct, which did not prevent him from being received at Ravenna into a confraternity of monks. On his second visit to Rome he found the pontifical chair filled by Leo X., who, considering him as a man of talents, admitted him to a share of that bounty which he so liberally dispensed on all who did, and on many who did not deserve it; and Aretino has himself boasted, that on one occasion he received from this pontiff a present in money to a princely amount. The protection of Leo was accompanied by that of the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who, on his becoming supreme pontiff by the name of Clement VII., continued his favour to Aretino. These obligations are confessed by himself in various parts of his writings;[79] yet, with an ingratitude and an inconsistency which marked the whole of his conduct, he complained, long after the death of both these pontiffs, that, in return for all his services, they had only repaid him with cruelties and injuries.[80] Being compelled to abandon the city of Rome, on account of the share which he had in the indecent set of prints designed by Giulio Romano, and engraved by Marc-Antonio Raimondo, to which Aretino had furnished Italian verses,[81] he engaged in the service of the distinguished commander, Giovanni de' Medici, captain of the *Bande nere*, whose favour he obtained in an uncommon degree, and who died in his arms in the month of December, 1526, of a wound from the shot of a musket. The credit which he had acquired by the friendship of this eminent soldier,

[79] In one of his letters, vol. iii. fogl. 86, he acknowledges to have received, *dalla santa memoria di Leone danari in real somma.* Mazz. in Vita, p. 19.

[80] Lettere del Aretin. vol. iii. p. 16

[81] For this scandalous publication the engraver, Marc-Antonio, was committed to prison by the orders of Clement VII., whence he was only liberated on the entreaties of the cardinal (Ippolito) de' Medici, and Baccio Bandinelli. Vasari, Vite de' Pittori, vol. ii. p. 420. It is highly probable that the few impressions which were printed have all been destroyed. Even those which are preserved in the library of the Vatican are not by Marc-Antonio. Heineke, Dict. des Artistes, vol. i. p. 357. But see note of Count Bossi in Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 276.

recommended him to the notice of many of the most celebrated men of the times.[82] From this period he fixed his residence at Venice, and resolved not to attach himself to any patron, but to enjoy his freedom, and to procure his own subsistence by the exercise of his talents and the labours of his pen.

It would be as disgusting to enter into an examination of the indecent and abominable writings of Aretino, as it would be tiresome to peruse those long and tedious pieces on religious subjects, by which he most probably sought to counterbalance, in the public opinion, the profaneness of his other productions. It may, indeed, truly be said, that of all the efforts of his abilities, in prose and in verse, whether sacred or profane, epic or dramatic, panegyrical or satirical, and notwithstanding their great number and variety, not one piece exists which in point of literary merit is entitled to approbation; yet the commendations which Aretino received from his contemporaries are beyond example; and by his unblushing effrontery and the artful intermixture of censure and adulation, he contrived to lay under contribution almost all the sovereigns and eminent men of his time. Francis I. not only presented him with a chain of gold, and afforded him other marks of his liberality, but requested that the pope would allow him the gratification of his society. Henry VIII. sent him at one time three hundred gold crowns,[83] and the emperor Charles V. not only allowed him a considerable pension, but on Aretino being introduced to him by the duke of Urbino on his way to Peschiera, placed him on his right hand and rode with him in intimate conversation. The distinctions which he obtained by his adulatory sonnets and epistles, from Julius III., were yet more extraordinary. The present of a thousand gold crowns was accompanied by a papal bull, nominating him a *Cava-*

[82] In one of his Capitoli addressed to Cosmo I. duke of Florence, Aretino reminds him of the intimacy that had subsisted between himself and Giovanni de' Medici, the father of the duke. Opere Burlesche di Berni, &c. vol. iii. p. 14. Ed. Fir. 1723.

[83] It has also been supposed that Henry VIII. had left him a legacy in his will. See a curious dedicatory letter on this subject from William Thomas, clerk of the closet to Edward VI., and a prebendary of St. Paul's, addressed *To Mr. Peter Aretine, the right natural poet;* in Sir Richard Clayton's translation of Tenhove's Memoirs of the House of Medici, vol. ii. p. 200.

liere of the order of *S. Pietro*, to which dignity was also annexed an annual income. These favours and distinctions, which were imitated by the inferior sovereigns and chief nobility of Europe, excited the vanity of Aretino to such a degree, that he entertained the strongest expectations of being created a cardinal; for the reception of which honour he had actually begun to make preparations.[84] He assumed the titles of *Il Divino*, and *Il Flagello de' Principi*. Medals were struck in honour of him, representing him decorated with a chain of gold, and on the reverse the princes of Europe bringing to him their tribute. Even his mother and his daughter were represented in medals with appropriate inscriptions. His portrait was frequently painted by the best artists of the time, and particularly by the celebrated Titiano, with whom he lived in habits of intimacy; insomuch that it may justly be asserted, that, from the days of Homer to the present, no person who founded his claims to public favour merely on his literary talents, ever obtained one half of the honours and emoluments which were lavished on this illiterate pretender.

Great, however, as these distinctions were, they were not enjoyed by Aretino without considerable deductions, and frequent mortifications and disgrace. In the pontificate of Leo X. he was twice in danger of his life from the attacks of those whom he had calumniated, and on one occasion owed his escape only to the interference of his friend Ferraguto di Lazzara. He also met with a firm opponent in the respectable and learned Giammatteo Ghiberti, bishop of Verona and apostolic datary, who used all his efforts to strip the mask from this shameless impostor. A still more formidable adversary appeared under the pontificate of Clement VII., in Achille della Volta, a gentleman of Bologna, then resident in Rome, on whom Aretino had written a satirical sonnet, and who repaid him with five wounds of a dagger, one of which was for some time supposed to be mortal. In consequence of a lampoon, written by Aretino when at Venice, against the distinguished commander

[84] Mazzuch. Vita dell' Aretino, p. 70. He afterwards boasted that he had refused the cardinalate. Lettere, vol. vi. p. 293. Mazz. p. 73.

Pietro Strozzi, who, in the year 1542, wrested from the Imperialists the fortress of Marano, that haughty soldier gave him to understand, that if he repeated the insult he would have him assassinated even in his bed; in consequence of which he lived under great apprehensions as long as Strozzi remained in the Venetian territories.[85] A singular interview is said to have taken place between Aretino and Tintoretto the painter, on whom he had lavished his abuse. Tintoretto having invited him to his house under the pretext of painting his portrait, seated him in a chair as if for that purpose; but instead of taking up his pencils, the painter drew from his bosom a large pistol, which he levelled at Aretino. The conscious and terrified libeller cried out for mercy, when Tintoretto said with great gravity, *Compose yourself whilst I take measure of you*, and moving the direction of the pistol slowly from head to foot, he added, *I find you are just the length of two pistols and a half.* Aretino understood the lesson, and from this time avowed himself the painter's warmest friend.[86] On another occasion he incurred the resentment of the English ambassador at Venice, by insolently insinuating that he had detained in his hands the money remitted by his sovereign as a present to Aretino; in consequence of which the ambassador is said to have hired six or seven persons to attack him with cudgels, which he represented as a design to murder him.[87] There is good reason to believe that Aretino experienced on many occasions similar treatment; on which account Boccalini has humorously called him "the loadstone of clubs and daggers;" adding, "that those persons who were as ready of hand as he was of speech, had left their marks in such a manner on his face, his breast, and his arms, that he was streaked all over like a chart of navigation."

Nor did the arrogance and effrontery of Aretino escape the reprehension of his numerous literary adversaries, who availed themselves of every opportunity to render him an

[85] Mazzuch. Vita dell' Aretino, p. 74.

[86] Ridolfi, Vite de' Pittori Veneziani, par. ii. p. 58.

[87] This circumstance is referred to in many of the letters of Aretino, cited by Mazzuchelli In the Appendix will also be found a letter on this subject from Aretino to Sir Philip Hoby, the English ambassador at the Imperial Court, which has not before been published. *Vide* App. No. XCIII.

object of ridicule and contempt; as a contrast to the ostentatious medals which he had caused to be struck in honour of himself, others were made public, exhibiting his resemblance on one side, and on the other a most indecent device, as emblematical of his character and writings. On the report of his being mortally wounded by Achille della Volta in Rome, Girolamo Casio, a cavalier of Bologna, wrote a sonnet of exultation, and on his recovery another equally satirical and vehement.[88] The enmity of the good prelate Ghiberti was seconded by the keen satire of Berni, who was employed by him in his office as datary of the holy see, and who produced a sonnet against Aretino, which in point of vivacity, scurrility, and humour, has perhaps never been equalled;[89] but the most inveterate enemy of Aretino, was Nicolò Franco, who, after having been for some time his assistant in the composition of his various works, became at length his rival, and whilst he at least equalled him in virulence and licentiousness, greatly surpassed him in learning and abilities. On being driven by Aretino from his house, and finding that Aretino, on reprinting the first volume of his letters, had omitted some passages in which he had before spoken of him with great approbation, Franco was so exasperated that he attacked his adversary in a series of indecent, satirical, and ludicrous sonnets, which he continued to pour forth against him, until he had completed a volume. In defiance of decency this collection has been several times reprinted, and is certainly not less disgraceful to the memory of its author than to that of his opponent.[90] Other persons

[88] These sonnets are given by Mazzuchelli, Vita dell' Aretino, pp. 31, 32.

[89] This production is a masterpiece in its way, and although frequently reprinted, ought not to be omitted on this occasion. *Vide* App. No. XCIV.

[90] "Delle Rime di M. Nicolò Franco contra Pietro Aretino, et della priapea del medesimo." The first edition was in 1541, and bears date at Turin, but was, in fact, printed at Casale; the second in 1546, and the third in 1548; besides these, a modern edition of the "Priapea" was published, with the "Vendemmiatore" of Luigi Tansillo, *a* Pe-King, *regnante Kien-Long, nel* xviii. *secolo*, probably printed at Paris. These productions of Franco are well characterised by Tiraboschi: "Le più grossolane oscenità, la più libera maledicenza, e il più ardito disprezzo de' principi, de' Romani pontefici, de' padri del Concilio di Trento, e di più altri gravissimi personaggi, sono le gemme di cui egli adorna questo suo infame lavoro." Storia della Lett. Ital. vol. vii. par. iii. p. 14. At the close of his work is a letter addressed, *Agli infami principi dell' infame suo secolo, Nic. Franco, Beneventano*, in which he upbraids all the sovereigns of his time, in the grossest terms, for conferring their favours on such a wretch as Pietro Aretino; a reproof which they well

of much more respectable character also animadverted with great severity on the conduct and writings of Aretino; and if on the one hand he was flattered as an earthly divinity, on the other he was treated as the outcast of society, and the opprobrium of the human race.[91]

The death of Aretino is said to have resembled his life. Being informed of some outrageous instance of obscenity committed by his sisters, who were courtesans at Venice, he was suddenly affected with so violent a fit of laughter that he overturned his chair, and thereby received an injury on his head which terminated his days. This story, however extraordinary, is not wholly discredited by the accurate Mazzuchelli; who further informs us, although, as he admits, on doubtful evidence, that when Aretino was on the point of death, and had received extreme unction, he exclaimed,

"Guardatemi da topi, or che son unto."
Greased as I am, preserve me from the rats.

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merited, but which loses its effect from the indecent language in which it is conveyed. The scurrility of Franco met, however, with a severe retribution. In the year 1569, he was seized upon at Rome, by the orders of Pius V., and publicly hanged as a criminal. On being brought out for execution, his venerable appearance and hoary head excited universal compassion, and his exclamation, "Questo poiè troppo pur," so remarkable for its *naïveté* on such an occasion, and which was the only complaint he uttered, was assented to by all present. A satirical epigram, written by Franco, against the pope, is supposed to have incurred his resentment. This epigram is given in the Menagiana, tom. ii. p. 358. But Franco had, in his sonnets, committed much greater offences, and had, in particular, alluded to the atrocious conduct of Pier-Luigi Farnese, the son of Paul III., which is fully related by Varchi, at the end of his Florentine history, and exhibits the most horrible instance of diabolical depravity that ever disgraced human nature. That Franco was a man of real learning, appears from his various other works, among which is a translation of the "Iliad" of Homer, in *ottava rima*, which is said to be preserved in the Albani library, at Rome. *Vide* Tirab. vol. vii. par. iii. p. 15, in nota.

[91] For much additional information respecting Aretino, and his adversary Nicolò Franco, I must refer the reader to the notes in the German and Italian editions, chap. xx. *passim*. I cannot, however, forbear, on this occasion, from laying before the reader the following just and eloquent observations of Count Bossi in their original language:—"Gli onori prodigati all' Aretino dai Principi e dai Plebei, dai grandi e dai piccoli, dagli ecclesiastici e dai laici, dai dotti e dagli indotti, da ogni grado, da ogni ceto di persone, in confronto di tanti letterati di grandissimo merito trascurati, prova l'inclinazione dell' umana natura al male anzichè al bene, alla sfrontezza anzichè alla modestia, alla licenza anzichè alla morigeratezza, almeno nello stato attuale dell' civilizzazione in Europa. Se ne ha pure altra prova evidente nelle molte ristampe che si son fatte de' suoi libri, malgrado le più severe proibizioni, e nel numero degli scrittori, che si son dati ad imitarlo, e che hanno anche adottato con compiacenza il di lui nome, &c." Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 278.*

The enemies of Aretino, not appeased by his death, have commemorated him by an epitaph as profane as his own writings, which has been repeated, with several variations, in the Italian, French, and Latin languages, and is erroneously supposed to have been engraven on his tomb in the church of S. Luca, in Venice.

"Qui giace l'Aretin, poeta Tosco,
Che disse mal d'ognun, fuorchè di Dio,
Scusandosi col dir, *Non lo conosco.*"

Medal of Castiglione.

The interior of the Vatican Library.

CHAPTER XXI.

1521.

Vicissitudes and final establishment of the Laurentian Library—Leo X. increases the Library of the Vatican—Custodi, or keepers of the Vatican Library—Lorenzo Parmenio—Fausto Sabeo—Learned Librarians of the Vatican in the pontificate of Leo X.—Tomaso Fedro Inghirami—Filippo Beroaldo—Zanobio Acciaiuoli—Girolamo Aleandro—Other Libraries in Rome—Historians in the time of Leo X.—Nicolò Machiavelli—His History of Florence—Estimate of his political writings—Filippo de' Nerli—Jacopo Nardi—Francesco Guicciardini—His history of Italy—Paullo Giovio—His historical works—Miscellaneous writers—Pierio Valeriano—Celio Calcagnini—Lilio Gregorio Gyraldi.

Vicissitudes and establishment of the Laurentian library. 1521. Æt. 46. Pont. IX.

By no circumstance in the character of an individual is the love of literature so strongly evinced, as by the propensity for collecting together the writings of illustrious scholars, and compressing "the soul of ages past" within the narrow limits of a library. Few persons have experienced this passion in an equal degree with Leo X., and still fewer have had an equal opportunity of gratifying it. We have already seen, that in the year 1508, whilst he was yet a cardinal, he had purchased from the monks of the convent of S. Marco at Florence, the remains of the celebrated library of his ancestors, and had transferred it to his own house at Rome.[1]

[1] *Vide ante*, chap. xi. The sum paid by the cardinal to the monks of S. Marco was 2,652 ducats. Bandin. Præf ad vol. i. Catal. MSS. Græc. Bib. Laurent. p. 13.

Unwilling, however, to deprive his native place of so invaluable a treasure, he had not, on his elevation to the pontificate, thought proper to unite this collection with that of the Vatican; but had entrusted it to the care of the learned Varino Camerti; intending again to remove it to Florence, as to the place of its final destination. This design, which he was prevented from executing by his untimely death, was afterwards carried into effect by the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who, before he attained the supreme dignity, had engaged the great artist Michel-Agnolo Bonarotti, to erect the magnificent and spacious edifice near the church of S. Lorenzo, at Florence, where these inestimable treasures were afterwards deposited;[2] and where, with considerable additions from subsequent benefactors, they yet remain, forming an immense collection of manuscripts of the oriental, Greek, Roman, and Italian writers, now denominated the "Bibliotheca Mediceo-Laurentiana.[3]

The care of Leo X. in the preservation of his domestic

[2] Over the great doors which open into the hall, the following inscription appears on marble:—

DEO
PRÆSIDIBUSQUE FAMILIÆ DIVIS
CLEMENS VII. MEDICES
PONT. MAX.
LIBRIS OPT. STUDIO MAJORUM
ET SUO UNDIQUE CONQUISITIS
BIBLIOTHECAM
AD ORNAMENTUM PATRIÆ AC
CIVIUM SUORUM UTILITATEM
D. D.

[3] An ample and well-arranged catalogue of the Greek, Latin, and Italian MSS. in this library has been published by the learned Canonico Angelo-Maria Bandini, who held the office of librarian from the year 1756 to the time of his death, in 1803, in 11 vols, folio. This great work, which has opened the treasures of the Laurentian library to the literary world, was published at the instance of the emperor Francis I., who presented the compiler with a sum of money towards the expense, and made him promises of further assistance, which were defeated by the untimely death of that munificent sovereign. In the letters of the venerable Canonico to the author of the present work, he laments the want of that patronage to which his labours were so justly entitled: "Pubblicai a mie spese, il Catalogo ragionato della *Biblioteca Laurentiana;* benchè mi mancasse il mio Protettore Francesco I. Imperatore, che mi animò ad intraprenderlo con lusinghiere speranze; che dopo la di lui improvvisa morte svanirono; perchè chi succedè non era niente portato per questi studi." A catalogue of the oriental manuscripts was before published by the learned Evodio Asseman, archbishop of Apamea, Florence, 1742, fo. And the Canonico Anton Maria Biscioni, who preceded Bandini in the office of librarian of the Laurentian, also printed at Florence, in the year 1752, the first volume, in folio, of a catalogue which contains also the oriental MSS., but which was not published until after his death.

Leo X. increases the library of the Vatican.

library, did not, however, prevent him from bestowing the most sedulous attention in augmenting that which was destined to the use of himself and his successors in the palace of the Vatican. This collection, begun by that excellent and learned sovereign, Nicholas V., and greatly increased by succeeding pontiffs, was already deposited in a suitable edifice, erected for that purpose by Sixtus IV., and was considered as the most extensive assemblage of literary productions in all Italy. The envoys employed by Leo X. on affairs of state in various parts of Europe, were directed to avail themselves of every opportunity of obtaining these precious remains of antiquity, and men of learning were frequently despatched to remote and barbarous countries for the sole purpose of discovering and rescuing these works from destruction.[4] Nor did the pontiff hesitate to render his high office subservient to the promotion of an object, which he considered as of the utmost importance to the interests of literature, by requiring the assistance of the other sovereigns of christendom in giving effect to his researches. In the year 1517, he despatched as his envoy, John Heytmers de Zonvelben, on a mission to Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Gothland, for the sole purpose of inquiring after literary works, and particularly historical compositions. This envoy was furnished with letters from the pope to the different sovereigns through whose dominions he had to pass, earnestly entreating them to pro-

[4] Bossi has pointed out a passage in the poem of Arsilli, "de Poetis Urbanis," where mention is made of *Francesco Calvo*, or *Calvi*, who traversed all the nations of Europe in search of books,

"Quantum Europæ tingitur oceano;"

and particularly Spain, France, Germany, and the "*Caledonii dives terra Britanni*." As Calvo is said to have been expressly sent to recover the books which had been carried away by the rapacity of war, Bossi is inclined to think he was one of the envoys employed by Leo X., and that under the name of *Calvo*, the author meant to refer to *Fausto Sabeo*, whose services to the cause of literature, as related by himself, precisely agree with those of Calvo, enumerated by Arsilli. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. x. p.,94. It is, however, more probable, that, as many persons were undoubtedly employed in the same pursuit, the name of *Calvo* is to be added to those who distinguished themselves in that employment. In fact, we find the name of *Francesco Calvi* mentioned in another part of the work, where he is said to have been characterised by Frobenius and Erasmus, as *uomo eruditissimo;* although it appears he became a bookseller at Pavia, an employment not inconsistent with his former occupation. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. xii. p. 246.*

mote the object of his visit by every means in their power. Some of these letters yet remain, and afford a decisive proof of the ardour with which Leo X. engaged in this pursuit.[5] With a similar view he despatched to Venice the celebrated Agostino Beazzano, whom he furnished with letters to the doge Loredano, directing him to spare no expense in the acquisition of manuscripts of the Greek authors. Efforts so persevering could not fail of success; and the Vatican library, during the pontificate of Leo X., was augmented by many valuable works, which without his vigilance and liberality would probably have been lost to the world.[6]

Custodi or keepers of the Vatican library.

Lorenzo Parmenio.

On his attaining the pontifical dignity, Leo X. found the office of *Custode*, or keeper of the Vatican library, entrusted to Lorenzo Parmenio, who had been appointed by Julius II. in the year 1511, probably as a reward for the various productions in Latin verse, in which he has celebrated the civil and military transactions of his patron.[7] Although Parmenio survived until the year 1529, yet it appears that Leo X. conferred the office of *Custode* on Fausto Sabeo, of Brescia, but whether as a coadjutor with Parmenio, or as his successor, and at what precise period, has not been sufficiently ascertained.[8] Before his

Fausto Sabeo.

[5] M. de Seidel, privy counsellor to his Prussian Majesty, communicated to the learned Bayle, copies of two original letters, or briefs, of Leo X., in the handwriting of Sadoleti; the one of them addressed to the archbishop elector of Mentz, requesting him to assist his envoy Heytmers, in his inquiries after ancient MSS.: the other, probably to the canons of Magdebourg, with particular inquiries respecting the "Decades" of Livy; all of which are said to have been then preserved in the library of that place. These letters Bayle published in his great work, Art. Leon. X. tom. iii. p. 655. Another letter to the same effect was also addressed by Leo X. to Christian II., king of Denmark, which is mentioned by Bayle to have been published in the "Nova literaria Maris Balthici et Septentrionis." Not being able to procure this work, I had recourse to the assistance of the learned Sig. Abate Giacopo Morelli, librarian of S. Marco, at Venice, who has obligingly enabled me to lay also a copy of this very interesting letter before my readers. *Vide* App. No. XCV.

[6] Of the efforts made in Italy at this period for collecting books, as well MSS. as printed, the reader may find a further account in Ital. Ed. vol. x. p. 90.*

[7] One of the poems of Parmenio, entitled, "De cladibus per Gallos Italiæ allatis, et de triumpho Julii II. Pont. Max." is preserved in the Laurentian library, Plut. lxv. Cod. 51. Another piece, "De operibus et rebus gestis Julii II. Pont. Max.," has been published. *Vide* Anec. Rom. vol. iii. ap. Tirab. vol. vii. par. i. p. 201, nota.

[8] Tiraboschi positively informs us, that Parmenio held the office from 1511 to the time of his death in 1522, but which should be 1529, either of which periods includes the whole pontificate of Leo X.; yet he afterwards as positively asserts,

nomination to this trust, which he is said to have held under six succeeding pontiffs, Sabeo had been employed by Leo X. in exploring distant regions for ancient manuscripts, as appears from several of his Latin epigrams; a collection of which was published at Rome in the year 1556.[9] In some of these he boasts of the important services which he had rendered to the pontiff, and complains that his remuneration had not been equal to his merits. After the death of Leo X. he addressed a short poem to Clement VII., in which he bestows on Leo the appellations of bountiful, magnanimous, and learned, and laments his death with apparent sincerity, although at the same time he positively asserts that he never received any reward for all his services; an assertion which would be better entitled to credit, if Sabeo had not indulged himself in similar complaints against all the pontiffs, by whose favour he continued in that office, which had been first conferred upon him by the liberality of Leo X.

In the year 1527, when the city of Rome was captured and plundered by the banditti under the duke of Bourbon,[10] the Vatican library partook of the general calamity, and many of the valuable works there deposited were seized upon, dispersed, or destroyed by the ignorant and ferocious soldiery. The humiliating and dangerous situation to which Clement VII. was reduced by this unexpected event, prevented him from paying that attention to repair the injury, which from his well-known disposition to the encouragement of literature, there is reason to believe he would otherwise

that Sabeo was appointed by Leo X., without seeming to be aware of any inconsistency. This appointment of Sabeo is also confirmed by various other testimonies, and particularly by cardinal Quirini, in his Spec. Literat. Brixian. p. 171.

[9] "Epigrammatum, Libri V. ad Henricum Regem Galliæ. I. De Diis. II. De Heroibus. III. De Amicis. IV. De Amoribus. V. De Miscellaneis. Romæ, apud Valerium et Aloysium Doricos, Fratres Brixienses. 1556." 8vo.

[10] The horror which this event occasioned at Rome, may, perhaps, be more fully conceived by a particular instance, than by a general description. Giuliano Princivalle of Camerino, a public professor of languages at Rome, who had been appointed by Leo X. to superintend the education of his nephew, the cardinal Innocenzo Cibò, was so shocked at the instances of brutal cruelty which he saw perpetrated by the Spanish and German soldiers, that, in a moment of desperation, he flung himself from a lofty window, and perished by a fall on the pavement. The immediate cause of his terror is assigned by Valeriano: "Cum conspexisset aliquos ex familia per testes arripi, et ea parte alligatos sublimes in supplicium, et absconditi auri questione vexari," &c. Val. de Infel. lit. Of the Latin poetry of Princivalle, a favourable specimen is given by Lancelotto, in his Life of Angelo Colocci, p. 70.

have done. On this occasion the *Custode*, Sabeo, thought it necessary to direct the attention of the pontiff to the wretched state of the collection, which he conceived might be done with the least offence, by addressing to him a Latin poem in elegiac verse. In this piece he boldly personifies the Vatican library under the character of a most abject, miserable, and mutilated figure, that intrudes herself on the pontiff, and represents her services, her calamities, and the claims which she has on his favour.[11] These remonstrances seem, however, to have had little effect during this turbulent period; and it was not until the succeeding pontificate of Paul III. that the library began to revive from its misfortunes, and to recover its former splendour.

Learned librarians of the Vatican.

But besides the *Custode*, or keeper, this celebrated library has also required the attention of a *Bibliotecario*, or librarian;[12] a trust which has generally been conferred on men eminent for their rank, or distinguished by their learning, and for a long time past has been conferred only on a cardinal of the church.[13] At the time of the elevation of Leo X. this office was filled by Tomaso Fedra Inghirami, who had been appointed by Julius II. to succeed Giuliano di Volterra, bishop of Ragusa, in the year 1510. This eminent scholar was descended from a noble family of Volterra, where in the commotions which took place in the year 1472,[14] his father lost his life, and the surviving members of the family, among whom was Tomaso, then only two

Tomaso Fedra Inghirami.

[11] This piece is given by cardinal Quirini, in his Spec. Lit. Brix. p. 173.

[12] Bossi conceives that some error exists here, and that there is no real distinction between *Custos* and *Bibliotecario*, except what arises from the difference of language. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. x. p. 18. If this remark be just, there must have been several librarians employed at the same period. I am therefore inclined to adhere to my own statement, and presume that the title of *Librarian* was given to some eminent ecclesiastic, like Inghirami, who was bishop of Ragusa, and secretary of the conclave on the election of Leo X., and that the inferior office of *Custos* was conferred on the actual *keeper*, who had the immediate care of the collection. Accordingly we find *Sabeo* calling the attention of the pope to the library after the miserable saccage of Rome, in 1527. That such has also been the arrangement in subsequent times, there is not the least doubt.*

[13] Tiraboschi informs us, that the custom of conferring the office of librarian on a cardinal, arose in the time of Paul III., who passed a decree to that effect. *Vide* Storia della Lett. Ital. vol. vii. par. i. p. 200. But Mazzuchelli has thrown some doubts on this circumstance. *Vide* Scrittori d'Ital. vol. i. p. 19.

[14] *Vide* Life of Lorenzo de' Medici.

years of age, sought a shelter at Florence. Being there received under the immediate protection of Lorenzo de' Medici, and having closely attended to his studies, Tomaso, at thirteen years of age, was induced, by the advice of that great man, to pay a visit to Rome, where he made such a rapid progress in his acquirements as to obtain an early and deserved celebrity.[15] Soon after the accession of Alexander VI. he was nominated by that pontiff a canon of S. Pietro, and dignified with the rank of a prelate. In the year 1495, he was sent as papal nuncio into the Milanese, to treat with the emperor elect, Maximilian, on which embassy he had the good fortune to obtain, not only the approbation of the pope, but also the favour of the emperor, who soon after the return of Inghirami to Rome transmitted to him from Inspruck an imperial diploma, by which, after enumerating his various accomplishments, and particularly his excellence in poetry and Latin literature, he created him count palatine and poet laureate, and conceded to him the privilege of emblazoning the Austrian eagle in his family arms. Nor was Inghirami less favoured by Julius II., who, besides appointing him librarian of the Vatican, conferred on him the important office of pontifical secretary, which he afterwards quitted for that of secretary to the college of cardinals, in which capacity he was present in the conclave on the election of Leo X. By the favour of the new pontiff, Inghirami was enriched with many ecclesiastical preferments, and continued in his office of librarian until his death, which was occasioned by an accident in the streets of Rome, on the sixth day of September, 1516, when he had not yet completed the forty-sixth year of his age.[16] To this

[15] He obtained the name of *Fedra*, or Phædra, by a singular instance of talents and promptitude. Having undertaken, with some of his learned friends, to perform before the cardinal of S. Giorgio (Riario) the tragedy of Seneca, entitled "Hippolytus," in which he acted the part of *Phædra*, and a part of the machinery having by accident been broken, which interrupted the performance, he alone entertained the audience whilst the injury was repaired, by the recital of extemporary Latin verse; on which account he was saluted, amidst the applauses of his hearers, by the name of *Phædra*, which he afterwards retained and used as his signature. Elog. di Inghirami. Elog. Tosc. ii. p. 227.

[16] The mule on which he rode took fright at a car drawn by two buffaloes, and threw him on the pavement, near the wheels of the car, which had nearly passed over him; by which, although not materially hurt, he was so terrified, that he did not long survive the accident. Elog. Tosc. vol. ii. p. 236.

unfortunate event, it is probably owing that so few of his writings have reached the present times. From the testimony of his contemporaries, it is well known that he was the author of many learned works. Among these, his surviving friend Giano Parrhasio has enumerated a defence of Cicero, a compendium of the history of Rome, a commentary on the poetics of Horace, and remarks on the comedies of Plautus; but these works were left at his death in an unfinished state, and have since been dispersed and lost. It has been supposed, and not without reason, that the additions to the "Aulularia" of Plautus, first published at Paris in 1513, are from the pen of Inghirami.[17] For that celebrity, of which he has been deprived by the loss of his writings, he has, however, been in some degree compensated by the numerous testimonies of applause conferred upon him by his contemporaries, among whom that of Erasmus is deserving of particular notice.[18]

Filippo Beroaldo

On the death of Inghirami, the office of librarian of the Vatican was conferred by Leo X. on Filippo Beroaldo, usually called Beroaldo the younger. This eminent scholar sprung from a noble family of Bologna, and was the nephew[19] and pupil of Filippo Beroaldo the elder, under whose instructions he made such an early proficiency in the Greek and Latin languages, that in the year 1496, when he was only twenty-six years of age, he was appointed public professor of polite literature in the university of his native place.[20] Having afterwards chosen the city of Rome as his residence, he there attracted the notice of Leo X., then the cardinal de' Medici, who received him into his service, and employed him as his private secretary.[21] After the accession of Leo to the pontificate, Beroaldo was nominated *proposto*, or principal of the Roman academy,[22] which office he probably relinquished on accepting that of librarian of the Vatican. Of his critical talents his edition of Tacitus, before particularly noticed,

17 Elog. Tosc. vol ii. p. 232.
18 Erasm. Ep. lib. xxiii. ep. 4.
19 Lancellotti Vita di Ang. Colocci, p. 52.
20 Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. Art. Beroaldo, vol. iv. p. 1018.
21 Valerian. de Literator. infel. p. 41.
22 Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. vol. iv. p. 1018.

affords a favourable specimen; but Beroaldo stands also eminently distinguished among his countrymen by his talents for Latin poetry; and his three books of odes, first published by him in the year 1530, were received with such applause, particularly by the French nation, that he has had no less than six translators in that country, among whom is the celebrated Clement Marot.[23] From a poem of Marc-Antonio Flaminio addressed to Beroaldo, it appears that he had also undertaken an historical work on the events of his own times, which it is much to be regretted that he did not live to complete. Beroaldo also appears among the admirers of the celebrated Roman courtesan Imperia, and is said to have been jealous of the superior pretensions of Sadoleti to her favour.[24] The warmth of his temperament, indeed, sufficiently appears in some of his poems. His death, which happened in the year 1518, is said to have been occasioned by some vexations which he experienced from the pontiff in his office as librarian;[25] but the authority of Valeriano and his copyists is not implicitly to be relied on, and the epitaph with which Bembo has honoured the memory of Beroaldo, and which explicitly asserts that Leo X. shed tears on his loss, may be considered as a sufficient proof that he retained the favour of the pontiff to the close of his days.

Zanobio Acciajuoli.

The office of librarian of the Vatican, which had become vacant by the death of Beroaldo, was soon afterwards conferred by the pontiff on Zanobio Accia-

[23] Goujet, Bibl. Françoise, ap. Mazzuch. vol. iv. p. 1020. Among the "Traductions de Clement Marot." p. 23, ed. Lyons, 1520, we find, *Les tristes vers de Beroalde sur le "jour du vendredi sainct."*

[24] Lancellotti, Vita di Ang. Colocci. Op. Ital. p. 29, ed. Jesi, 1772, in not. Count Bossi, like a good catholic, is scandalized at an imputation of this nature, brought against so grave and pious an ecclesiastic as Sadoleti, Ital. Ed. vol. x. p. 25; but Mr. Henke has quoted some verses of Filippo Beroaldo, addressed to Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII., which sufficiently elucidate this point:—

> "Minimum sapit mihi, qui
> Contendit sapere anxie.
> Fac lucem hanc hilaremque et genialem,
> Lepidosque combibones
> Acciri jubeas tibi;
> *Sadoletum, Marianum, Imperiamque.*"

Thus, as Mr. H. observes, the man afterwards so serious, appears here in the society of a *prince's jester* and a *fille de joie*. *Vide* Germ. Ed. vol. iii. p. 73.*

[25] Valerian. de Literat. infel. p. 41.

juoli, a descendant of a noble Florentine family, which has produced many eminent men. Zanobio was born in the year 1461, and having, while yet an infant, been banished with his relations, he was recalled when about sixteen years of age, by Lorenzo the Magnificent, and educated by his directions with Lorenzo, the son of Pier-Francesco de' Medici, to whom Zanobio was nearly related. Hence he had frequent intercourse with Politiano, Ficino, and other eminent Florentine scholars, whose favour and friendship he conciliated by his early talents and acquirements. After the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent he became disgusted with the commotions which agitated his native place, and devoting himself to a monastic life, received from the famous Girolamo Savonarola, about the year 1494, the habit of a Dominican. For the more effectual promotion of his ecclesiastical studies, he applied himself with great industry to the acquisition of the Hebrew tongue; but the chief part of his time was devoted to the examination of the Greek manuscripts in the library of the Medici, and in that of S. Marco, at Florence, from which he selected such as had not before been published, with the design of translating them into Latin, and giving them to the world through the medium of the press.[26]

On the elevation of Leo X. Zanobio hastened to Rome, and was received with great kindness by the new pontiff, who enrolled him among his constant attendants, and granted him an honourable stipend, with a residence in the oratory of S. Silvestro. A general chapter of his order being held at Naples, in the year 1515, Zanobio attended there, and in the presence of the viceroy and the general of the order, made an oration in Latin in praise of the city of Naples, which he afterwards published and inscribed to the cardinal of Aragon. Upon his appointment to the office of librarian of the Vatican, he undertook the laborious task of selecting and arranging the ancient public documents there deposited, containing imperial privileges, bulls, and instruments, of which he formed an exact index, and afterwards, by the order of the pope, conveyed them to the castle of

[26] Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Italia, vol. i. p. 51.

S. Angelo.[27] It is highly probable that the unwearied industry of Zanobio abridged his days, as he did not long survive to enjoy his office, having died on the twenty-seventh day of July, 1519. To Zanobio we are indebted for collecting and preserving the Greek epigrams of Politiano, which were recommended to his care by their author in his last moments. Among his remaining works is an oration in praise of the city of Rome, which he dedicated to the cardinal Giulio de' Medici.[28] He translated into Latin verse the Greek address of Marcus Musurus to Leo X. prefixed to the first edition of Plato, and made several other translations from the Greek, some of which he inscribed to that pontiff. His Latin poems have been mentioned with great applause. Among these is a Sapphic ode addressed to Leo X., inciting him to proceed in improving the city of Rome, and particularly in decorating the Esquilian hill.[29] In the library of the convent of S. Marco at Florence, are also preserved a few lines in the hand-writing of Zanobio, in which he has attempted to compliment the pontiff on the happy coincidence of the name of his family with the appellations of his high dignity.

Girolamo Aleandro.

Acciajuoli was succeeded in his office as librarian, by Girolamo Aleandro, who was, however, soon called off from the duties of this station by his embassy to the imperial diet, to oppose the rapid increase of the doctrines of Luther. Of his conduct on that occasion some account has already been given;[30] but of so eminent a scholar, and so extraordinary a man, some further particulars cannot be uninteresting. Were we to rely on the positive assertion of Luther, Aleandro was of Jewish origin; but neither Luther nor his opponents were remarkable for a scrupulous adherence to truth in the characters given by

[27] This index is published by Montfaucon, in the first volume of his "Biblioth. Bibliothecarum MSS." p. 202.

[28] Printed in 4to, without note of place, printer, or year; the address to the cardinal is signed *in S. Sylvestro, Montis Cabal. die* 26 *Maii*, 1518. Mazz. *ut sup.*

[29] This ode, which is now for the first time laid before the public, will perhaps scarcely be thought to confirm the approbation bestowed on the writings of Acciajuoli by his contemporaries; but the relation which it bears to the character of Leo X., and to his munificence in decorating the city of Rome, would alone entitle it to the notice of the reader. *Vide* App. No. XCVI.

[30] *ante*, chap. xix.

them of their adversaries, and this aspersion, if it is to be considered as such, may safely be placed to the account of religious animosity. In reproaching him with his supposed origin, Luther, however, admits that Aleandro was acquainted with the Hebrew as his vernacular tongue, that he was familiar with the Greek from his infancy, and that he had acquired, by long experience, the use of the Latin language.[31] Girolamo was in fact the son of Francesco Aleandro, a physician at Motta, in the duchy of Concordia, and is said to have deduced his origin from the ancient counts of Landro.[32] He was born in the year 1480, and at thirteen years of age repaired to Venice, where he received instructions from Benedetto Brugnolo, and afterwards from Petronello di Rimini. A long and dangerous illness compelled him to return to his native place. On his recovery he paid a visit to the academy at Pordenone, where Paolo Amalteo read lectures explanatory of the ancient authors, with great credit to himself, and before a numerous train of auditors. After a second visit to Venice, Aleandro again returned to Motta, where he challenged Domenico Plorio, the public instructor of that place, to a literary contest, in which Aleandro demonstrated so effectually the ignorance of his opponent, that he was by general consent elected in his stead. After having taught successively at Venice and at Padua, his reputation reached the Roman court, and Alexander VI. determined to call him to that city, and appoint him secretary to his son Cæsar Borgia. Accordingly, in the year 1501, Aleandro took up his residence with the papal nuncio, Angelo Leonino, bishop of Tivoli, at Venice. Whilst he was preparing for his journey, the pope, who had been informed that Aleandro was no less distinguished by his talents for public affairs than for his

[31] Luther. ap. Seckend. lib. i. p. 125.

[32] *Aleandro*, quasi detto *a Landro*. *Vide* Seckendorf, lib. i. p. 149, and Mazzuchelli, vol. i. p. 409. Aleandro thought it necessary to vindicate himself against the calumnies respecting his birth. In his speech against Luther before the diet of the German empire, he exclaims, "Deum immortalem! multi hic sunt boni viri, quibus notus sum, ego et familia mea, et asserere ego vere possum, majores meos *Marchiones* in Istria fuisse; quod vero parentes meos ad inopiam redacti sunt, fato tribui debet. Quod si maxime *Judæus* fuissem sed baptismum suscepissem, rejici propterea non deberem; Christus enim et Apostoli Judæi fuerunt." Aleand. Orat. ap. Seckend. lib. i. p. 149.

learning, directed him to repair to Hungary as his envoy. Aleandro set out from Venice in the beginning of the year 1502; but being attacked by sickness, he was detained many months on the road, and was at length obliged to abandon the expedition, and return to Venice. The death of the pontiff happening soon afterwards, Aleandro was freed from the cares of public life, and devoted himself with fresh ardour to his studies.[33] Such was the reputation which he had acquired before the twenty-fourth year of his age, that Aldo Manuzio dedicated to him his edition of the Iliad of Homer, alleging as a reason for conferring on him this honour, that his acquirements were beyond those of any other person with whom he was acquainted; a compliment which is enhanced by the consideration that Aldo was acquainted with almost all the learned men of the age.[34] At Venice, Aleandro formed an intimate acquaintance with Erasmus; and these two eminent men resided together for some time in the house of the printer Andrea d'Asola, the father-in-law of Aldo, where Aleandro assisted Erasmus in publishing a more full and correct edition of his "Adagia" from the Aldine press.[35] In the contests to which the Reformation gave rise, Erasmus and Aleandro adopted a different course of conduct; but although they attacked each other with sufficient asperity, Erasmus always candidly acknowledged the great talents and uncommon learning of his former friend.

In the year 1508, Aleandro was invited to Paris by Louis XII., to fill the place of a professor in the university of that city. His exertions there met with the highest applause, and he was shortly afterwards appointed rector of that famous seminary, contrary to the express tenor of its statutes, which were dispensed with in favour of so

[33] Seckendorf asserts, that Aleandro had been private secretary to Cæsar Borgia, and composed a part of the Roman court, under Alexander VI. De Lutheranismo, lib. i. p. 125. But from the narrative of Mazzuchelli, who derived his information from an authentic MS. diary of the life of Aleandro, it appears that he never was at Rome until after the death of that pontiff.

[34] From this dedication we learn, that Aleandro was not only a perfect master of the Greek and Hebrew, but had applied himself with great diligence to the acquisition of the Arabic and Chaldaic tongues.

[35] The first edition of Paris, 1500, was very defective; that of Aldo is very correct, and was published in the year 1508.

extraordinary a scholar. After residing there some years, he was induced to quit that city by his apprehensions of the plague, and proceeding through different parts of France, he gave public lectures on the Greek language at Orleans, Blois, and other places. At length he took up his residence at Liege, where the prince-bishop of that city, Everard della Marca, nominated him a canon of his cathedral, and appointed him chancellor of his diocese; employments which did not, however, prevent Aleandro from giving instructions in the Greek tongue, which he continued to do there for two years with distinguished success.[36] About the middle of the year 1517, he was despatched to Rome by his patron, who was eager to obtain the dignity of a cardinal, and who conceived that he might avail himself of the talents of Aleandro to accomplish his purpose. The reception which the learned envoy experienced from Leo X. was such as might have been expected The pontiff confessed that he had never before met with his equal, and requested the prince-bishop would permit Aleandro to quit his service and enter into that of the Roman church. The bishop was not disposed to refuse a request which was an earnest of his own success. Aleandro was first appointed secretary to the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, an office at that time of the highest trust; and in the year 1519, was nominated, by a papal bull, librarian of the Vatican. He did not, however, forget his former patron; and notwithstanding the many difficulties with which he had to contend, he continued his exertions, as well at Rome as on his mission into Germany, until he succeeded in obtaining for the prince-bishop his long expected dignity.[37]

On the embassy of Aleandro to the imperial diet in the year 1520, his conduct drew down upon him the censure and abuse, not only of the more earnest reformers, but of his former friend, Erasmus, who condemned the violence of his zeal with great asperity.[38] After the death of Leo X.

[36] Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. vol. i. p. 413.

[37] Pallavic. Concil. di Trento, lib. i. cap. 23.

[38] Of the alternate dissensions and reconciliations of Erasmus and Aleandro, Mazzuchelli has given a long and interesting account. *Vide* Scrittori d'Ital. vol. i. p. 415 (note 51).

Aleandro rose to high dignity in the church. By Clement VII. he was nominated archbishop of Brindisi and Oria, and was appointed apostolic nuncio to Francis I., whom he attended in that capacity at the battle of Pavia in 1525. He there met with a disaster similar to that of the French monarch; having been made prisoner by the Spaniards; and obtained his release only by the interference of powerful friends and the payment of a considerable ransom.[39] After having performed several other important embassies, and taken a principal part for many years in the transactions of the Roman court, Aleandro was, in the year 1538, raised to the rank of a cardinal by Paul III., on which occasion he resigned his office of librarian, and was succeeded by Agostino Steuco, afterwards bishop of Chissano, in the island of Candia.[40] The death of Aleandro, which Jovius informs us was occasioned, or accelerated by the too frequent use of medicine, and too curious an attention to his health,[41] happened at Rome in the year 1542, when he had nearly completed his sixty-second year. The same author asserts, that Aleandro displayed in his last moments great impatience, and was highly exasperated at the idea of being cut off before he had finished the sixty-third year of his age. In this case we may, however, be allowed to doubt the account of the impiety of a Roman cardinal, although related by a Roman bishop. At least such account is in express contradiction to the Greek epitaph, which Aleandro composed for himself a short time before his death.[42]

[39] Aleandro was at the side of the monarch when he was made prisoner. insomuch that, when the horse of the king fell, he touched that of Aleandro. A particular account of the capture and liberation of Aleandro is given by Girolamo Negri. Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p. 159.

[40] Mazzuch. vol. i. p. 419.

[41] "Pervasurus haud dubie ad exactam ætatem, nisi nimia tuendæ valetudinis solicitudine, intempestivis medicamentis sibi hercle insanus et infelix medicus, viscera corrupisset." Baillet misunderstood this passage, and informs us, in his "Jugemens des Sçavans," No. 1273, that Aleandro died by the stupidity of his physician, *par la bétise de son médecin.*

[42] This epitaph concluded with the following lines:—

Κάτθανον οὐκ ἄεκων, ὅτι παύσομαι ὧν ἐπιμάρτυς
Πολλῶν, ᾧνπερ ἰδεῖν ἄλγιον ἦν θανάτου.

Without reluctance I resign my breath,
To shun the sight of what is worse than death.

In which it may be doubted, whether he meant to refer to the rapid progress of the Reformation, or to the licentiousness and scandalous abuses of the Roman court

The writings which remain of Aleandro are scarcely equal to what might have been expected from his acknowledged learning, great eloquence, and uncommon industry. The Greek lexicon published under his name at Paris, in 1512, was compiled by six of his scholars, and the only share which he took was in correcting the ultimate proofs from the press, and adding some words omitted in former collections.[43] In the same year he reprinted the Greek grammar of Chrysoloras, of which he also made a compendium.[44] His treatise "De Concilio habendo," consisting of four books, is said to have been of great use in regulating the proceedings of the council of Trent. Erasmus believed Aleandro to have been the author of the oration published under the name of Julius Cæsar Scaliger, as an answer to his Ciceronianus, in the year 1531, and some years elapsed before he could be convinced that it was the work of the celebrated scholar whose name it bears.[45] That so little remains of the writings of Aleandro, may perhaps be attributed to his various important avocations and active life; but Jovius informs us, that he had so long indulged himself in a certain extemporaneous mode of expression, that when he attempted to exercise himself in well-regulated composition, he found himself unable to support a clear and elegant style; and Valeriano, whilst he acknowledges the intrinsic value of his writings, has in an elegant allegory taxed him with obscurity.[46] A few of the letters and poems of Aleandro have been preserved in various collections, and his Latin

under Paul III. Many further particulars respecting Aleandro are given by Count Bossi, who has also observed that some works have been attributed to him, which are, in fact, the production of his nephew, who was also named Girolamo and was eminently distinguished as a literary character, a lawyer, a poet, and an antiquarian. Ital. Ed. vol. x. p. 98, vol. xii. p. 244. In which latter place Bossi has also noticed many other eminent theologians and canonists, who lived in the time of Leo X., and were highly encouraged and honoured by him; affording, as he thinks, a sufficient answer to those who have represented that pontiff as having been inattentive to the promotion of ecclesiastical studies.

[43] Entitled, "Lexicon Græco-Latinum opera Hieronymi Aleandri, industria et impendio proborum virorum Ægidii Gourmontii et Matthæi Bolsci Bibliopolarum Parisiensium, 1512, ad eidus Decembres, fo." This work is now very rare.

[44] Entitled, "Hieronymi Aleandri Mottensis Tabulæ sane utiles Græcarum Musarum adyta compendio ingredi volentibus." It has been frequently reprinted.

[45] Erasm. ap. Mazz. vol. i. p. 416.

[46] Ad Hieronymum Aleandrum, ne sit in scriptis tantus obscuritatis amator. Carm. Illustr. Poet. Ital. vol. x. p. 213.

verses, "Ad Julium et Neæram," are considered by Fontanini as affording alone a sufficient proof of the great talents of their author.[47]

Other libraries in Rome.

The example of Leo X. in collecting the precious remains of ancient learning, was emulated or imitated by several distinguished prelates of the Roman court, the extent of whose collections resembled that of a munificent sovereign, rather than of a private individual. Aleandro had himself formed a very considerable library, which he bequeathed to the monastery of S. Maria del Orto, in Venice. It was afterwards transferred to the canons of S. Georgio, of which congregation Aleandro had been protector; and has since contributed to increase the celebrated library of S. Marco at Venice.[48] Erasmus, in a letter written from London, in the year 1515, mentions the library of cardinal Grimani at Rome, as being richly furnished and abounding in books in all languages. This extensive collection, consisting of upwards of eight thousand volumes, was bequeathed by the cardinal, in the year 1523, to the regular canons of S. Salvador in Venice. It was afterwards increased by the addition of many valuable works by the cardinal patriarch, Marino Grimani, and was preserved until nearly the end of the seventeenth century, when it was unfortunately destroyed by fire.[49] Equally extensive and equally unfortunate was the library of cardinal Sadoleti. After having escaped from the sacrilegious hands of the barbarians during the sacking of Rome, in the year 1527, the books were put on board a ship to be conveyed to the diocese of Sadoleti in France; but on the arrival of the vessel, it was discovered that the passengers were infected with the plague; in consequence of which they were not permitted to land, and the books were either lost or carried to some distant country, where Sadoleti never heard of them more.[50] The library of Bembo was rich in valuable manuscripts, and contained many of the productions of the provençal poets, with whose language he was well acquainted. He possessed

[47] Carm. Illustr. Poet. Ital. vol. i. p. 114.
[48] Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. vol. i. p. 420, nota 88.
[49] Tirab. vol. vii. par. i. p. 208.
[50] Ibid. p. 208, &c.

also several pieces in the hand-writing of Petrarca, with other rare and valuable works, as well printed as manuscript, which he had collected at an immense expense. Many of these were afterwards united with the ducal library of Urbino, whence they have since been transferred to that of the Vatican. Amongst them were the two ancient copies of Virgil and of Terence, which have been justly esteemed the chief ornaments of that immense collection.[51]

Historians in the time of Leo X.

Before the French under Charles VIII. had burst the barrier of the Alps, the Italian scholars had already begun to examine with great industry the transactions of former times, and to record those of their own with accuracy and fidelity; of this, the history of his own times by Leonardo Aretino, that of Florence by Poggio Bracciolini, that of Venice by Marc-Antonio Cocchi, called Sabellicus, and that of Milan by Bernardo Corio, may be admitted as sufficient proofs. The important transactions which had since taken place in Italy, and the increasing interest which these great events had excited, now called forth more distinguished talents; and the historical and political writings of Machiavelli, of Nardi, of Nerli, and of Guicciardini, have not only transmitted to us with great minuteness the events of the age in which they lived, but have frequently furnished us with such reasonings and deductions from them, as have been found applicable to subsequent occurrences and to future times

Machiavelli.

Of the principal incidents in the life of Machiavelli, some account has already been given in the course of the present work.[52] That he was a man of talents is

[51] Tirab. *ut sup.* These copies of Virgil and Terence are more fully described by Bossi, who has mentioned some other valuable MSS. which appear to have belonged to Bembo, and to have been transferred to the library at Urbino, and afterwards to the Vatican. Ital. Ed. vol. x. p. 99.*

[52] *Vide* chap. vi. ix. x. &c. In the first of these places I have charged Machiavelli with having had a share in the contrivance of the atrocious stratagem by which Cæsar Borgia destroyed Vitelli, the duke of Gravina, and others, at Sinigallia, in the year 1502. But the further perusal of the letters of Machiavelli has induced me to modify this opinion, and enabled me precisely to state the part which he had in this black transaction. By a letter from him to the magistrates of Florence, dated the first of January, 1502, (but which should be 1503, the Florentines having, until the year 1750, continued the date of the year to the twenty-fifth of March) it appears that Borgia had communicated his intentions to Machiavelli the day before the perpetrating of the deed; and that Machiavelli had not taken any measures to prevent it, either by expostulating with Borgia, or

apparent, not only from his writings, but from the important offices which he filled; having been for some years secretary to the republic, and frequently despatched on embassies to foreign powers. Whether prompted by the love of liberty, or the spirit of faction, he displayed a restless and turbulent disposition, which not only diminished the respect due to his abilities, but frequently endangered his personal safety. Besides his having engaged in the conspiracy of Capponi and Boscoli, in consequence of which he had to suffer four jerks of the cord, and from which he only escaped with his life by the clemency of Leo X.,[53] he entered into another plot immediately after the death of that pontiff, to expel the cardinal de' Medici from Florence; in which his associates were, Luigi Alamanni, Zanobio Buondelmonte, and other young men who frequented the gardens of the Rucellai. That he had also to struggle with pecuniary difficulties appears from several passages in his works; and a letter written by his son Pietro on the death of his father, in the month of June, 1527, acknowledges that he died in extreme poverty.[54]

His history of Florence.

The prose writings of Machiavelli consist of his history of Florence in eight books, his discourses on Livy, and his book entitled, "Il Principe," or, "The Prince," with some smaller treatises. His history, which comprehends the transactions of the Florentine state, from its origin to the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent, in 1492, is written in a vigorous, concise, and unaffected style, and although not always accurate in point of fact, may, upon the whole, be read with both pleasure and advantage.[55]

apprising the parties devoted to destruction. It is true he gives us to understand that he was not apprised of the whole of the intentions of Borgia; but the manner in which he speaks of the transaction afterwards, sufficiently proves that he would not have shrunk from a fuller participation of the crime. In the same letter he proceeds, according to the desire of Borgia, to congratulate the Republic on this event, and to represent the advantages which would arise from their union, &c. *Vide* Lettere de Machiav. in Op. vol. iii. p. 73, Ed. Baretti. Lond. 1772. The opinion which Count Bossi has expressed on this subject is not more favourable to the character of Machiavelli, than that which I have given in the present work. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. x. p. 100.

[53] Bandin. Monum. inedit. in præf. p. 35; and *vide* Note of Count Bossi in Ital. Ed. vol. x. p. 101.

[54] Tirab. vol. vii. par. i. p. 517.

[55] It has been of late years discovered, that the Diary of the most important events in Italy from the year 1492 to 1512, published by the Giunti in 1568, under the name of Biagio Buonaccorsi, is, in fact, a part of the notes of Machia-

He has, however, rendered himself much more conspicuous by his political tracts, which have, indeed, in the general estimation, entitled him to the first rank among the writers on these subjects; but whilst some have considered him as having employed his talents to enlighten mankind, and to promote the cause of truth, of liberty, and of virtue, others have regarded him as the advocate of fraud, of oppression, and of assassination, and have stigmatized his memory with the most opprobrious epithets. To reconcile these discordant opinions is impossible; and it may, therefore, not be thought a superfluous task, to endeavour impartially to ascertain in what estimation his political writings ought to be held.

Estimate of his political writings.

On this subject it may then be remarked, that no one has hitherto been found hardy enough to defend, in their full extent, the baneful maxims advanced by Machiavelli, particularly in his treatise, entitled "Il Principe." "If it be contended," says one of his warmest apologists, "that this work is fit for the perusal of all sovereigns, as well legitimate as usurpers, and that he intended to give an eulogium on tyranny, he can neither be defended nor excused. But how can it be thought possible," continues he, "that Machiavelli, who was born under a republic, who was employed as one of its secretaries, who performed so many important embassies, and who in his conversation always dwelt on the glorious actions of Brutus and of Cassius, should have formed such a design?"[56] Hence it has frequently been urged on his behalf, that it was not his intention to suggest wise and faithful counsels, but to represent in the darkest colours the conduct which a sovereign must necessarily pursue, in order to support his authority. "It was the intention of Machiavelli," says another encomiast, "to describe a destructive tyrant; and by these means to excite odium against him and prevent the execution of his projects."[57] "Our thanks are due to Machiavelli," says Lord Bacon, "and to similar writers, who

velli, which he had intended for a continuation of his history; but which, after his death, remained in the hands of his friend Buonaccorsi. Elog. Toscani, tom. iii. p. 94.

[56] Elog. Toscani, tom. iii. p. 89.

[57] Gasp. Schioppii, Pædia Politices. ap. Elog. Tosc. vol. iii. p. 90.

have openly, and without dissimulation, shewn us what men are accustomed to do, not what they ought to do."[58] The validity of these and similar apologies is, however, extremely questionable. Those principles and rules of conduct on which the tranquillity of mankind so essentially depends, are too sacred to be treated in ambiguous terms, and Machiavelli frequently displays so much apparent sincerity in his political writings, as renders it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to decide when he intends to be ironical. Nor have the friends of this author, who have supposed that in his treatise "del Principe" he meant only to instigate his patron Lorenzo duke of Urbino to his ruin, conferred any honour either on his moral or intellectual character. If, indeed, this were his real intention, we might be inclined to assent to the opinion of cardinal Pole, that the writings of Machiavelli were traced by the finger of the devil.[59] But supposing the purpose of Machiavelli to have been commendable, can there be a greater solecism in point of judgment, than to instigate a person to tyrannize over a country, to be cruel to his own subjects and faithless to the rest of the world, in the expectation of exciting a general odium against cruelty, fraud, and oppression; and thus introducing a certain evil for the purpose of applying to it a dubious remedy? We may, however, safely release this author from an accusation for which he has been indebted solely to the over-earnest zeal of his advocates, and may certainly admit, that, whatever may be thought of the rectitude of his maxims, he was at least serious in his promulgation of them. Many of the most exceptionable doctrines in his "Principe" are also to be found in his "Discorsi," where it cannot be pretended that he had any indirect purpose in view; and in the latter he has in some instances referred to the former for the further elucidation of his opinions.[60] Nor is it a slight proof of the sincerity of Machiavelli, that his work was recommended by his intimate friend Biagio Buonaccorsi as a grave and useful performance.[61] This, indeed, seems

[58] De Augm. Scient. lib. vii.
[59] Card. Quirini Diatrib. in Poli Op. tom. i. p. 264.
[60] Compare his "Discorsi," lib. iii. chap. 42, and "Il Principe," chap. 18.
[61] Bandin. Monumen. ined. in præf. p. 37.

to have been the general opinion at the time of its publication. Neither Adrian VI. nor Clement VII. passed any censure on his writings, and the latter not only accepted the dedication of his history, which Machiavelli wrote at his request, but granted the Roman printer Antonio Blado, a papal bull for the publication of all the writings of Machiavelli, in which the "Principe" is particularly mentioned.[62]

Taking it then for granted that Machiavelli has in his political works fairly represented his own sentiments, how are his merits to be appreciated? Machiavelli was an acute man; but not a great man. He could minutely trace a political intrigue through all its ramifications, but he could not elevate his views to perceive that true policy and sound morality are inseparably united, and that every fraudulent attempt is then most unfortunate when it is crowned with success. To obtain a political end by the violation of public faith, is a stratagem that requires no great talents, but which will not bear to be frequently repeated. Like the tricks of a juggler, the petty routine of these operations is quickly understood, and the operator himself is soon on a level with the rest of mankind. Those who, like Machiavelli, have examined human conduct only in detail, must ever be at a loss to reconcile the discordant facts, and to distinguish the complicated relations of public and national concerns. It is only by tracing them up to some common source, and adjusting them by some certain standard, that past events can ever be converted into proper rules of future conduct. To recall the examples of ancient and modern history for the imitation of future times, is a mode of instruction which, without proper limitations and precautions, will often be found highly dangerous. Such is the variety in human affairs, that in no two instances are the circumstances in all respects alike, and on that account experience without principles must ever be a fallacious guide. To close our eyes to the examples of past ages would, indeed, be absurd; but to regulate our conduct by them, without

[62] For much additional and accurate information respecting Machiavelli and his writings, the reader may consult the notes and observations of Count Bossi, in Ital. Ed. vol. x. pp. 101, 103 106.*

bringing them to their proper test, would be still more so. With these considerations the works of Machiavelli may be read with advantage, and his errors may perhaps prove no less instructive than his excellences.[63]

Filippo de' Nerli.

Whilst the history of Machiavelli relates to the general transactions of Florence, that of the senator Filippo de' Nerli is restricted to its municipal and internal concerns. The family of Nerli had for several centuries ranked among the principal nobility of that city,[64] and several of its members were no less distinguished as eminent patrons of learning than as accomplished statesmen. The marriage of Tanai de' Nerli, who had twice filled the office of chief magistrate of Florence, with a niece of the celebrated Piero Capponi, was productive of five sons, all of whom arrived at considerable eminence. Jacopo and Francesco were frequently honoured with the most important offices of the state, and the latter became the father of two sons who were successively archbishops of Florence and cardinals of the church. Bernardo and Neri de' Nerli have left a noble monument of their munificence and love of literature, in publishing at their own expense the first edition of the writings of Homer, printed at Florence in the year 1488; a work which confers honour not only on its patrons and on the eminent Greek scholars who superintended the printing, but on the age and country in which it was produced.[65] This great work was inscribed by Bernardo de' Nerli to Piero de' Medici, the elder brother of Leo X., in a Latin address, in which he explains the motives of the undertaking, and the means adopted for carrying it into

[63] Of the poetical writings of Machiavelli in his native tongue, several pieces remain, which are distinguished rather by vigour and conciseness of expression, than by poetical ornament. It has been doubted whether Machiavelli was a man of learning; but one of these pieces, entitled, "Capitolo dell' Occasione," sufficiently shews that he was not unacquainted with the works of the ancients. This poem will be found in the Appendix to the present volume, where the reader may compare it with a Greek epigram of Posidippus, and a Latin one of Ausonius, of which it seems to be a near imitation. I have there also given a translation into English. *Vide* App. No. XCVII.

[64] Dante, in relating the simplicity and parsimony of the Florentines, exemplifies them in two of their noblest families, the Nerli and the Vecchi. Il Paradiso, cant. xv.

[65] This edition was carefully corrected, and the printing superintended by the learned Greek, Demetrius Chalcondyles. Maittaire speaks of the execution of it in the highest terms. Annal. Typogr. tom. i. p. 49.

effect. Benedetto de' Nerli, the eldest of these five brothers, supported the rank of his family on many public occasions, and in particular was one of the ambassadors appointed by the state of Florence to congratulate Leo X. on his elevation to the pontificate. Filippo the historian, the son of Benedetto, was born in the year 1485. His education was superintended by Benedetto, called *Il Filologo*, who had been a disciple of Politiano, and is highly commended by Crinitus.[66] In his youth he frequented the gardens of the Rucellai, where he formed an intimacy with the most distinguished scholars of Florence, and in particular with Machiavelli, who inscribed to him his "Capitolo dell' Occasione." But whilst his early associates warmly opposed the increasing power of the Medici, Filippo became one of their most strenuous partisans, and was frequently employed by them in important services, until the establishment of an absolute government under Cosmo I. finally terminated the contest. After this event he obtained in an eminent degree the confidence of this cautious prince, who successively entrusted to him the government of several of the Florentine districts, and on the assumption to the pontificate of Julius III., appointed him the chief of a splendid embassy to congratulate the pontiff, who on that occasion conferred on him the title of cavalier, with that of count palatine.[67] He had married, in the year 1509, Caterina, the daughter of Jacopo Salviati, by his wife Lucrezia, the sister of Leo X., and lived until the year 1556, leaving at his death a numerous offspring. His "Commentaries" comprise a well-arranged and useful narrative of the internal concerns of the Florentine state,[68] written in the style of a person conversant with public affairs, and not with the laboured eloquence of a professed author. That they manifest a decided partiality to the family of the Medici has been considered as their chief excellence by the apologists of an absolute government

[66] Benedetto corrected and published several of the works of the ancient writers, and among the rest, the edition of Horace, printed by the Giunti at Florence, in 1514, which he dedicated to Filippo de' Nerli.

[67] Vita del Senatore Filippo de' Nerli, in fronte a' suoj Commentarj.

[68] These "Commentaries" were not published until the year 1728, when they were given to the public by the Cavalier Settimani, to whom we are also indebted for the works of Segni and of Varchi.

in subsequent times ;[69] but, however meritorious the purpose may be, it must be admitted that a work avowedly written to promote a particular object can never be perused without distrust, nor relied on without collateral evidence for the facts which it records.

Jacopo Nardi.

To the life and writings of Nerli, those of his contemporary and countryman, Jacopo Nardi, exhibit almost a complete contrast. Nerli enjoyed a long series of honours and prosperity ; Nardi was a fugitive and an exile. The former availed himself of his adherence and services to the Medici, to maintain himself in authority and importance; the latter was their decided and implacable adversary, and his history is allowed to be as hostile to that family, as the "Commentaries" of Nerli are favourable. The birth of Nardi, who also derived his origin from a noble family at Florence, is placed in the year 1476, and although the time of his death be not precisely known, it is highly probable that he lived beyond his eightieth year. In his early progress he had filled many honourable employments in the state, and in the year 1527, was ambassador from his native place to the Venetian republic. His history of Florence, which extends from the year 1494 to 1531, bears the marks of great accuracy, and is not without some share of elegance, but, like that of Nerli, must be read with caution by those who would form an impartial judgment on the important events which occurred within that period.[70] Nardi was a man of uncommon learning, and his translation of Livy, which has been several times reprinted, is yet considered as one of the best versions of the ancient authors in the Italian language.[71] In his youth he distinguished himself as a soldier, and in his life of the celebrated commander, Antonio Tebalducci Malespini, he has shewn that he had himself acquired great knowledge and experience in military concerns.[72] He was the author of several other works both

[69] Elogio del Sen. Filippo de' Nerli. Elog. Toscani, vol. ii. p. 319.

[70] Le Historie della Città di Fiorenza di M. Jacopo Nardi, Cittadino Fiorentino. Lione, 1580, 4to.

[71] Tirab. vol. vii. par. ii. p. 280.

[72] Vita d'Antonio Giacomino Tebalducci Malespini, Scritta da Jacopo Nardi. In Fiorenza, 1597, 4to.

in verse and prose. His comedy, entitled "L'Amicizia," written by him whilst very young, has already been referred to, as having some pretensions, from its introductory lines, to be considered as having given the first example of the *versi sciolti*, or Italian blank verse.[73]

Francesco Guicciardini.

The local narratives of Machiavelli, of Nerli, and of Nardi, must, however, give place in point of interest and importance to the more general history of the immortal Guicciardini; a work which professes to record only the events of Italy, but which, in fact, comprehends those of the principal states of Europe, during the period to which it relates. This distinguished ornament of his country was the son of Piero Guicciardini, who, although a citizen of Florence, derived from his ancestors the title of count palatine, which had been conferred on them by the emperor Sigismund in the early part of the fifteenth century.[74] He was born in the year 1482, and received the baptismal name of *Francesco Tomaso*, the latter of which appellations he omitted in his riper years. After having attained a sufficient share of classical learning, he applied himself to the study of the civil law under the most eminent professors, as well at Pisa, Ferrara, and Padua, as in his native place. He had at one time formed the intention of devoting himself to the church, but his father not having encouraged the design, he changed his views, and having obtained the degree of doctor of civil law in the academy which had been transferred from Pisa to Florence, he was appointed, in the year 1505, to read and illustrate the Institutes of Justinian; by which, as well as by his opinions on questions of law, he gained great credit. The first office of importance in which he was employed by the republic, was that of ambassador to Ferdinand of Spain, in the year 1512. On this mission, which in respect to his well known talents, was entrusted to him before he was of sufficient age, according to the established rules of the state, he was absent about two years, and on his return was honoured by the

[73] *Vide ante*, chap. xvi. His verses, sung during the splendid exhibitions at Florence, in the year 1514, are printed in the "Canti Carnascialeschi," and are among the best in that collection.

[74] Manni, Elog. di Guicciardini. Elog. Toscan. ii. 306.

king with a present of several rich pieces of silver plate.[75] When Leo X. paid a visit to Florence, at the close of the year 1515, Guicciardini was despatched with several of the most respectable citizens to meet him at Cortona. The reputation which he had already acquired, the propriety and gravity of his manner, and the good sense which he manifested on all occasions, soon procured him the favour of the pontiff, who, in an assembly of cardinals, held on the day after his arrival at Florence, bestowed on Guicciardini the dignity of advocate of the consistory. This event may be considered as the commencement of his fortunes. Soon after the return of the pontiff to Rome, he sent for Guicciardini, and after having experienced his fidelity and vigilance in several important concerns, he entrusted him in the year 1518, with the government of Modena and Reggio; which, from the critical circumstances under which these places were held by the pope, was undoubtedly the most confidential employment that could have been conferred upon him. The difficulties which he experienced in the defence of these important districts, called forth those great talents with which he was endowed, and afforded him frequent opportunities of displaying the promptitude of his genius, the solidity of his judgment, and the unshaken fortitude of his mind. He continued in the service of Leo X. during the remainder of his pontificate, entrusted with the chief authority, as well in the military as civil concerns of the places in which he commanded. Nor was he less honoured by Adrian VI. and Clement VII., the latter of whom appointed him president of Romagna; which office he relinquished in the year 1526, to his brother Jacopo, when he was himself nominated to the chief command of the papal troops. In the various reforms of the Florentine government which prepared the way to the dominion of Cosmo I. Guicciardini had an important share; but soon after that event he retired to his villa at Montici, where he devoted himself to the composition of his history. He died in the year 1540, after having completed the work which has

[75] Manni, Elog. p. 309; and *vide ante*, chap. viii.

immortalised his name, but which was not published until many years after his death.[76]

His history of Italy.

The historical writings of Guicciardini have not only entitled their author to the indisputable precedence of all the historians of Italy, but have placed him at least on a level with those of any age or of any country. His first great advantage is, that he was himself personally acquainted with most of the transactions which he relates, and frequently acted in them an important part.[77] He also united in himself almost every qualification that is necessary for a perfect historian; a fearless impartiality, a strong and vigorous judgment, equally remote from superstition and licentiousness, and a penetration of mind that pierced through the inmost recesses of political intrigue. His narrative is full, clear, and perspicuous, and the observations to which it occasionally gives rise, are in general just, apposite, and forcible. The principal blemishes which have been attributed to him as a writer, are those of having frequently given too much importance to events of inferior consideration, and of having, in imitation of the ancient historians, assigned to several of his principal actors, orations, which, although sufficiently consonant to their sentiments, were never in reality delivered.[78] If, however, the writings of all his contemporaries had perished, his works alone would have exhibited a perfect picture of the age, and must ever be regarded as the mine from which future historians must derive their richest materials. Fastidious critics and

[76] The history of Guicciardini was first published by his nephew, Agnolo Guicciardini, at Florence, *Appresso Lorenzo Torrentino*, 1561, in large folio. But this edition comprehends only the first sixteen books, and is besides defective by the omission of several passages of importance. The four additional books were published by Seth Viotti, at Parma, in 1564, and the passages omitted have been published separately, in the work entitled, "Thuanus restitutus, sive Sylloge, &c., cum Francisci Guicciardini Paralipomenis." Amstel. 1663. This history has been frequently reprinted, but the unostentatious editions of Stoer, Geneva, 1621, 1636, in two vols, 4to, are the most complete.

[77] "We have finished the twentieth and last book of Guicciardini's history; the most authentic I believe (may I add, I fear) that ever was composed. I believe it, because the historian was an actor in his terrible drama, and personally knew the principal performers in it; and I fear it, because it exhibits the woful picture of society in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries."—Sir W. Jones, in Lord Teignmouth's Life of that great and good man, p. 325, 4to.

[78] These objections have been collected from several authors by the industrious Bayle, in his Dict. art. Guicciardini; but have been more particularly insisted on by Foscarini, "Della Letteratura Veneziana," vol. i. p. 253.

indolent readers may complain of the minuteness of his narrative, or the length of his periods, but every sentence is pregnant with thought, every paragraph teems with information, and if sometimes they do not please the ear, they always gratify the understanding. The principal defect in his history is such as is perhaps inseparable from his character as a statesman and a soldier, and appears in his accounting for the conduct of others wholly by motives of interest and of ambition, without sufficiently adverting to the various other causes which have in all ages had a considerable influence on the affairs of mankind.[79]

Paullo Giovio.

Yet more extensive in its plan than the history of Guicciardini, is the history of his own times by Paullo Giovio, or *Paulus Jovius*, in which he undertook to record the most important events which occurred during that period in every part of the world. This voluminous writer was a native of Como, and was born in the year 1483. Being early deprived of his father, he was educated under the care of his elder brother Benedetto, who was also an historical writer, and is considered by Tiraboschi as not inferior in point of merit to his younger brother.[80] After having studied at Padua, at Milan, and at Pavia, he obtained at the latter place the degree of doctor in medicine, and practised for some time as a physician both in Como and Milan. An early and decided propensity led him, however, to the study and composition of history. Having completed a volume, and heard of the encouragement given by Leo X. to every department of literature, he repaired, about the year 1516, to Rome, where he met with

[79] Montaigne has not only made a similar remark, but has raised an implication upon it rather unfavourable to the moral character of Guicciardini. Essais de Montaigne, lib. ii. chap. x. Further particulars respecting the life and writings of Guicciardini may be found in the notes of Mr. Henke, Germ. Ed. vol. iii. p. 342, and of Count Bossi, Ital. Ed. vol. x. pp. 106, 110.*

[80] Benedetto appears to have been equally conversant with science and with literature. Among his writings are the history of Como, his native place, in which he is said to have shewn an intimate acquaintance with the study of antiquities; a treatise on the transactions and manners of the Swiss; a collection of one hundred letters; several translations from the Greek, and some specimens of Latin poetry; one of which, entitled, "De Venetis Gallicum Trophæum," has been printed without note of place or year. His brother Paullo has, with laudable gratitude, assigned him a place among the illustrious characters of the age in which he lived *Vide* Elog. No. CVI. Iscritt. p. 202.

a most favourable reception from the pontiff, who, after reading before many of the cardinals a long passage from the work of Giovio, declared that, next to Livy, he had not met with a more eloquent or a more elegant writer.[81] The rank of a cavalier, with a considerable pension, was the reward bestowed by the munificent pontiff on the fortunate author. In this place Giovio formed an intimacy with the numerous men of talents whom the liberality of the pontiff had attracted to that city. Like the rest of the Roman scholars, he here devoted himself to the cultivation of Latin poetry; several of his pieces appear in the "Coryciana" and other collections, and we have already seen, that Francesco Arsilli inscribed to him his poem, "De Poetis Urbanis." After the death of Leo he was one of the very few men of learning who obtained the favour of Adrian VI., by whom he was appointed a canon of the cathedral of Como; on condition, however, as it has been said, that he should mention the pontiff with honour in his writings.[82] Under the pontificate of Clement VII. he was yet more highly favoured, having been appointed by the pope to be one of his attendant courtiers, provided with a residence in the Vatican, and supplied with an income for the support of himself and his domestics. To these favours were afterwards added the precentorship of Como, and, lastly, the bishopric of Nocera, which was the highest ecclesiastical preferment that Giovio ever obtained. During the sacking of the city of Rome, in the year 1527, Giovio had secreted his history, which had been copied on vellum, and elegantly bound, in a chest which contained also a considerable quantity of wrought silver, and had deposited it in the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva. This booty was, however, discovered by two Spanish officers, one of whom seized upon the silver, and the other, named Herrera, carried off the books. At the same time many loose sheets, supposed to have contained some portions of his history, and which had also been deposited in the chest, were dispersed and lost. Herrera,

[81] Tirab. vol. vii. par. ii. p. 260.

[82] Tirab. vol. viii. par. ii. p. 260. But the Roman editor of the work of Tiraboschi has attempted at great length to justify Adrian VI. from this imputation. Ibid. p. 261, note (*a*), Edit. Rom. 1784.

finding that the books belonged to Giovio, brought them to him, and required to know whether he would purchase them. The unfortunate author, being wholly stripped of his property, resorted for assistance to Clement VII., who agreed to confer on Herrera, on his returning the books, an ecclesiastical benefice in Cordova, and Giovio thus regained possession of his work. Under the pontificate of Paul III. he was desirous of exchanging his bishopric of Nocera for that of Como, his native place, but the pope refused his request; in consequence of which, and of the neglect with which he conceived himself to be treated, he expressed himself respecting that pontiff with great warmth and resentment. He is said to have flattered himself, on the faith of the predictions of Luca Gaurico and other astrologers, with the hopes of obtaining the dignity of a cardinal; but, like many other persons in those times, he attempted in vain to discover in the stars the events that were to take place on earth. His favourite residence was at a beautiful villa on the banks of the lake of Como, where, notwithstanding the occasional levity of his temper and conduct, he diligently pursued his studies. Here he also formed a museum, consisting of portraits of the most illustrious characters, chiefly those of his own times, many of which were transmitted to him from various parts of the world. To each of these he affixed an inscription, or brief memoir, some of them highly favourable, and others sarcastically severe.[83] About two years before

[83] These memoirs have frequently been printed under the title of "Elogia Doctorum virorum, ab avorum memoria publicatis ingenii monumentis illustrium." They were also translated into Italian by Hippolito Orio, of Ferrara, and published at that place in 1552. The portraits have also been engraved in wood, and published under the title of "Musæi Joviani Imagines, artifice manu ad vivum expressæ; nec minore industria Theobaldi Mulleri Marpurgensis Musis illustratæ. Basil. Ex Officina Petri Pernæ," 1577. In the last-mentioned work are several portraits, the originals of some of which are now in my possession, together with many others not engraved in that work. These portraits I conceive to be a portion of those formerly in the collection of Giovio, and afterwards preserved in the College of the Holy Rosary, at Venice, the seal of which appears at the back of each picture. Many of these portraits are copied from earlier pictures, which are now probably lost; it having been the custom of Giovio to avail himself of every opportunity for that purpose, as appears from his obtaining copies of the pictures painted by Bramantino (Bartolommeo Suardi) of Milan, for Julius II., before they were destroyed, to give place to the works of Raffaelle in the Vatican. (*Vide* Note of Bossi, Ital. Ed. vol. xi. p. 120). But some of those of the time of Giovio are original, and possess considerable merit. If any doubt could exist as to the authenticity of these pictures, it will be removed, by observing, that one of the

his death, he quitted his retirement, and took up his residence in Florence, where he terminated his days in the year 1552, and was buried in the church of S. Lorenzo, in that city.

The historical works of Giovio, which are all in the Latin tongue, comprehend a very interesting period of time, and are written with great facility. His history of his own times, which commences with the descent of Charles VIII. into Italy, and extends to the year 1547, is divided into forty-five books; but six of them, from the fourth to the eleventh, comprising the period from the death of Charles VIII. to the elevation of Leo X., are wanting, and are supposed to have been lost during the unfortunate sacking of the city of Rome in the year 1527. From the eighteenth to the twenty-fifth book, another deficiency of six books occurs, which extends from the death of Leo X. to the capture of Rome, and which, as it appears from the information of Giovio himself, he was deterred from writing, by the wretched and deplorable nature of the incidents which he would have had to relate. These defects he has, however, in a great degree supplied, by his narrative of the lives of Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, of the great captain Gonsalvo, of Leo X., of Adrian VI., of Ferdinando D'Avalos, marquis of Pescara, and of the cardinal Pompeo Colonna; all of which he has written at considerable extent.[84] On their

His historical writings.

portraits in my possession is inscribed, *Henricus Angliæ Rex VIII.*, which is also engraved amongst the wood prints in the work last mentioned, with a similar inscription; but is, in fact, the portrait of *Cardinal Wolsey;*—a misnomer, which could not have occurred, if the print had not been copied from this picture. It is generally supposed that the portraits of Giovio were transferred to the gallery at Florence, and became the foundation of the collection which has been so considerably augmented in aftertimes; but the pictures at Florence are copies of those of Giovio, made by Cristofano dell' Altissimo, by the direction of Cosmo I. (*Vide* Vasari, vol. iii. p. 477, Ed. Bottari, Rom. 1760.) Amongst those which have fallen into my hands, are the portraits of many of the persons noticed in the Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, and in the present work; particularly Cosmo de' Medici, P. P. (a present to me from Florence,) Card. Bessarion, Lionardo (Bruni) Aretino, the elder Giuliano de' Medici, Angelo Politiano, Luigi Pulci, Marsilio Ficino, Jacopo Sannazzaro, Card. Sadoleti, Card. Ippolito D'Este, Antonio da Leva, Lorenzo de' Medici, duke of Urbino, Daniel Barbaro, Marc Ant. Flaminio, Erasmus, &c.*

[84] The other writings of Giovio are the lives of the twelve Visconti, lords and dukes of Milan; a description of the island of Great Britain, of Muscovy, of the lake of Como, and the eulogies of men who have distinguished themselves in arms. Three of the lost books of the history of Paullo Giovio, with some of the works of his brother Benedetto, have lately been discovered amongst the domestic MSS. of the Count Giambattista Giovio, a descendant of the same family. Tirab. vol. vii. par. ii. p. 269.

first appearance his writings were received with great approbation; but in a short time their credit diminished, and he had the mortification to find himself alternately accused of flattery and of malignity, and of having sacrificed his talents to servile and interested purposes. The decisions of subsequent times have not tended to exculpate him from these imputations. Girolamo Mutio asserts, "that he was the most negligent of all authors; that his diligence was only shewn in obtaining the favours of the great, and that he who gave the most was the principal hero of his works."[85] The acute and indefatigable Bayle has availed himself of innumerable occasions to point out his errors, which have also afforded subjects of confutation or of reproof to many other writers. That he did not prescribe to himself any very severe rules of composition, appears from his own acknowledgments. Having on some occasion related in his writings several absurd and improbable incidents, and being admonished by one of his friends to use more caution, he observed in reply, that "it was of little importance; for that when the persons then living were no more, it would all pass for truth." Of his levity in this respect his letters also afford frequent instances. "You well know," thus he writes to one of his correspondents, "that a history should be faithful, and that matters of fact should not be trifled with, except by a certain little latitude, which allows all writers, by ancient privilege, to aggravate or extenuate the faults of those on whom they treat, and, on the other hand, to elevate or depreciate their virtues. I should, indeed, be in a strange situation if my friends and patrons owed me no obligation, when I make a piece of their coin weigh one half more than that of the illiberal and worthless. You know that by this sacred privilege, I have decorated some with rich brocade, and have deservedly wrapt up others in coarse dowlas. Woe to them who provoke my anger; for if they make me the mark for their arrows, I shall bring out my heavy artillery, and try who will have the worst of it. At all events they will die; and I shall at least escape after death, that *ultima linea* of all controversies." Several other

[85] Tirab. vol. vii. par. ii. p. 265.

passages might be cited from his letters, in which he openly acknowledges the venality of his writings, and accounts for his temporary silence, because he found no one to bribe him. He is said to have asserted, that he had two pens, the one of iron, and the other of gold, which he made use of alternately, as occasion required, and it is certain that the latter, his *penna d'oro*, is frequently mentioned in his letters.[86] But the greatest blemish in the writings of Giovio, and which has not sufficiently incurred the reprehension of his numerous critics, is the defective or perverted morality with which they abound. Of this, some instances have been given in the preceding pages, and many others might be selected from his works. The misrepresentation of a fact is often of less importance than the deduction which is drawn from it. Under the immediate influence of ambition and revenge, amidst the storm of passion, and the fury of war, deeds of treachery or of atrocity have been too often committed, the perpetrators of which may have lived to repent of their crime; but it is, indeed, horrible, when the narrator of past events, in the calm retirement of his closet, attempts to vindicate the breach of moral obligation upon the pretext of temporary expedience, and gives the sanction of deliberate reason to those actions which even the impulse of passion is insufficient to justify. With all these defects, the writings of Jovius cannot, however, be wholly rejected, without the loss of much important information, copiously narrated, and elegantly expressed; and under proper precautions, they yet furnish valuable materials to future times.

Miscellaneous writers.

Pierio Valeriano.

Among the writers of this period whose works afford abundant materials for the use of the politician, the moralist, and the philosopher, may be enumerated Pierio Valeriano, of Belluno, the nephew of Urbano Bolzanio, of whom some account has been given in the preceding pages.[87] The narrowness of his circumstances compelled him, when young, to enter into the menial service of some of the Venetian nobility, and prevented his attending to literary studies until he had

[86] Lettere, p. 12, ap. Tirab. vol. vii par. ii. p 265.

[87] *Vide ante*, chap. xi.

attained the fifteenth year of his age.[88] He afterwards applied himself to them with great diligence, and under the instructions of Benedetto Brognolo, Giorgio Valla, Janus Lascar, and Marc-Antonio Sabellico, made an uncommon proficiency. On the recommendation of the latter he changed his baptismal name of Gian-Pietro, for the more classical and sonorous appellation of Pierio. His education was completed at the university of Padua, where he arrived about the time that Fracastoro quitted it, whom he regrets that he had only seen three times. Being driven from his country by the irruption of the imperial troops into Italy in the year 1509, he resorted for safety to Rome, where he soon formed an intimacy with several eminent men, and among others, with the cardinal Egidio of Viterbo, and Gian-Francesco della Rovere, archbishop of Turin, the latter of whom, being appointed keeper of the castle of S. Angelo, gave Valeriano a residence there. But he was still more fortunate in having attracted the notice of the cardinal de' Medici, afterwards Leo X., who no sooner ascended the pontifical throne, than he received Valeriano among his constant attendants, and gave him a competent support. Thus attached to the service of the pontiff, he accompanied Giuliano de' Medici on his matrimonial expedition to Turin, and was afterwards appointed by Leo X. instructor of the young favourites, Alessandro and Ippolito de' Medici.[89] At this period of life he distinguished himself by his Latin poetry, and is commemorated by Arsilli in his poem "De Poetis Urbanis," as a successful imitator of Horace and of Propertius.[90] That he attended also on the literary feasts of Corycius, he has particularly mentioned in his works. After the death of Leo, he retired for some time to Naples, but was recalled to Rome by Clement VII., who had a pride in remunerating the learned favourites of his illustrious predecessor, and who conferred on Valeriano the rank of

[88] He refers to his servitude in his "Eleg. de calamitat. suæ vitæ.

[89] Valerian. Hexamet. in Epist. Dedicat. ad Catharinam Galliæ Geginam. Ven. 1550; *et vide ante*, chap. xi.

[90] The poems of Valeriano, in five books, under the title of "Amorum," were first printed in 1524, and afterwards by Giolito, at Venice, in 1549. His hexameters, odes, and epigrams, were also printed by Giolito, in 1550.

protonotary, with several ecclesiastical preferments, and appointed him to fill the chair of professor of eloquence at Rome. He afterwards passed some part of his time at Florence, but, after the death of the cardinal Ippolito, in 1535, and the assassination of the duke Alessandro de' Medici, he retired to Belluno, whence he transferred his residence to Padua, at which place he continued to devote himself in tranquillity to his favourite studies until the close of his days in the year 1558.[91]

Valeriano is chiefly known to the present times by his brief, but curious and interesting work, "De Literatorum Infelicitate," which has preserved many anecdotes of the principal scholars of the age, not elsewhere to be found.[92] His Latin poetry has also considerable merit, and has frequently been cited in the foregoing pages, as illustrating the events of the times. His extensive learning is, however, chiefly discoverable in his great work on "Hieroglyphics," divided into fifty-eight books, in which he has undertaken to illustrate, from Egyptian, Greek, and Roman symbols, almost every branch of science and of art; but in this undertaking he is supposed to have displayed more imagination than judgment, and more labour than discrimination.[93] Under the title of "Antiquitates Bellunenses," he also published a work on the antiquities of his native place. This

[91] Tirab. vol. vi. par. iii. p. 239. Sig. Ticozzi, who has published a history of the literati and artists of the department of Piave, amongst which is inserted that of Valeriano, places his birth in 1477, and his death in 1560. From this work Count Bossi has made many extracts, contrasting them with the account here given, which they serve to correct, to elucidate, or to confirm; but for which I must refer to Ital. Ed. vol. x. p. 115, *et seq.**

[92] This work was not published until nearly a century after it was written, when it appeared at Venice, in a supplement to the "Antiquitates Bellunenses," of the same author. It was afterwards annexed to various editions of the "Hieroglyphics," and lastly, was inserted by Menckenius in his "Analecta de Calamitate Litteratorum," Lips. 1707, where it is preceded by the tract of Petrus Alcyonius, "De Exilio," a work full of commendations of Leo X., who, as Cardinal de' Medici, is represented as taking the lead as one of the interlocutors. This latter piece was first published at Venice in 1522, and is the work which, from the elegance of its style, has induced some critics to suppose the author had discovered the lost work of Cicero, "De Gloria," but had suppressed it, in order to publish a portion of it as his own. *Vide* note of Mr. Henke, Germ. Ed. vol. iii. p. 354. To this I may add, that the work of Valerianus, "De Infelicitate," &c. was also published separately, with an appendix by Cornelius Tollius. Amst. 1647.*

[93] The opinions of various authors on this, and other productions of Valeriano, may be found in the "Censura celebriorum authorum" of Pope Blount. See also a long and interesting note of Count Bossi. Ital. Ed. vol. x. p. 122, *et seq.*

author is entitled to a kind of commendation, not to be indiscriminately given to the eminent scholars of his time, having been no less remarkable for the probity of his life, and the inoffensiveness of his manners, than for the many learned works which issued from his pen.

Celio Calcagnini.

Few men of this period had made a greater proficiency in literary studies and scientific acquirements than Celio Calcagnini of Ferrara. His father was of a respectable family, and held the rank of an apostolic notary; but it is conjectured, with great probability, that Celio was not the offspring of a matrimonial connexion. He was born in the year 1479. In his early studies under Pietro Pomponazzo he had as an associate the celebrated Lilio Gregorio Gyraldi, with whom, and with Pierio Valeriano, he maintained throughout his life a strict intimacy, which was cemented by a conformity of studies and pursuits. In his early years he had devoted himself to a military life, and served for some time in the army of the emperor Maximilian. He afterwards engaged in the service of Julius II., and was employed in several important negotiations. Returning to Ferrara, he obtained the particular favour of the family of Este, and was chosen to accompany the cardinal Ippolito on his journey into Hungary. About the year 1520 he was appointed professor of the *belles lettres* in the university of Ferrara; a situation which he held with great credit until the time of his death, in the year 1541. His writings, which are very numerous, were collected and printed at Basle in the same year. They relate to almost every branch of learning; to philosophy, politics, moral and natural science. His Latin poetry is, however, preferred, in point of elegance, to his prose writings, and entitles him to a respectable rank among the most eminent of his contemporaries. In some of these pieces he highly applauds the liberality of Leo X., of whose bounty it is probable that he partook in common with his two learned friends. In an interview which took place between him and Erasmus, when the latter was on a visit at Ferrara, Calcagnini addressed that great scholar in Latin with such fluency and elegance, as not only to surprise him, but as he himself confesses,

almost to deprive him of the power of making a reply.[94] Some years afterwards, the treatise of Calcagnini, "De Libero Arbitrio," written by him in opposition to the Lutheran doctrine of predestination, being dispersed abroad in manuscript, fell into the hands of Erasmus, who, finding that Calcagnini agreed with him in the opinions which he had avowed in his "Diatribe" on the same subject,[95] wrote to him with high commendations of his work; which he assures him he meant to have sent to the press, had it not contained in one passage some insinuations to the prejudice of Erasmus, as a friend to the proceedings of Luther.[96] He then takes an opportunity of vindicating himself from any connexion with the reformers. He complains, with great justice, that whilst he endeavours to keep upon terms with both parties, he is persecuted by both, and inveighs against the theologians and monks, who, as he asserts, detest him on account of his labours for the promotion of learning, which they hate even worse than they do Luther himself.[97] In his reply to Erasmus, Calcagnini attacked Luther and his doctrines with great bitterness. Adverting then to the conduct of Erasmus, he informs him, that those who censure him the least do not hesitate to represent him as one who acts a double part, and who, although he alone might extinguish the flame, stands by unconcerned whilst the altars of the gods are destroyed.[98] He assures him, however, that these are not his sentiments, and declares, that he is fully convinced of his piety and his sincerity, as a proof of which he requests that he will not only correct the passage which has given him so much concern, but will alter or expunge any expression which may be supposed to convey the slightest reflection on his character.[99] Under the smooth polish of urbanity which appears in this letter, Calcagnini has, however, conveyed no small portion of reproof; nor is

[94] Erasm. Ep. lib. xxviii. ep. 25.

[95] In reply to this "Diatribe" of Erasmus, Luther wrote his treatise, "De Servo Arbitrio," which is published in the general collection of his works, tom. iii. p. 160.

[96] Erasm. Ep. lib. xx. ep. 53.

[97] Erasm. ibid.

[98] Calcag. Ep. ad Erasm. int. Eras. Ep. lib. xx. ep. 54.

[99] Calcag. *ut sup.* Much additional information respecting Calcagnini may be found in the notes of Bossi, in Ital. Ed. vol. x. pp. 129—131, &c.

it, indeed, surprising, that the rigid adherents of the Roman church should feel highly indignant at one of their most accomplished chieftains, who in the day of battle refused to oppose himself openly to the enemy, and, to use the language of Calcagnini himself, looked sedately on "whilst the wild boar rooted up the vineyard of the Lord."

Lilio Gregorio Gyraldi.

In the course of the present work we have had frequent occasion to refer to the writings of Lilio Gregorio Gyraldi, and particularly to his treatise on the Latin poets of his own times. There are, indeed, few departments of literature which have not been the subjects of his inquiry, and in whatever study he engaged he made a distinguished proficiency. He was born of a respectable family at Ferrara, in the year 1489; and although his finances were scanty, he had the good fortune to obtain instructions from Luca Riva and Battista Guarini. In his youth he paid a visit to Naples, where he had an opportunity of forming an intimacy with some of the distinguished scholars who then resided there. He afterwards visited Mirandula, Carpi, and Milan; in which last city he prosecuted the study of the Greek language under Demetrius Chalcondyles.[100] Thence he passed to Modena, where, at the request of the countess Bianca Rangone, he undertook to superintend the education of Ercole Rangone, one of her sons. On the countess transferring her residence to Rome, at the invitation of Leo X., who, as has already been related, made a splendid provision for her and her family,[101] Gyraldi followed his patroness, and had apartments assigned to him by the pontiff in the Vatican; where he not only continued to watch over the education of his pupil, who was afterwards raised by Leo X. to the dignity of a cardinal, but delivered instructions to such other young men of eminence as were inclined to attend him. The favour with which he was regarded by Leo X. and by his successors, Adrian VI. and Clement VII., might have induced him to flatter himself with the hope of some important preferment; but the only

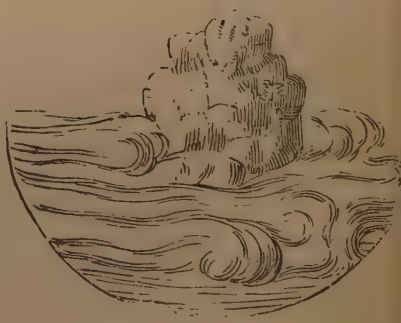
[100] Tirab. vol. vii. par. ii. pp. 216, 217. Bossi, note, in Ital. Ed. vol. x. pp. 133, 134.

[101] *Vide ante*, chap. xiv.

office which he obtained was that of an apostolic notary. During his residence in the pontifical court, Gyraldi is said to have indulged himself too freely in the luxuries of the table, in consequence of which he contracted the gout. With the pangs of this disorder he had also to sustain other misfortunes. In the sacking of the city of Rome, in the year 1527, he was plundered of all his property, not being able to save even his books. In the same year he lost, by an untimely death, his great protector, the cardinal Ercole Rangone, in consequence of which he left the city of Rome and retired to Mirandula, where he was most kindly received by Giovan-Francesco Pico, lord of that place. The treacherous assassination of that learned prince, in the year 1533, again deprived Gyraldi of a liberal patron, and had nearly involved him in destruction. He effected, however, his escape to Ferrara, where, in the friendship of Giovanni Manardi, and Celio Calcagnini, and the favour of the duchess Renata, one of the daughters of Louis XII., he found at length a refuge from his misfortunes. With his returning prosperity his disorder, however, acquired new strength, and he was at length confined entirely to his bed, where he still continued his studies, and composed several of those learned works which have transmitted his name with credit to future times. He died in the year 1552; having, during his residence at Ferrara, acquired a considerable sum of money, which he gave by his will to the duke to be divided among the poor; a disposition which would have been more to his honour, had he not left six nieces of marriageable age wholly destitute of support. His books he bequeathed to his relatives Giambattista Gyraldi[102] and Prospero Pasetio. In consequence of the frequent praises bestowed by Gyraldi on the duchess of Ferrara, who was generally supposed to be favourable to the opinions of the reformers, Gyraldi was

[102] Well known under the name of Giovambattista Giraldi Cynthio, as the author of the "Hecatommithi," or hundred novels, in the manner of Boccaccio, which have been frequently printed. A collection of his poems was published at Ferrara, in 1537, at the close of which is a treatise of Celio Calcagnini, "De Imitatione," addressed to Cynthio. This volume rarely occurs. For a further account of Cynthio, or Cintio Giraldi, and of several other of the *scrittori poligrafi*, or miscellaneous writers of the times, the Italian reader may consult the additional notes of Count Bossi in Ital. Ed. vol. x. pp. 122, &c.

himself suspected of a similar partiality. His numerous writings on history, criticism, morals, and other subjects, were collected and published in two volumes in folio, at Leyden, in 1696. These volumes contain also his Latin poems, which entitle him to rank among the most correct and learned writers of his time.



Medal of Francesco Guicciardini.

Raphaello exhibiting his paintings to Leo X.

CHAPTER XXII.

1521.

Revival of the Fine Arts—Research of Antiques encouraged by Leo X.—His Iambics on the statue of Lucretia—Collection of Angelo Colocci—Erection and improvements of the Vatican palace—Extensive views of Julius II.—Architectural works of Bramante—Most flourishing period of the Arts—Michel-Agnolo Buonaroti—Emulation between him and Lionardo da Vinci—Lionardo da Vinci visits Florence—Cartoons of the Wars of Pisa—Commencement of the modern church of S. Peter's at Rome—Michel-Agnolo undertakes the tomb of Julius II.—Erects the statue of that pontiff in Bologna—Raffaello D'Urbino—Michel-Agnolo commences his works in the Capella Sistina—Paintings of Raffaello in the Vatican—Whether Raffaello improved his style from the works of Michel-Agnolo—Circumstances decisive of the controversy—Picture of Heliodorus—Leo X. engages Michel-Agnolo to rebuild the church of S. Lorenzo at Florence—Raffaello proceeds in painting the frescos of the Vatican—Works executed by him for Agostino Chigi—Roman school of art—Loggie of Raffaello—Polidoro da Caravaggio—The Cartoons of Raffaello—Hall of Constantine—Transfiguration of Raffaello painted in competition with Michel-Agnolo—Raffaello employed by Leo X. to delineate the remains of ancient Rome—His report to the pope on that subject—Death of Raffaello—Other artists employed by Leo X.—Luca della Robbia—Andrea Contucci—Francia Bigio—Andrea del Sarto—Jacopo da Puntormo—Lionardo da Vinci said to have visited Rome—Origin of the art of engraving on Copper—Stampe di Niello—Baccio Baldini—Andrea Mantegna—Marc-Antonio Raimondi and his scholars—Invention of Etching.

Revival of the fine arts. 1521. Æt. 46 Pont. IX.

THE encouragement afforded by the Roman pontiffs to painting, to sculpture, and to architecture, is almost coeval with their revival in modern times. For a long succession of ages the genius of the predominating religion had, indeed, been highly unfa-

vourable to these pursuits, and, uniting with the ferocity of barbarian ignorance, had almost extirpated the last remains of those arts which had been carried by the ancients to so great a degree of perfection.[1] The fury of the Iconoclasts subsided, as the restoration of paganism became no longer an object of dread, and some of the meagre and mutilated remains of ancient skill, sanctified by new appellations, derived from the objects of Christian worship, were suffered to remain to attract the superstitious devotion, rather than the enlightened admiration of the people. The remonstrances and example of Petrarca seem first to have roused the attention of the Romans to the excellence of those admirable works, by the remains of which they were still surrounded. "Do you not blush," said he, "to make an infamous traffic of that which has escaped the hands of your barbarian ancestors; and to see that even the indolent city of Naples adorns herself with your columns, your statues, and the sepulchres that cover the ashes of your forefathers?[2] From this period some traces appear of a rising taste for these productions, which, in the course of the succeeding century, became a passion that could only be gratified by the acquisition of them. Of the labours of Niccolo Niccoli, of Poggio Bracciolini, and of Lorenzo, the brother of the venerable Cosmo de' Medici, some account has been given in other works.[3] By Lorenzo the Magnificent this object was pursued with constant solicitude and great success; and the collection of antiques formed by him in the gardens of S. Marco at Florence, became the school of Michel-Agnolo.

Research of antiques encouraged by Leo X.

This relish for the remains of antiquity, whether they consisted of statues, gems, vases, or other specimens of skill, had been cultivated by Leo X. from his earliest years under his paternal roof; where the instructions of the accomplished Politiano had enabled him to combine amusement with improvement, and

[1] Vasari, Vite de' Pittori, in Proem. 73. [2] Tirab. vol. v. p. 312.
[3] Shepherd's Life of Poggio Bracciolini, chap. vii. p. 291. Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, chap. ix. Count Bossi has also enlarged on this subject, and given an account of several other early collections, and works of art in Italy. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. xi. p. 114.*

to unite a correct taste with the science of an antiquarian. Before he was raised to the pontifical chair, he had distinguished himself by the encouragement which he had afforded to the research of antiquities at Rome.[4] By his assiduity a piece of sculpture was discovered in a small island of the Tiber, representing the ship of Æsculapius; an incident which is referred to by one of the poets of the time, as an augury of the election of Leo to the pontificate, and of the tranquillity and glory of his reign.[5] In the year 1508, under the pontificate of Julius II., the group of the Laocoon, one of the most precious remains of antiquity, was discovered in the ruins of the baths of Titus, and the fortunate discoverer was rewarded by the pontiff with an annual stipend, arising from the income of the gate of S. John Lateran. On the elevation of Leo to the pontificate, he removed this inestimable memorial of art to the Vatican, and, in exchange for the annuity, conferred on the person who discovered it the honourable and lucrative office of an apostolic notary.[6] The encouragement thus afforded to those who devoted themselves to these inquiries, gave new vigour to their researches. The production of a genuine specimen of antiquity secured to the fortunate possessor a competency for life, and the acquisition of a fine statue was almost equivalent to that of a bishopric. In these pursuits little attention was paid by the pontiff to economy. What-

[4] In the Laurentian library, Plut. xxxiii. Cod. 37, is preserved a Latin poem of Andrea Fulvius, in two books, entitled, "Antiquaria," in which he describes at great length the antiquities of Rome, with many encomiums on Leo X. *Vide* Fabr. Leon. X. vit. p. 305, note 111.

[5] Pierii Valeriani Hexametri, p. 63.

[6] "Ho trovato in una relazione manoscritta, degna di fede, che papa Giulio II. diede a *Felice de' Fredis*, e a suoi figliuoli *introitus et portionem gabellæ Portæ S. Johannis Lateranensis*, in premio d'avere scoperto il *Laocoonte;* e che Leon. X. restituendo queste rendite alla chiesa di S. Giov. Laterano, assegnò loro in vece *Officium Scriptoriæ Apostolicæ*, con un breve in data dei 9 Novembre, 1517." Winckel. Storia delle arti. Nota dell' edit. vol. ii. p. 193. The merits of this fortunate inquirer were also inscribed on his tomb.

"Felici de Fredis.
Qui ob proprias virtutes,
Et repertum Laocoontis divinum quod
In Vaticano cernes fere
Respirans simulacrum,
Immortalitatem meruit,
Anno Domini mdxxviiii."

Vide Richardson sur la Peinture, tom. iii. p. 711, in addendis.

ever appeared deserving of his notice was purchased at any expense, and paid for from the revenues intended for the use of the church. Many of the cameos and gems of great value, which had been collected by his ancestors and dispersed during the misfortunes of his family, were fortunately recovered by him, and to these, important additions were made by his own assiduity. He placed in the front of the Pantheon, now called the church of *La Rotunda*, or *S. Maria ad Martyres*,[7] a fine porphyry vase, which has since been removed by Clement XII. into the church of the Lateran. The discovery of these monuments of ancient skill called forth the panegyrics of the most accomplished scholars of the age. To the Latin verses of Sadoleti on the Laocoon and the Curtius we have before had occasion to refer.[8] Castiglione has in like manner celebrated the statue of Cleopatra, now supposed to be that of Ariadne, in a poem of great elegance, in which he has taken occasion highly to commend the taste and munificence of Leo X.[9] Even Leo himself, whilst yet a cardinal, exercised his talents on a similar subject; and his Iambics on the discovery of a statue of Lucretia among the ruins of the Transtevere, exhibit the only specimen that has been preserved to us of his poetical compositions, and afford a sufficient proof, that if he had devoted a greater share of his attention to the cultivation of this department of letters, he might not wholly have despaired of success.[10]

Iambics by Leo X.

The particular favour with which Leo X. regarded antiquarian studies, gave them a new impulse at Rome, where many of the cardinals and distinguished prelates began to form collections which have since been highly celebrated. Among these, that of Angelo

Collection of Angelo Colocci.

[7] This was commemorated by the following inscription:

LEO X. PONT. MAX PROVIDENTISS. PRINCEPS
VAS ELEGANTISSIMUM EX LAPIDE NUMIDICO
NE POLLUTUM NEGLIGENTIÆ SORDIBUS
OBOLESCERET IN HUNC MODUM REPONI
EXORNARIQUE JUSSIT.
BARTHOLOMÆUS VALLA, } AEDILES FAC. CUR.
ALAMUNDUS CAPOFERRUS, }

[8] *Vide ante*, chap. xvii. [9] Carm. quinque Illustr. Poet. p. 64.
[10] This piece is given in App. No. XCVIII.

Colocci, in the villa and gardens of Sallust, is deserving of particular notice. His statues, busts, sepulchral memorials, cameos, coins, and medals, were numerous and valuable.[11] The walls of his house were decorated with classical monuments in marble; and the Roman standard, and the consular Fasti of Colocci, have frequently been referred to, as the most authentic documents for ascertaining circumstances of considerable importance in the topography and history of ancient Rome.[12]

Erection and improvements of the palace of the Vatican.

The palace of the Vatican, first erected by the pontiff Symmachus, about the beginning of the sixth century, had been enlarged by Nicholas III. so as to afford a commodious residence for the chiefs of the Christian church; but the magnificent idea of increasing the splendour of the Roman see, and rendering the city of Rome the centre of literature and of arts no less than of religion, was first conceived by Nicholas V. about the middle of the fifteenth century. As a part of this design, he resolved to complete the palace of the Vatican on such an extensive scale, and with such elegance of ornament, as to render it the largest, as well as the most beautiful fabric in Christendom. It was his intention not only to prepare a suitable residence for the supreme pontiff, and for the cardinals of the church, by whom, as his constant council, he ought always to be surrounded, but to provide appropriate buildings for transacting all the affairs of the Roman court, with accommodations for the officers both of the church and state; so as to give to the seat of the supreme pontiff the utmost possible degree of convenience and of pomp. Splendid apartments were also to be provided for the reception of the sovereigns and great personages, who for devotional or secular purposes might visit the holy see, and an immense theatre was to be erected for the coronation of the Roman pontiffs. This extensive structure formed, however, a comparatively small part of his vast design, which, it seems, was to comprehend the whole of the Vatican hill, and to enclose it from the rest of the city. The communication with the latter was

[11] Ubaldini, Vita Colotii, p. 26.
[12] Panvinii Fast. lib. ii. ap. Ubaldini, vitam Colotii, p. 31.

to be formed by extensive corridors, which might be used for shops and mercantile purposes, and which were designed in such a manner as to be secure from the inconveniences arising from the winds that prove so injurious to the inhabitants, and from all causes of infection and disease. The buildings were intended to be surrounded with gardens, with galleries, fountains, and aqueducts; and among them were to be erected chapels, libraries, and a large and elegant structure for the assembly of the conclave. "What a glory would it have been for the Roman church," exclaims the pious Vasari, "to have seen the supreme pontiff, as in a celebrated and sacred monastery, surrounded by all the ministers of religion, and living, as in a terrestrial paradise, a celestial and holy life; an example to all Christendom, and an incitement to unbelievers to devote themselves to the true worship of God, and of our blessed Saviour."[13] Whether the completion of this plan would have been productive of such happy consequences, may, perhaps, be doubtful, but the arts would have been fostered and rewarded by such an application of the immense treasures then derived from every part of Christendom, which would, at least, have been expended in elegant and harmless pursuits, instead of being devoted, as has been too often the case, to the purposes of luxury, of corruption, and of war. The artist employed by Nicholas V. in executing his immense designs, was Bernardo Rosselini. His plans were completed and approved of; the work was commenced; and such part of the buildings as front the cortile of the Belvedere, with a part of the extensive walls, was erected, when the death of this munificent pontiff terminated his mighty projects; not, however, before he had, by the assistance of the same eminent architect, completed several magnificent buildings, as well within the city of Rome as in other parts of Italy. As a painter, Pietro della Francesca was employed by Nicholas V. to decorate, conjointly with other artists, some of the chambers of the Vatican;[14] but their labours were destroyed during the pontificate of Leo X. to make way for much superior productions.

[13] Vasari, Vite de' Pittori, vol. i. p. 181. [14] And. Fulv. de antiquit. Urbis, lib. i.

The buildings of the Vatican were increased by Pius II., Paul II., and Sixtus IV., who erected the chapel known by his name, with the library and conclave; and by Innocent VIII., who completed several extensive galleries and apartments, and ornamented them with paintings and mosaics. A stately tower was raised by Alexander VI., the apartments of which were decorated with pictures by the best artists of the time;[15] but the honour of having carried forwards to a great degree of perfection the splendid designs of Nicholas V. was reserved for Julius II. Shall we, with Bembo, attribute it to the good fortune of this pontiff, that he was surrounded by three such artists as Bramante, Raffaello, and Michel-Agnolo, or may we not with greater justice suppose, that Julius communicated to them a portion of the vigour and impetuosity of his own character; and acknowledge that these great men were indebted to the pontiff for some part of their reputation, and perhaps of their excellence, by the opportunities which his magnificent projects and vast designs afforded them, of exercising their talents on a theatre sufficiently ample to display them to full advantage?

Extensive views of Julius II.

The first patron of Bramante, after his arrival from Milan at Rome, was the cardinal Oliverio Caraffa, for whom he designed and completed the choir, in the convent of the *Frati della Pace*. This specimen of his talents recommended him to the notice of Alexander VI., by whom he was employed in executing the pontifical arms in fresco, over the great doors of S. John Lateran, when that church was opened for the celebration of the jubilee in the year 1500. Alexander afterwards conferred upon him the office of his sub-architect; but on the accession of Julius II. a fairer opportunity was afforded him of displaying his talents. No sooner was Julius seated in the chair, than he determined to facilitate the communication between the gardens of the Belvedere and the pontifical palace, by two magnificent corridors, the execution of which he committed to Bramante. The inequality of the surface, instead of proving an obstacle to the artist,

Architectural works of Bramante.

[15] And. Fulv. *ut sup.*

enabled him to exhibit the powers of his invention to greater advantage; and the model which he formed is acknowledged to have been equal in grandeur, in elegance, and in extent, to the most celebrated works of the ancients. Of this immense design, the Loggie, that extend four hundred yards in length, and yet form one of the chief ornaments of the Vatican, were a part; and were intended to correspond with a similar range of buildings on the opposite side, the foundations of which were laid, but which, in consequence of the death of the pope, and that of the artist, who did not long survive him, remained unfinished, until they were completed by Pius IV.[16] The model formed by Bramante of these magnificent structures, in which the levels of the different buildings were connected by flights of steps, designed with wonderful ingenuity, and ornamented by ranges of Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian columns, was considered as an astonishing performance, and seems to have resembled the bold inventions of a more modern artist, (Piranesi,) who being unable, in latter days, to obtain an adequate employment for his extraordinary talents, found a gratification in designing imaginary buildings, which rise pile above pile in towering sublimity, and present to the eye masses of architecture, which the labour of ages could not accomplish, and of which the revenues of kingdoms would not defray the expense.

Bramante having thus become the professed architect and favourite of Julius II., frequently accompanied the pontiff on his military expeditions, who, in return for his attachment and his services, conferred on him the lucrative office of sealer of the pontifical briefs. Under his directions, Bramante executed, in Rome and its vicinity, several considerable buildings; and such was the fervour of the artist who laboured, and of the pontiff who stimulated him, that these immense fabrics, to use an expression of Vasari, seemed rather to be *born* than to be built.

[16] Vasari, Vite de' Pittori, *passim*. According to Bossi, Bramante was born in 1444, and died at seventy years of age, in 1514. Leo X. is said to have ordered a magnificent funeral for him, which he attended himself, with his whole court. Many additional particulars respecting this great architect may be found in Ital. Ed. vol. ix. p. 115, *et seq.**

The most illustrious period of the arts is that which commences with the return of Michel-Agnolo from Rome to Florence, about the year 1500, and terminates with the death of Leo X. in 1521. Within this period, almost all the great works in painting, in sculpture, and in architecture, which have been the admiration of future times, were produced. Under the successive but uninterrupted patronage of Julius II. and Leo X., the talents of the great artists then living were united in one simultaneous effort; and their rival productions may be considered as a joint tribute to the munificence of their patrons, and the glory of the age. A short time prior to the expulsion of Piero de' Medici from Florence, in the year 1494, Michel-Agnolo had quitted his native place, from an apprehension of the disturbances which he saw were likely to ensue. After a short and unprofitable visit to Venice, he took up his residence at Bologna, where he gave some specimens of his talents, not only as an artist, but as a polite scholar; and his host, Aldrovandi, was delighted with his recitation of the works of Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio, and other Tuscan writers.[17] On the establishment of the government under Pietro Soderini, Michel-Agnolo returned to Florence, where he executed for Lorenzo di Pier-Francesco de' Medici a statue in marble of S. John, which has unfortunately eluded the researches of his admirers.[18] About the same time he also completed, in marble, a figure of Cupid sleeping, which, at the suggestion of the same Lorenzo, he is said to have placed for some time in the ground, for the purpose of giving to it the appearance of a piece of ancient sculpture. It was afterwards sold as a real monument of antiquity to the cardinal Raffaello Riario, who, having discovered the deception, and being insensible of its intrinsic merit, returned it on the hands of the artist.[19] Notwithstanding this impeachment

Most flourishing period of the arts.

Michel-Agnolo Buonaroti.

[17] Vasari, Vita di Michel-Agn. in Vite, tom. iii. p. 197. And see note of Count Bossi, in Ital. Ed. vol. xi. p. 122.*

[18] Bottari, Nota al Vasari, vol. iii. p. 197.

[19] This figure afterwards came into the possession of Cæsar Borgia, who presented it to the marchioness of Mantua, at which city it gave rise to an anecdote recorded in the life of De Thou. That great man being at Mantua, in the year 1573, was, as we are told, gratified with the sight of the sleeping Cupid of Michel-

of the taste of the cardinal, he soon afterwards invited Michel-Agnolo to Rome, where he remained about the space of a year, but without being employed by the cardinal in any undertaking worthy of his talents.[20] He did not, however, quit the city without giving splendid proofs of his genius; among which, his figures, in marble, of Cupid, and of Bacchus,[21] executed for Jacopo Galli, a Roman gentleman, and his astonishing production of the Madonna and dead Christ, completed at the instance of the cardinal of Rohan, are the most distinguished.

Emulation between Michel-Agnolo and Lionardo da Vinci.

It was not, however, until the return of Michel-Agnolo to Florence, about the close of the century, that he may be said to have started in the career of his glory, to which he was incited by a spirit of emulation, and a fortunate concurrence of circumstances. On the ruin of Francesco Sforza, and the capture of Milan by the French, in the year 1500, the celebrated Lionardo da Vinci quitted that city, where he left many noble monuments of his genius, and repairing to Florence, arrived there about the same time that Michel-Agnolo returned from Rome.[22] The rising reputation of Michel-Agnolo was contrasted with the

Lionardo da Vinci visits Florence.

Agnolo, of which he and his friends expressed their high approbation; but on being shewn, immediately afterwards, another figure of the same subject, of antique workmanship, they were instantly convinced of the inferiority of the modern artist; whose work appeared, in comparison with the other, a shapeless block; and were ashamed of having expressed their approbation of it. This story, if true, does no credit to the taste of De Thou and his companions. They might, perhaps, justly have preferred the ancient to the modern statue, but in thus extravagantly condemning that which they had, the moment before, commended, they proved that they had no real standard of taste, and were not qualified to judge on the subject. M. Henry, the French translator of the present work, has given, in a note, the history of the Sleeping Cupid somewhat differently. *Vide* Ed. Fran. tom. iv. p. 234, 2d ed.*

[20] It is strange that Michel-Agnolo should, at the request of the cardinal, have condescended, as Vasari relates, to make a design for a painting of S. Francis receiving the *stigmata*, which was to be finished in colours by the *tonsor* of the cardinal. It appears, however, to have been executed, and after having been coloured by the barber, "molto diligentemente," was honoured with a place in one of the chapels of *S. Pietro a Montorio*, at Rome. Such is, at times, the wayward fate of genius; condemned, on one occasion, to gratify the gaze of folly by erecting a statue of snow, and on another, to be the footstool for a barber to mount to immortality.

[21] The statue of Bacchus is (or lately was) in the Florentine gallery. It has been engraved in the collection of ancient and modern statues by Domenico Rossi. Rom. 1704, and in the third volume of the "Museum Florentinum."

[22] At what time Michel-Agnolo returned to Florence is not precisely stated by his biographers; but Condivi informs us, that at the time he executed the Madonna

veteran glory of Lionardo. They each felt the excellences of the other; and they each aspired to rival them. By this collision the spark was produced which was shortly to illuminate Italy. The first contest between these illustrious artists was favourable to the credit of Michel-Agnolo. A large block of marble, to which Simone da Fiesole, a Florentine sculptor, had unsuccessfully attempted to give the resemblance of a human figure of gigantic size, had remained neglected upwards of a hundred years, and was supposed to be irremediably deformed. The magistrates of Florence were desirous that this opprobrium of the art should be converted to the ornament of the city, for which purpose they applied to some of the most eminent professors of the time, and among the rest to Lionardo da Vinci and Michel-Agnolo. Lionardo, who had excelled in the productions of the pencil rather than of the chisel, hesitated to undertake the task, alleging, that the work could not be completed without supplying the defects with additional pieces of marble.[23] Michel-Agnolo alone engaged to form it into a statue of one entire piece; and under his hands this shapeless block became the wonderful colossal figure of David, which was afterwards placed by order of the magistrates before the gates of the palace of justice. With such accuracy had he estimated the dimensions of this celebrated statue, that in several parts of the figure he has left untouched the ruder labours of his predecessor, upon which he could not employ his chisel without injury to its proportions.

Cartoons of the wars of Pisa.

The spirit of patronage which at this time actuated the Florentine government, soon afforded these great artists another opportunity of exerting their rival talents, in which Lionardo might justly have flattered himself with a fairer prospect of success. The

for the cardinal of Rohan at Rome, he was twenty-four or twenty-five years of age; consequently, as he was born in 1474, his return may be placed, with tolerable accuracy, in 1499. This also agrees sufficiently with his contest with Lionardo da Vinci, which occurred soon afterwards. Condivi, Vita di Michel-Agn. p. 14, ed. Fer. 1746, fo.

[23] Besides Lionardo and Michel-Agnolo, Andrea Contucci, an excellent artist, had been treated with to undertake the work. Vasari Vite, vol. iii. p. 203. The document from the public records of Florence, by which this task was intrusted to Michel-Agnolo, is published by Gori, in his Annotations on Condivi, p. 106.

magistrates having resolved to decorate the council-hall of Florence with a picturesque representation of some of the battles in which the republic had been successfully engaged, intrusted to Lionardo and Michel-Agnolo, in detached portions, the execution of this extensive work. The subject proposed was the wars of Pisa, in the result of which the Florentines obtained the final dominion of that place. The cartoons, or designs for this purpose, were immediately commenced. The preparations made by each of the artists, and the length of time employed, as well in intense meditation, as in cautious execution, sufficiently demonstrated the importance which they attached to the result. From variety of talent, or by mutual agreement, they each, however, chose a different track. Lionardo undertook to represent a combat of horsemen, which he introduced as a part of the history of Nicolo Piccinino, a commander for the duke of Milan. In this piece he concentrated all the result of his experience, and all the powers of his mind. In the varied forms and contorted attitudes of the combatants, he has displayed his thorough knowledge of the anatomy of the human body. In their features he has characterised, in the most expressive manner, the sedateness of steady courage, the vindictive malevolence of revenge, the mingled impressions of hope and of fear, the exultation of triumphant murder, and the despairing gasp of inevitable death. The horses mingle in the combat with a ferocity equal to that of their riders, and the whole was executed with such skill, that in the essential points of conception, of composition, and of outline, this production has, perhaps, seldom been equalled, and certainly never excelled. Michel-Agnolo, on the other hand, devoted solely to the study of the human figure, disdained to lavish any portion of his powers on the inferior representations of animal life. He therefore selected a moment in which he supposed a body of Florentine soldiers, bathing in the Arno, to have been unexpectedly called into action by the signal of battle. To have chosen a subject more favourable to the display of his powers, consistently with the task committed to him, was perhaps impossible. The clothed, the half-clothed, and the naked are mingled in one tumultuous

group. A soldier just risen from the water starts in alarm, and turning towards the sound of the trumpet, expresses in his complicated action almost every variety incident to the human frame. Another, with the most vehement impatience, forces his dripping feet through his adhesive clothing. A third calls to his companion, whose arms only are seen grappling with the rocky sides of the river, which from this circumstance appears to flow in front, although beyond the limits of the picture; whilst a fourth, almost prepared for action, in buckling round him his belt, promises to stoop the next moment for his sword and shield, which lie ready at his feet. It would be as extravagant as unjust to the talents of Michel-Agnolo, to carry our admiration of this production so far as to suppose, with the sculptor Cellini, that he never afterwards attained to half the degree of excellence which he there displayed;[24] but it may be asserted with confidence, that the great works which this fortunate spirit of emulation produced, marked a new æra in the art, and that upon the study of these models almost all the great painters, who shortly afterwards conferred such honour on their country, were principally formed.[25]

Commencement of the modern church of S. Peter's at Rome.

On the elevation of Julius II. to the pontificate, one of the first objects of his ambition was to have his memory immortalized by the labours of the greatest sculptor of his time. He therefore invited Michel-Agnolo to Rome, and engaged him by the most liberal offers to form for him the design of a sepulchral monument.[26] The great artist had now found a proper

[24] Vita di Benv. Cellini, p. 13. Further observations on the cartoon of Pisa may be found in Ital. Ed. vol. xi. p. 126.

[25] Neither of these works was ever completed, and even the cartoons have long since been lost or destroyed. That of Lionardo was, however, engraved by Edelinck, when young, from an imperfect design. It has since been engraved with less elegance, but from a better model, and published in the "Etruria Pittrice," No. xxix. There is also a print of a part of the cartoon of Michel-Agnolo by Marc-Antonio, which was also re-engraved by Agostino Veneziano. This print is known by the name of the *Grimpeurs*. The only copy ever made of the whole composition of the cartoon of Michel-Agnolo is among the pictures collected by the late Lord Leicester, and is now at Holkham. "It is a small picture in oil, in *chiaro-scuro*, and the performance of Bastiano da S. Gallo, surnamed *Aristotile*, from his learned or verbose descants on that surprising work."—Seward's Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons, vol. iii. p. 137. This work has now been engraved and published.

[26] It has been supposed that Julius II. called Michel-Agnolo to Rome, soon after

theatre for the display of his powers. His mind laboured with this favourite subject. For several months he is said to have brooded over it in silence, without even tracing an outline; but the meditations of such a mind are not destined to be fruitless, and the result of his deliberations appeared in a design, which far exceeded in elegance, in grandeur, in exquisite ornament, and abundance of statues, every monument of ancient workmanship or imperial splendour. The magnanimous spirit of Julius II. caught new fire from the productions of this wonderful man, and it was at this moment that he formed the resolution of rebuilding the church of S. Peter in a manner worthy of receiving, and of displaying to advantage, so happy an effort of human powers.[27] This task he intrusted to his favourite architect Bramante; and of the designs formed by him for this purpose, one was selected by the pontiff, which in grandeur, variety, and extent, surpassed all that Rome had seen even in the most splendid days of the republic. The ancient cathedral was demolished with an almost indecent rapidity, insomuch that many valuable remains of art, and representations and monuments of eminent men, were indiscriminately destroyed. In a short time the modern church of S. Pietro began to rise from the ruins of the former pile, on a scale yet more extensive than it has since been found practicable to complete it. In the execution of this building, as well as in the design, Bramante gave proofs of the wonderful powers of his genius; but the brief limits of human life are not commensurate with such vast projects. Long after the death of both the architect and the pontiff, the

his elevation, in the year 1503, *vide* Condivi, p. 16. But Bottari has observed, that the colossal statue of David was not erected at Florence until 1504, after which Michel-Agnolo executed some other works there; whence he concludes that Julius did not call him to Rome until the *fourth* or *fifth* year of his pontificate. Bottari is right in his premises, but wrong in his conclusion. Michel-Agnolo certainly did not quit Florence immediately after the accession of Julius, but his arrival at Rome was as certainly not later than 1505, or the *second* year of the pontificate of Julius, as will appear from subsequent circumstances.

[27] That this design first suggested to the pontiff the idea of rebuilding S. Peter's, is asserted by Vasari, vol. ii. p. 83, and again, vol. iii. p. 211; also by Bottari, vii. note 1, Vita di Michel-Agnolo, p. 19. This monument, which was not completed until long after the death of the pontiff, was not, however, erected in the church of S. Pietro *Vaticano*, but in that of S. Pietro *in Vinculis*, where it yet remains. *Vide* Dr. Smith's Tour to the Continent, vol. ii p. 39.

church of S. Pietro continued to employ the abilities of the first artists of the time; and by the immense expenses which it occasioned to the Roman see, became the cause, or the pretext, of those exactions throughout Christendom, which immediately led the way to that irreconcileable dissension which we have before had occasion to relate.[28]

Having obtained the approbation of the pontiff to the design of his monument, Michel-Agnolo engaged in the execution of this immense work with all the ardour which was natural to him, and with all the expedition of which so laborious a performance would admit. The colossal figure of Moses, which yet occupies the centre of this astonishing piece of art, was soon completed,[29] and several other statues destined to fill their proper stations in the monument, were either finished, or in a state of great forwardness. The slow pro-

Michel-Agnolo undertakes the tomb of Julius II.

[28] Pallavic. Concil. di Trento, chap. i. p. 49.

[29] This celebrated figure has given rise to a literary production which has been considered as scarcely inferior in point of sublimity, to the statue itself.

SONETTO

Di Giovambattista Zappi.

"Chi è Costui, che in dura pietra scolto,
Siede gigante, e le più illustre e conte
Prove dell' arte avanza, e ha vive e pronte
Le labbia sì, che le parole ascolto?
Quest' è Mosè; ben mel diceva il folto
Onor del mento, e 'l doppio raggio in fronte,
Quest' è Mosè, quando scendea dal monte,
E gran parte del Nume avea nel volto.
Tal era allor, che le sonante e vaste
Acque ei sospese a se d'intorno, e tale
Quando il mar chiuse, e nc fè tomba altrui.
E voi sue turbe un rio vitello alzate?
Alzate aveste imago a questo eguale!
Ch' era men fallo l'adorar costui."

SONNET.

And who is he that, shaped in sculptured stone,
Sits giant-like? stern monument of art
Unparallel'd, whilst language seems to start
From his prompt lips, and we his precepts own?
—'Tis Moses; by his beard's thick honours known,
And the twin-beams that from his temples dart;
'Tis Moses; seated on the mount apart,
Whilst yet the Godhead o'er his features shone.
Such once he look'd, when ocean's sounding wave
Suspended hung, and such amidst the storm,
When o'er his foes the refluent waters roar'd.
An idol calf his followers did engrave;
But had they raised this awe-commanding form,
Then had they with less guilt their work adored

gress of the hand of art was, however, ill calculated to correspond with the impatient temper and rapid ideas of the pontiff, who expected by striking the ground with his foot to obtain the accomplishment of his wishes. As the labour continued, and the expense increased, the pontiff became dissatisfied, and at length appeared indifferent to the completion of the work. The demands of Michel-Agnolo for the charge of conveying the marble from the quarries of Carrara to Rome, were treated with neglect, and when he requested an interview, Julius refused to admit him into his presence. The artist did not long deliberate on the course of conduct which it became him to adopt. He requested the attendants of the pope to inform his holiness, that whenever he chose to inquire for him, he might seek him elsewhere, and immediately taking his departure from Rome, he hastened to Poggibonzi, within the territories of Florence.[30] This decisive step equally surprised and chagrined the pontiff. Five successive couriers were despatched from Rome to pacify the artist, and prevail upon him to return; but all that they could obtain from him was only a short letter to the pope, in which he requested his pardon for having so abruptly relinquished his labours, which he assured him he was only induced to do by being driven from his presence; a reward which his faithful services had not merited. Returning to Florence, Michel-Agnolo employed himself during three months in finishing his design of the Cartoons in the great hall of the city. Whilst he was thus engaged, the pope despatched to the magistracy of the city three successive briefs, in which he strenuously insisted on their sending Michel-Agnolo again to Rome. The violence and perseverance of the pontiff, whose character was well known, alarmed Michel-Agnolo, who began to entertain thoughts of quitting Italy and retreating to Constantinople; but at the entreaties of the Gonfaloniere Soderini, he at length consented to comply with the wishes of the pope by returning once more to Rome. The remonstrances of Soderini to Michel-Agnolo on this occasion are preserved by Condivi. "Thou hast tried an experiment

[30] Condivi, Vita di Michel-Agn. p. 20.

upon the pope," said the Gonfaloniere, "upon which the king of France would scarcely have ventured. He must not therefore be under the necessity of submitting to further entreaties, nor must we on thy account risk the dangers of war and the safety of the state. Prepare therefore to return, and if thou hast any apprehensions for thy safety, thou shalt be invested with the title of our ambassador, which will sufficiently protect thee from his wrath."[31]

Erects the statue of Julius II. in Bologna.

The reconciliation between Michel-Agnolo and Julius took place in the month of November, 1506,[32] at Bologna, which place had just before surrendered to the pontifical arms. In consequence of the indisposition of the cardinal Soderini, who was expected to have been the moderator on this occasion, Michel-Agnolo was introduced by one of the bishops who was attached to the service of the cardinal. The artist submissively waited for the apostolic benediction; but the pope, with an oblique glance and stern countenance exclaimed, "Instead of coming here to meet us, thou hast expected that we should come to look for thee!" Michel-Agnolo, with due humility, was proceeding to apologize for his precipitancy, when the good bishop, desirous of appeasing the anger of the pope, began to represent to his holiness, that such men as Michel-Agnolo were ignorant of everything but the art they professed, and were therefore entitled to pardon. The reply of the pontiff was made with his staff across the shoulders of the bishop, and Julius having thus vented his wrath, gave Michel-Agnolo his benediction, and received him once more into his favour and confidence.[33] On this occasion that great artist erected, in front of the church of S. Petronio at Bologna, a statue of the pontiff in bronze, which he is said to have executed so as to express in the most energetic manner those qualities by which he was distinguished; giving grandeur and majesty to the person, and courage, promptitude, and fierceness to the countenance, whilst even the drapery was remarkable for the boldness and magnificence of its folds. When Julius

[31] Condivi, Vita di Michel-Agn. p. 20. [32] *Vide ante*, chap. vii.
[33] Condivi, Vita di Michel-Agn, p. 22.

saw the model, and observed the vigour of the attitude and the energy with which the right arm was extended, he inquired from the artist whether he meant to represent him as dispensing his benediction or his curse; to which Michel-Agnolo prudently replied, that he meant to represent him in the act of admonishing the citizens of Bologna. In return, the artist requested to know from his holiness whether he would have a book in his hand. "No," replied Julius, "give me a sword. I am no scholar."[34]

Raffaello d'Urbino.

The completion of this statue employed Michel-Agnolo for sixteen months, at the expiration of which time he repaired once more to Rome. He there met with a yet more powerful, although much younger rival than he had left at Florence, in the celebrated Raffaello d'Urbino. This distinguished painter Julius II. had, on the recommendation of his architect Bramante, who stood related to Raffaello, invited to Rome, at which city he, as well as Michel-Agnolo, arrived in the year 1508.[35] Raffaello was now twenty-five years of age, having been born at Urbino in the year 1483. His father was a painter, and although of no great eminence, is supposed to have directed the early studies of his son in their proper track. He was afterwards placed under the tuition of Pietro Perugino, whom he soon rivalled in execution, and surpassed in design. After visiting Citta di Castello, where he exercised his talents with great applause, he was called to Sienna, to assist the celebrated painter Pinturicchio, who was employed by the cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, afterwards Pius III., to decorate the library of the cathedral in that city. Raffaello had already sketched several designs for the work, and had himself executed a part of it, when hearing of the cartoons of Lionardo da Vinci and of Michel-Agnolo at Florence, he determined to pay a visit to that place, where he arrived in the year 1504, and is enumerated among the young artists who enlarged their judgment and improved

[34] The fate of this statue is before related, chap. viii.

[35] It appears, from the narrative of Vasari, that Raffaello arrived at Rome before Michel-Agnolo returned from Bologna, after having completed the statue of Julius II. Vita di Michel-Agn. in Vasari, vol. iii. p. 219. *Vide* Mariette Observ. sur la vie de Mich.-Agn. par Condivi, p. 72.

their taste from those celebrated models.[36] The death of his parents compelled him to return for some time to Urbino, for the arrangement of his domestic concerns, but he soon afterwards paid a second visit to Florence, where he may be said to have completed his professional education, and from the labours of Masaccio in the chapel of the Brancacci, and the works of Michel-Agnolo and Lionardo da Vinci, to have derived those constituent elements of his design, which, combined by the predominating power of his own genius, formed that attractive manner which unites the sublime and the graceful, in a greater degree than is to be found in the productions of any other master.[37]

Soon after the return of Michel-Agnolo from Bologna to Rome, the pope, who was well aware of the variety and extent of his talents, formed the resolution of decorating the chapel erected by his uncle Sixtus IV. with a series of paintings on sacred subjects, in a style of grandeur superior to any that had before been produced. The execution of this immense work he committed to Michel-Agnolo, who, we are told, felt great reluctance in undertaking it, being desirous to proceed with the tomb of the pontiff; and endeavoured to prevail upon the pope, rather to intrust it to Raffaello, who was much more conversant than himself with the process of painting in fresco. It has also been said, that the pope was prompted to engage Michel-Agnolo in this employ by the envy or malignity of the enemies of that artist, and particularly of Bramante, who, being well aware of the superiority of Michel-Agnolo as a sculptor, conceived that as a painter he would be found inferior to Raffaello; but impu-

Michel-Agnolo commences his works in the Capella Sistina.

[36] Vasari, vol. iii. p. 209. Bottari ed. It is remarkable, however, that in the first edition of Vasari, in two volumes, Fior. 1550, *Raffaello* is not enumerated among the artists who studied from the cartoons of Pisa. The painters there mentioned are Aristotile da San Gallo, Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, Francesco Granacci, Baccio Bandinello, and Alonzo Berugetto; to whom are added Andrea del Sarto, Il Francia Bigio, Jacopo Sansovino, Il Rosso, Maturino, Lorenzetto, Il Tribolo, Jacopo da Pontormo, and Perin del Vaga. That Raffaello studied the works of Michel-Agnolo is, however, highly probable, and so far from being derogatory to his character, confers honour both on his diligence and his taste, as a young man of twenty years of age, eager to obtain improvement, and capable of selecting the best models of imitation. Mariette, Observ. sur la vie de Michel-Agn. par Condivi, p. 72.

[37] Many interesting particulars respecting this great artist, his works, and scholars, may be found in the notes of Count Bossi. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. xi. pp. 127, 131, 148, &c.*

tations of this kind are generally the result of little minds, that attribute to more elevated characters the motives by which they are themselves actuated, and the instances of mutual admiration and good-will which appear in the conduct of Raffaello and Michel-Agnolo towards each other, are, at least, a sufficient proof that they were both equally superior to an illiberal jealousy. The pontiff, who had destined the talents of Raffaello to another purpose, would, however, admit of no apology. The paintings with which the chapel had been decorated by the elder masters were immediately destroyed, and the designs for the ceiling by Michel-Agnolo were commenced. Conscious, however, of his inexperience in the mechanical part of his art, he invited from Florence several painters to his assistance, among whom were Granacci, Giuliano Bugiardini, Jacopo di Sandro, the elder Indaco, Agnolo di Donnino, and Aristotile di San Gallo, who for some time painted under his directions; but the efforts of these secondary artists were so inadequate to his own conceptions, that he one morning wholly destroyed their labours, and shutting the doors of the chapel against them, refused to admit them to a sight of him. From that moment he proceeded in his work without any assistance, having even prepared his colours with his own hands. The difficulties which he experienced are particularly noticed by his biographer Vasari; but they were conquered by the diligence and perseverance of the artist, who on this occasion availed himself of the experience and advice of Giuliano da S. Gallo. When Michel-Agnolo had completed one half of the work, the pontiff insisted on its being publicly shewn. The chapel was accordingly opened, the scaffolding removed, and in the year 1511, the populace were gratified with the first specimen of these celebrated productions. The applauses bestowed on them induced the pontiff to urge Michel-Agnolo to proceed in the work, regardless of the advice of Bramante, who, as we are told, was now desirous that the termination of it should be intrusted to Raffaello. As it approached towards a close, the eagerness and importunity of the pontiff increased. Having impatiently inquired from the artist when he meant to finish it, and Michel-Agnolo having replied, "When I am able;" "When I am able!"

retorted Julius, in great wrath, "thou hast a mind then that I should have thee thrown from the scaffold!"[38] After this threat, the completion of the work was not long delayed, and on the day of All-Saints, in the year 1512, the paintings were exposed to public view; without, however, having received from the artist the final touches of his pencil. The whole time employed by Michel-Agnolo in this labour was twenty months, and he received for it, in different payments, the sum of three thousand crowns.

Such were the circumstances attending the execution of the great works in fresco of Michel-Agnolo, which yet remain in the chapel of Sixtus IV., although darkened by time, and obscured by the perpetual use of wax tapers in the services of the Roman church. The different compartments of the ceiling were occupied by various subjects of sacred history; and on the walls of the chapel, sit in solemn grandeur those sublime and terrific figures of the sybils and prophets, that unfold ideas of form and of character beyond the limits of common nature, and commensurate with the divine functions in which they appear to be engaged.[39] Over

[38] Condivi, Vita di Michel-Agn. ap. Bottari.

[39] The following sonnet is not unworthy of the grandeur of the subject:

SONETTO

Di Alessandro Guidi.

"Veggio il gran dì della giustizia eterna,
Dal Tosco Apelle in Vatican dipinto;
E 'l veggio d'ira e di furor si tinto
Che l'alma sbigottita al cor s'interna.
Veggio il gran corso ver la valle inferna,
E 'l vaneggiar de' miei pensier, sospinto
Fuor dell' usanza sua, rimane estinto;
E provido timor me sol governa.
E veggio quei, che dall' eterno danno
Movono lungi, e in fra i beati cori,
Su per lo cielo, a' seggi lor sen vanno.
Gran ministri di Dio fansi i colori
Della bell' arte, alla mia mente, e sanno
Darle novi pensieri e novi ardori!"

SONNET.

I see the awful judgment day unfold,
Tuscan Apelles, pictured by thy hand,
Where such strong tints of ire and rage expand,
That my heart shudders, and my blood runs cold.
Down towards th' infernal gulf in tumult roll'd,
I see the sinful crew; and fear-struck stand;
Check'd in those vain pursuits I once had plann'd,
Whilst timely dread restrains transgression bold.

the altar-piece is the great picture of the last judgment; the master-piece of Michel-Agnolo, and the admiration and reproach of future artists; but this immense offspring of labour and of genius, although requisite to complete the grand cycle of divine dispensation which the artist had formed in his own mind, was not commenced until the pontificate of Paul III., nearly thirty years after he had terminated the earlier part of his work.

Paintings of Raffaello in the Vatican.

Whilst Michel-Agnolo was thus employed by Julius II. in the Sistine chapel, Raffaello was engaged in decorating the chambers of the Vatican with those admired productions, which first displayed the extent of his genius, and the wonderful fertility of his invention. He commenced his labours in the *Camera della Segnatura*, with the celebrated picture, usually, but erroneously, called the dispute on the sacraments; a work so daring in its design, and so complex in its composition, as to have given rise to various conjectures respecting the intention of the artist. The scene comprehends both earth and heaven. The veil of the empyreum is withdrawn. The eternal Father is visible. His radiance illuminates the heavens. The cherubim and seraphim surround him at awful distance. With the one hand he sustains the earth; with the other he blesses it. Below him, but in another atmosphere, sits the Son; who with outstretched hands, and a look of extreme compassion, devotes himself for the salvation of mankind. On one side of Christ sits the Virgin Mother, who adores him; on the other, S. John the Baptist, who indicates him as the Saviour of the world. The great assembly of patriarchs, prophets, evangelists, and martyrs, all of whom are strongly characterised, are seated in the beatific regions, and enjoy the divine glory. Among these appears our first parent Adam, now purified from the effect of his transgression.

Picture of Theology.

> I see the happier train, who far apart
> From danger move, and joyful take their place
> Amidst the cloudless regions of the blest.
> O wondrous effort of the Painter's art!
> Where colours are God's ministers of grace,
> That with new ardours fire my glowing breast!*

Such is the celestial part of this composition. On earth, the altar appears in the midst supporting the host. On each side are arranged various pontiffs, prelates, and doctors of the church, whose writings have illustrated the great mystery of the Trinity. Their attention is not directed to the awful scene above, the view of which is intercepted by thick clouds, but is concentrated in the contemplation of the holy wafer, as the visible and substantial essence of deity. The extremities of the picture to the right and left are filled by groups of pious and attentive spectators, among whom the painter has introduced the portrait of his relation and patron Bramante.

The high commendations bestowed on this picture, as well at the time it was produced, as by every one who has since had occasion to mention it, are not beyond its merits ;[40] yet to do full justice to the artist, some regard must be had to the state of the art in the age in which he lived. To this may be attributed the formality of the design, by which the two sides of the picture emerge from the centre, and correspond, perhaps too mechanically, to each other ; the barbarous custom of gilding some parts of the work, in order to produce a richer effect ; and lastly, the extraordinary solecism of introducing an extraneous light, which extends through the whole composition, and affects, in the midst of their concentrated glory, the divine characters there represented, in common with the rest of the piece ; an error of which artists of much inferior character were soon aware, and which Federico Zuccaro, in his celebrated picture of the Annunciation, in the church of the Jesuits at Rome, was careful to avoid.[41]

This representation of Theology was followed by that of

[40] It has frequently been engraved, particularly by Giorgio Ghisi of Mantua, in a large print of two sheets. A sketch of it has also lately been given by Mr. Duppa, in his life of Raffaello ; accompanied by several heads, elegantly engraved after drawings of the same size as the original picture, published by Robinsons, 1802, large fo.

[41] It is remarkable, that in order to shew his decided intention, Zuccaro has, in this work, represented the sun rising in full splendour, a circumstance which produces no effect of light and shadow on the picture, the beams of the sun being absorbed in the superior light which issues immediately from the Deity. This picture is described by Vasari, in his life of Taddeo, the brother of Federigo, Vite, vol. iii. pp. 161, 162, and has been carefully engraved by J. Sadeler, 1580.

Philosophy, exemplified in the Gymnasium, or school of Athens, where, in a splendid amphitheatre, the ancient philosophers are introduced as instructing their pupils in the various departments of human knowledge. Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, are characteristically distinguished. Empedocles, Epicharmus, Archytas, Diogenes, and Archimedes, pursue their various avocations. The presiding deities are Apollo and Minerva, exhibited in their statues. A noble youth, in a white mantle, ornamented with gold, is said to represent Francesco Maria della Rovere, great nephew of the pontiff. Another youth, attentive to the demonstrations of Archimedes, is supposed by Vasari to be the portrait of Federigo, marquis of Mantua, who was then at Rome; and in the person of Archimedes, the artist has again taken an opportunity of perpetuating the likeness of Bramante. The subject of the picture, intended as a representation of Poetry, is the assembly of Apollo and the Muses on the summit of Mount Parnassus. The most distinguished characters of ancient and modern times are there introduced. The father of epic poetry, in an attitude of great dignity, recites his compositions. Virgil points out to Dante the track he is to pursue. Of living authors, only Sanazzaro and Tebaldeo are admitted into these regions of poetic immortality. The artist has, however, claimed a place for himself in this august assembly. He appears near to Virgil, crowned with laurel, "and is deservedly admitted," says his warm admirer Bellori, "into that Parnassus, where he drank from his infancy the waters of Hippocrene, and was nursed by the Muses and the Graces."[42] The representation of Jurisprudence includes two distinct actions, at two distant periods of time, which are rendered, however, less objectionable by their being separated by the position of the window. On one side sits Gregory IX., who delivers the decretals to an advocate of the consistory; but under the character of that pontiff, the painter has introduced the portrait of Julius II. In the cardinals, who surround the pope, he has also repre-

Philosophy.

Poetry.

Jurisprudence.

[42] Bellori. Descritt. &c. p. 53.

sented those of his own times, and particularly the cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Leo X., Antonio cardinal del Monte, and the cardinal Alessandro Farnese, afterwards Paul III. On the left side of the window appears the emperor Justinian, who intrusts the Pandects to Trebonian. By these incidents the painter evidently intended to exhibit the establishment and completion of civil and of canon law. Above the window, the virtues of Prudence, Temperance, and Fortitude, the indispensable attendants on Justice, are displayed in their proper symbols. The labours of Raffaello in this chamber form a complete series. His object was to exemplify, in a picturesque manner, the four principal sciences, the guides and instructors of human life. The key to this, if any were wanting, is found in the single figures painted in circles in the ceiling, above each picture, and decisively marking the intention of the artist. Above the representation of the Trinity is the emblematical figure of Theology; above the school of Athens, that of Philosophy; above the Parnassus, Poetry; and above the Jurisprudence, that of Justice; four figures, in which the peculiar grace and manner of the artist are not less displayed than in the more laborious compositions beneath. The basement and interstices of the room are richly ornamented with paintings in *chiaro-scuro*, executed after the designs of Raffaello, by Fra. Giovanni of Verona; among which are several emblematical and historical works, illustrating the same subjects. Under the arch of the window of this chamber, which looks towards the gardens of the Belvedere, is yet inscribed, JULIUS II. LIGUR. PONT. MAX. ANN. CHR. MDXI. PONTIFICAT. SUI. VII.[43]

[43] Count Bossi has observed, that these paintings of Raffaello in the Vatican have been described and illustrated in several discourses by the celebrated *D'Hankerville*, so well known for his antiquarian researches and publications; in which he has applied himself principally to investigate the *intention* of the painter. Ital. Ed. vol. xi. p. 46. Count Bossi then proceeds to state, that these precious writings were, in part, placed in the hands of an Englishman, who proposed to publish them, but that he has not heard whether they have been made public. To this information I can add, that these discourses now are, or lately were, in the possession of Mr. Wolstenholme Parr, a native of Liverpool; who, not having found sufficient encouragement to engage in the publication of them, translated several of them into English, and delivered them to respectable audiences, as lectures, at the Liverpool Royal Institution. Mr Parr being now on the continent,

Whether Raffaello improved his style by the works of Michel-Agnolo.

This precise period, when Raffaello had finished the first series of his labours in the Vatican, and Michel-Agnolo exposed to public view a part of his paintings in the Sistine chapel, recalls to consideration a question which has been discussed with great warmth, and at great extent, by the writers on this subject;[44] *Whether Raffaello acquired a greater style from observing the works of Michel-Agnolo?* This contest originated with Vasari, who informs us in his life of Raffaello, that when Michel-Agnolo was obliged to retreat from Rome to Florence, on account of his dissensions with Julius II. in the Sistine chapel, Bramante, who kept the keys of the chapel, secretly introduced his relation Raffaello, and allowed him the inspection of the work; in consequence of which he not only painted anew the figure of Isaiah, which he had then just finished, above the statue of S. Anna, by Sansovino, in the church of S. Agostino, but afterwards enlarged and improved his manner by giving it greater majesty; insomuch that Michel-Agnolo on his return was aware, from the style of Raffaello, of the transactions which had occurred during his absence.[45] On this story, it must, however, be acknowledged, that little reliance can be placed: Condivi, who is supposed to have written the life of Michel-Agnolo under the immediate inspection of that great artist, alludes to no such circumstance; to which it may be added, that the quarrel between Julius II. and Michel-Agnolo occurred whilst the latter was employed in preparing the tomb of the pontiff, long before the commencement of the works in the Sistine chapel; and that it does not appear that he ever quitted Rome in disgust after such work was begun, although Vasari, in his life of Raffaello, promises to relate such an incident when he treats on the life of Michel-Agnolo. So far, however, is he from performing his promise, that when he arrives at this period in the life of Michel-Agnolo, he not only forgets or declines to

I cannot ascertain whether these valuable discourses are yet in his possession, or in what manner he may have disposed of them.*

[44] Particularly by Vasari, Condivi, Bellori, Giuseppe Crespi in the Lettere Pittoriche, Bottari in his notes on Vasari, and finally by Lanzi with great judgment, but perhaps with too evident a partiality to Raffaello.

[45] Vasari, Vite de' Pittori, vol. ii. p. 104.

relate this incident, but expressly assigns the first sight which Raffaello had of the Sistine chapel, to the period when Michel-Agnolo publicly exposed a part of his work; from the consideration of which, as he then tells us, Raffaello instantly changed his manner, and adopted the great style which he displayed in his future productions.[46] We may therefore reject the story of the private visit of Raffaello to the Sistine chapel, on the authority of Vasari himself.[47] But the question will equally recur; *Whether Raffaello invigorated and enlarged his style from the works of Michel-Agnolo?*

Circumstances decisive of the controversy.

Without engaging in a minute examination of the opinions of the many different writers who have embraced opposite sides of this question, so interesting to the admirers of the fine arts,[48] it may be sufficient to advert to two circumstances which seem to be sufficiently decisive of the controversy. I. By a reference to the works of Raffaello, even as they may be seen through the medium of the elder engravings by contemporary artists,

[46] Vasari, Vite de' Pittori, vol. iii. p. 222.

[47] The origin of Vasari's error is discoverable by a comparison of the original edition of his lives, in 1550, with those which followed it. In this first edition we find no account of any quarrel between Julius and Michel-Agnolo respecting his tomb; but in relating the circumstances attending the painting the Sistine chapel, Vasari informs us, that the pope was eager to see the progress of the work, for which purpose he had paid a visit to the chapel, where he was refused admittance by Michel-Agnolo. That the artist, knowing the inflexible temper of the pontiff, and being apprehensive that some of his attendants might be induced, either by bribes or threats, to admit him, pretended to quit Rome for a few days, and gave the keys to his assistants, with orders that no one should be allowed to enter, even if it were the pope himself. He then shut himself up in the chapel, and proceeded with his labours, when the pope made his appearance, and was the first to mount the scaffold; but Michel-Agnolo, pretending not to know him, saluted him with a shower of tiles and slates, insomuch that he was glad to effect his escape. Immediately afterwards, Michel-Agnolo quitted the chapel through a window, and hastened to Florence, leaving the key of the chapel with Bramante. Vas. vol. ii. p. 963, ed. 1550. Better information, or a further consideration of the subject, convinced Vasari of his error; and in his subsequent edition, he has, in his life of Michel-Agnolo, properly assigned the flight of Michel-Agnolo to a former period, when he was employed on the tomb of Julius II., and omitted the story of the disagreement in the chapel. Through inadvertence, however, he left the reference to this incident in the life of Raffaello as it originally stood, in which he has been followed by subsequent editors; whence the passage in which he alludes to the time, "che Michel-Agnolo fece al Papa nella capella quel romore e paura di che parleremo nella vita sua: onde fu forzato fuggirsi a Fiorenza," has no corresponding passage, except by a reference back again to the life of Raffaello, in the later editions of his works.

[48] Bellori boldly denies that Raffaello imitated the manner of Michel-Agnolo in any respect whatever, "sia il disegno, il colore, l'ignudo, i panni; o sia l'idea e il concetto dell' invenzione," an assertion which has been controverted with great success by Crespi; Lettere Pittoriche, vol. ii. p. 123.

it is not difficult to perceive a gradual alteration and improvement of his style, from the meagre forms of Perugino, to the full but modest outline of his riper productions. That this was the result of patient study and judicious selection, is evident from the visible gradations by which it was formed; and what master of this period was so deserving of being studied by Raffaello as Michel-Agnolo? It was to this circumstance that Michel-Agnolo himself referred, with equal truth and delicacy, when he said, that Raffaello did not derive his excellence so much from nature, as from persevering study; an expression which has been considered as unjust to the pretensions of the Roman artist, but which, on the contrary, confers on him the highest praise.[49] II. The expression attributed by Condivi to Raffaello, without contradiction by other writers, that he thanked God that he had been born in the time of Michel-Agnolo, is a sufficient indication that he had availed himself of the labours of his great contemporary, and refers to the opportunities which had been afforded him of improving his style by the study of them, as well in his youth at Florence, as in his riper years at Rome. The study of Raffaello was not, however, imitation, but selection. The works of Michel-Agnolo were to him a rich magazine; but he rejected as well as approved. The muscular forms, daring outline, and energetic attitudes of the Florentine artist, were harmonized and softened in the elegant and graceful productions of the pencil of Raffaello. It is thus that Homer was imitated by Virgil; and it is thus that genius always attracts and assimilates with itself whatever is excellent, either in the works of nature or the productions of art.[50]

Picture of Heliodorus.

The labours of Raffaello, in the *Camera della Segnatura*, had obtained the full approbation of the pontiff, and a second apartment, contiguous to the former, was destined to receive its inestimable ornaments from his hand. The subject first chosen by Raffaello was the story of Heliodorus, the prefect of king Seleucus, who,

[49] Condivi, Vita di Michel-Agn. p. 56.

[50] The judicious Lanzi, although warmly attached to the cause of Raffaello, sufficiently admits that he attained a bolder style of design from the works of Michel-Agnolo. Storia Pittorica, vol. i. p. 396. Bossi, note in Ital. Ed. vol. x. p. 153.

whilst he was employed in plundering the temple of Jerusalem of the treasures intended for the support of the widows and orphans, was assailed by a formidable warrior and two celestial youths, whom the prayers of Onias the high priest had called to his aid. The pencil is no less the instrument of flattery than the pen, and in this piece the artist is supposed to have alluded to the conduct of Julius II., who had driven the tyrants and usurpers of the patrimony of S. Peter from their possessions, and united them with those of the church.[51] This idea is confirmed by the introduction of the pontiff, as being witness of this miraculous interposition. He is carried in his chair of state, and is surrounded by numerous attendants, in some of whom the painter has represented the portraits of his friends. Among these are the celebrated engraver Marc-Antonio Raimondi, one of the disciples of Raffaello, and Giampietro de' Foliari, secretary of the petitions to the Roman see. Over the window which occupies part of another side of the apartment, the painter has represented the miracle at Bolsena; in which, to the confusion of the incredulous priest who officiated at the celebration of mass, the holy wafer miraculously dropped blood. In this piece also the pontiff is introduced, kneeling in prayer, and intent on the celebration of the mass. He is attended by two cardinals and two prelates of the court, probably friends of the artist, although the resemblances are now no longer known. In these works Raffaello demonstrated, that, with a grander character of design, he had also acquired a greater knowledge of the effects of light and shadow, and a more perfect harmony of colour; insomuch, that he may justly be said to have united and exemplified in himself, at this period, all the great requisites of the art.

Such was the progress which had been made in these pursuits, and such the state of them in the city of Rome, when Leo X. was called to the pontifical throne. One of the earliest objects of the attention of the new pontiff was the rebuilding, in a most splendid manner, the church of S. Lorenzo at Florence, for which purpose he resolved to avail

Leo X. engages Michel-Agnolo to rebuild the church of S. Lorenzo at Florence.

[51] Bellori, Descritt. pp. 67, 71.

himself of the great architectural talents of Michel-Agnolo, who was then employed under the cardinals Lorenzo Pucci and Leonardi Grossi in finishing the tomb of Julius II. A model was accordingly prepared, and Michel-Agnolo was directed to proceed to Florence and take the sole direction of the work. He was, however, unwilling to relinquish an undertaking, which he perhaps considered as more worthy of his talents, and endeavoured to excuse himself to the pontiff, by alleging that he stood engaged to the two cardinals to complete the tomb. Leo, however, informed him that he should take it upon himself to satisfy them in this respect, and Michel-Agnolo, contrary to his wishes, was obliged to repair to Florence. Genius resembles a proud steed, that whilst he obeys the slightest touch of the kind hand of a master, revolts at the first indication of compulsion and of restraint. Every incident became a cause of contention between the artist and his patron. Michel-Agnolo preferred the marble of Carrara; the pope directed him to open the quarries of Pietro Santa, in the territories of Florence, the material of which was of a hard and intractable kind.[52] The artist had called on the envoy of the pope for a sum of money, and finding him engaged, had not only refused to wait for it, but when it was sent after him to Carrara, had rejected it with contempt.[53] Under these discouraging circumstances, the proposed building made but little progress. The ardour of the pontiff was chilled by the cold reluctance of the artist. During the life of Leo the work did not proceed beyond the basement, and a single column of marble brought from Carrara, served only as a memorial of the unfortunate disagreement which had prevented the erection of this splendid fabric. In fact, the talents of Michel-Agnolo owe little to the patronage of Leo X., the interval of whose pontificate forms the most inactive part of the life of that great artist.[54] A few models and designs for ornaments of internal architecture, are the principal works which the vigilance of his historians has been

[52] Condivi, pp. 30, 31. [53] Vasari, vol. iii. p. 233.

[54] The reader may consult with advantage the additional notes of Count Bossi in Ital. Ed. vol. x. p. 140, *et seq.*, p. 155, *et seq.**

able to discover during that period; and it was not until after the death of the pontiff that Michel-Agnolo returned to his favourite task, the completion of the tomb of Julius II., and commenced, under the directions of Clement VII., those splendid monuments for the chiefs of the Medici family, which have conferred greater honour on himself than on those for whom they were erected.[55]

Raffaello proceeds in painting the frescoes of the Vatican.

The individual who, as an artist, forms the chief glory of the pontificate of Leo X. is the accomplished Raffaello; who, uniting to an elevated genius and a great variety of talents, the most engaging modesty and complacency of manner, attracted in an eminent degree the favour and munificence of the pontiff. Under such patronage, the works already commenced in the chambers of the Vatican proceeded with increased ardour. The first subject in which Raffaello engaged after the elevation of Leo X. was the representation of Attila, king of the Huns, opposed and driven from Italy by the admonitions of the sainted pontiff Leo III., which occupies one of the sides of the apartment in which Raffaello had before represented the Heliodorus and the miracle at Bolsena. The conception of this picture affords a decisive proof that Raffaello combined the fancy of the poet with the skill of the painter. He saw, that to have exhibited a fierce and exasperated warrior retiring with his army at the pacific admonition of a priest, could only have produced an insipid and uninteresting effect. But how greatly is this incident dignified, how much is its importance increased, by the miraculous interposition of S. Peter and S. Paul, the chief protecting saints of the Roman church, who, descending through the air in menacing

Picture of Attila.

[55] It has before been noticed that Michel-Agnolo distinguished himself by his Italian Poetry; and I shall take this last opportunity to observe, that his writings, although not marked by splendid imagery and striking ornament, bear the same elevated character as the productions of his chisel and his pencil. His ideas are all drawn from the same source; and whether embodied in visible forms, or expressed through the medium of language, discover the same indications of their superior origin. Throughout his whole life he appears to have been impressed with a deep religious feeling. His poems, in fact, are not amatory; although many of them apparently bear that character. The beauty which he admires and celebrates is not sensual. Through the perfections of the creature he contemplates only the Creator, and the breathings of his passion are breathings after immortality.

attitudes, although visible only to the monarch, inspire him with that terror which the astonished spectators attribute to the eloquence and courage of the pontiff![56] Nor is it to be supposed that this incident detracts from the merits of S. Leo, whose character and conduct derive from such auxiliaries higher honours than the display of any mortal talents could bestow. That which appears to the faithful believer as a miracle, is, however, in the eye of the discriminating critic, only an elegant and expressive allegory, by which the artist insinuates, that on this important occasion the pontiff was actuated by the genuine spirit of religion and a true regard for the honour and safety of the Christian church. In such instances the sister arts assimilate with each other, and the *pictura loquens* and the *muta poesis* are synonymous terms.

Its allegorical purpose explained.

All the powers of mind and of mechanism displayed by Raffaello in this picture, are, however, only the subordinate instruments of one great purpose; that of flattering the reigning pontiff. Even S. Leo himself, and his dignified attendants, become only supposititious personages, intended to immortalize Leo X. and the cardinals and prelates of his court, whose portraits are actually substituted for those of their predecessors in the honours and dignities of the Roman see. Here a new allegory commences, which has hitherto wholly escaped the observation of the numerous commentators on these celebrated productions. To have represented Leo X. as living in the time of Leo III. would have been an anachronism. To have exhibited him as miraculously expelling Attila from Italy, would have been a falsehood. But Attila himself is only the type of the French monarch Louis XII., whom Leo had, within the first months of his pontificate, divested of the state of Milan and expelled fro the limits of Italy.[57]

[56] The Attila has been engraved, not only from the picture, but from the original design of *Raffaello, vide* Bottari, nota al Vasari, vol. ii. p. 109.

[57] It has already been observed, that the triumph of Camillus, represented at Florence in the year 1514, was intended to commemorate the same event. *Vide ante*, chap. xii. The above construction of the intention of the artist, in the picture of Attila, may receive further confirmation from a Latin poem of Lilio Gregorio Gyraldi, which purports to be a hymn to S. Leo, but which is, in fact, intended, like the picture, to celebrate the conduct of Leo X. in expelling the

Here the allegory is complete; and here we discover the reason, why, amidst the real or fictitious transactions of past ages, this particular incident should have been selected for the pencil of the artist, and why he has chosen to treat it in the manner already described.

The liberation of S. Peter from prison by the interposition of an angel, was the next subject which Raffaello undertook. This picture is opposite to that of the mass of Bolsena, and over the window of the apartment which looks towards the Belvedere. Flights of marble steps seem to ascend on each side the window to the prison, which is illuminated by the splendour of its heavenly visitant, who with one hand gently awakes the sleeping saint, and with the other points towards the door already open for his escape. In this piece the artist alludes to the capture of Leo X. at the battle of Ravenna, and his subsequent liberation.[58] In four compartments of the ceiling, formed by arabesque ornaments in *chiaro-scuro*, executed before Raffaello commenced his labours, and which he left untouched, he has introduced four subjects of scripture history. Over the picture of Heliodorus is the representation of the Eternal Father, who promises to Moses the liberation of the children of Israel. Over that of Attila is Noah returning thanks to God after the deluge. Over the mass of Bolsena is the sacrifice of Abraham; and over the liberation of S. Peter, the dream of Jacob, with the angels ascending and descending. Above the window of this apartment, which looks towards the Belvedere, yet remain the arms of Leo X. with the inscription, LEO X. PONT. MAX. ANNO. CHR. MDXIV. PONTIFICATUS SUI. II.[59]

Liberation of S. Peter.

The reputation which Raffaello had acquired by the first

French from Italy. It is highly probable that this poem was written before the picture of Raffaello was painted, as otherwise its author would scarcely have omitted so striking and poetical an incident, as the appearance of the two heavenly auxiliaries; an incident not related in the legend, but devised by the painter, to express, in a poetical manner, the effects of the pontiff's exhortations. This poem, not printed in the general collection of the works of Gyraldi, may be found in App. No. XCIX.

[58] Bellori, Descritt. p 97.

[59] Bossi supposes that Raffaello employed nine years in decorating the Vatican. The six historical works which allude, under different allegories, to Leo X., were terminated in 1517. Ital. Ed. vol. xi. p. 158.*

Works executed by Raffaello for Agostino Chigi.

part of his works in the Vatican occasioned the productions of his pencil to be sought after with eagerness by the prelates and wealthy inhabitants of Rome. Of these no one displayed greater earnestness to obtain them than the opulent merchant Agostino Chigi, who in his admiration and munificent encouragement of Raffaello almost vied with the pontiff himself.[60] Even under the pontificate of Julius II. Agostino had prevailed upon Raffaello to execute for him, in his newly erected and elegant mansion in the Transtevere, now called the *Farnesina*, a picture in fresco, representing Galatea borne in a car over the waves by dolphins, and surrounded by tritons and sea nymphs.[61] This was soon afterwards followed by the paintings in the family chapel of Agostino, erected by him in the church of S. Maria della Pace at Rome. In this work, which, if we may believe Vasari, was commenced by Raffaello after he had seen the productions of Michel-Agnolo in the Sistine chapel, he undertook to represent the sibyls; in which he united a grander style of design than he had before displayed, with a greater

[60] Of the liberality of Agostino towards the professors of literature some account has already been given in this work, *ante*, chap. xi. It is remarkable, that Agostino had supported his credit for integrity and ability, and had enjoyed the favour of several successive pontiffs. Under Alexander VI. he is said to have converted even his silver plate into coin, for the use of Cæsar Borgia, on his expedition into Romagna. He acted not only as banker, but as superintendent of the finances to Julius II, who honoured him by a sort of adoption into the family of Rovere. But it was not only in his patronage of letters and of the arts that Agostino emulated the Roman pontiffs; he vied with them also in the luxury of his table, and the costly and ostentatious extravagance of his feasts. On the baptism of one of his children, he is said to have invited Leo X. with the whole college of cardinals and the foreign ambassadors at Rome, to an entertainment, in which he provided the greatest delicacies, and among the rest, several dishes of *parrots' tongues*, variously cooked. The plates, goblets, and vessels, were all of wrought silver, and when once used, were thrown into the Tiber, which flowed near the house. If we may credit Paullus Jovius, Agostino was one of the admirers of the beautiful Imperia, *vide ante*, chap. xi. For these anecdotes, the reader will find the authorities in Bayle, Dict. Histor. art. Chigi; observing, however, that the authors whom he cites are, as is usual with him, of very doubtful authority. After the death of Agostino, the family of Chigi were driven from Rome by Paul III., who seized upon their mansion in the Transtevere, and converted it into a sort of appendage to the Farnese palace, whence it has since been called the *Farnesina*. But in the ensuing century, the family of Chigi rose to pontifical honours, in the person of Alexander VII., *Fabio Chigi;* who established it in great credit, without, however, restoring to it the family mansion, which has descended with the possessions of the Farnese to the king of Naples, to whom it now belongs.

[61] The print engraved from this picture by Marc-Antonio, is rare and valuable; it has also been engraved by several subsequent artists, but in a much inferior style.

perfection of colouring, insomuch that these pieces are enumerated amongst the most exquisite productions of his pencil.[62] In the intervals of his engagements with Leo X. Raffaello returned to the house of his friend Agostino, where he decorated one of the apartments with the history of Cupid and Psyche, in a series of pictures, and represented in the ceiling, in two large compartments, Venus and Cupid pleading against each other before Jupiter in the assembly of the Gods, and the marriage of Cupid and Psyche.[63] This labour was, however, frequently interrupted by the occasional absence of the artist, who being passionately enamoured of a beautiful young woman, the daughter of a baker in Rome, whence she was usually called *La Fornarina*, deserted his occupation for the sake of her society; a circumstance of which Agostino was no sooner aware, than he prevailed upon her to take up her abode in his house, and Raffaello in her presence proceeded in his work with great diligence.[64] Nor was it as a painter only that Raffaello devoted his talents to the service of his friend. As an architect he furnished Agostino with the designs from which he erected his before-mentioned chapel, and even favoured him with a drawing for the elevation of his stables. He also undertook to superintend the execution of a magnificent sepulchre, which Agostino, in imitation of Julius II., was desirous of having prepared in his own lifetime, and which was intended to have been erected in his chapel. The workmanship was intrusted to the sculptor Lorenzetto, who executed two figures in marble as a part of the sepulchre, after models said to have been furnished by Raffaello, when the further progress of it was interrupted by the death of both Raffaello and his patron.[65] One of

[62] Vasari, vol. ii. p. 104. This highly commended work has never been well engraved, and having now been injured from want of care, and retouched by inferior hands, may be considered as lost to the world.

[63] In this work Raffaello is supposed to have been assisted by some of his scholars. Some parts of it have been engraved by Marc-Antonio or his pupils, and the whole of it by Cherubino Alberti, by Audran, and by Nicolo Dorigny. *Vide* Bottari, note on Vasari, vol. ii. p. 122. Dr. Smith has given a full account of this celebrated work, in his "Tour on the Continent," vol. ii. p. 2.

[64] Vasari, vol. ii. p. 122.

[65] These events were not far distant from each other; Agostino having died at Rome on the tenth day of April, 1520. *Vide* Fabron. Vita Leon. X. in adnot. 137, p. 313.

these figures is the celebrated statue of Jonah, which is allowed to exhibit a degree of excellence scarcely exceeded by the finest remains of ancient art.[66] To this period of the life of Raffaello may be assigned the production of many of his pictures in oil, which were eagerly sought after, not only in Rome, but in other parts of Italy, and have since formed the chief ornaments of the most celebrated cabinets in Europe. Nor did he less distinguish himself by the excellence of his portraits, in which the utmost degree of truth and of nature was embellished by that ineffable grace, which, like the splendour that surrounds the pictured features of a saint, gives to all his works a character of divinity. Among these his portrait of Leo X. attended by the cardinals Giulio de' Medici and Luigi Rossi, is eminently distinguished; and the applauses bestowed for nearly three centuries on this picture, whilst it remained in the ducal gallery at Florence will now be re-echoed from another part of Europe.[67]

[66] The statue of Jonah, with the other statue which was not finished by Lorenzetto, occupy two niches in front of the Chigi Chapel, in the church of S. Maria *del Popolo*, at Rome; the other two niches being filled with statues by Bernini. In their unbounded admiration of the statue of Jonah, the Italians have been rivalled by many accomplished strangers who have visited Italy, and been struck with the exquisite design and perfect style of execution which this performance displays. A very particular and animated description of it may be found in Dr. Smith's "Tour on the Continent," vol. ii. p. 23.

[67] This picture must have been painted between the years 1517 and 1519; as it was only during that time that Rossi enjoyed the dignity of the purple. It now forms a part of the immense collection of the Louvre.—This picture has, I believe, since been restored to Florence. Count Bossi has cited, in the advertisement to vol. viii. of his translation, an account given by M. Simon, in his "Travels in England," of the picture of Leo X. and the two cardinals, seen by him some years since in my possession at Allerton; but as such account is, in many respects, erroneous, it may here be proper to give a more correct narrative of the transactions he has referred to. Vasari relates, in his life of Andrea del Sarto, that when Federigo, duke of Mantua, passed through Florence to visit Clement VII., he saw, in the palace of the Medici, the portrait by Raffaello of Leo X. with the cardinals Giulio de' Medici, (then Clement VII.) and de' Rossi; with which he was so highly pleased, that on his arrival at Rome he requested it as a gift from the Pope, who generously complied with his wish, and sent orders to his relative, Ottaviano de' Medici, to forward the picture to Mantua; but he, being unwilling that the family should be deprived of such a treasure, sent to *Andrea del Sarto*, and requested him to copy it, which he did with such success, that Ottaviano himself (who was an excellent judge of works of art) could not distinguish the copy from the original. Concealing, therefore, the picture of Raffaello, he sent the copy to Mantua, with which the duke was perfectly satisfied; and even Giulio Romano, the favourite pupil of Raffaello, who then resided at Mantua, was not aware of the deception. In this error they might have remained, had not an extraordinary incident led to an explanation. Vasari, then a young and rising artist, desirous of forming an acquaintance with Giulio Romano,

These engagements did not, however, prevent this indefatigable artist from prosecuting his labours in the Vatican, and a third apartment was destined by Leo X. to receive its ornaments from his talents; but human efforts have their limits; and Raffaello, whilst he furnished the designs, and diligently superintended the execution of the work, frequently giving the last finish with his own hand, found it necessary to employ young artists of promising talents in the more laborious parts of the undertaking. Hence arose the school of Raffaello, or, as it has usually been denominated in the annals of painting, the *Roman school* of design; the professors of which, without emulating the bold contours of the Florentine artists, or the splendid tints of the Venetians, have united with chastity of design, an appropriate gravity of colouring, and displayed a

Roman school of art.

paid a visit to Mantua, where he was received with great civility by Giulio, who, after gratifying him with a sight of the works of art which the city afforded, at length exhibited to him the picture of Leo X. and the cardinals, as the production of Raffaello, and the greatest ornament of the place. "*A beautiful work*," cried Vasari, "*but not by the hand of Raffaello.*" "*How so*," said Giulio, "*is it possible I should not recognise the touches of my own pencil upon it?*" "*You are mistaken*," replied Vasari, "*this picture is the work of Andrea del Sarto* (under whom Vasari studied at the time the copy was made) *and as a proof of it, there is a mark, which I will show you.*" The picture was therefore taken down, and the mark discovered; upon which Giulio declared that he valued the copy no less than the original: "*nay*," added he, "*even more, because it is incredible that one painter should so exactly imitate the manner of another.*" What the mark (SEGNO) was, by which Andrea distinguished his copy from the original, Vasari has not mentioned; but his editor, the prelate Bottari, informs us that he had heard *Gabbiani*, who was himself a very eminent painter, and was born soon after the middle of the seventeenth century, and who had associated with many old professors, say, *that the mark set upon the picture by Andrea, was the writing his name on the edge of the panel which was covered by the frame; and that when Vasari had the picture taken out of the frame, Giulio read the inscription. Vide* Vasari, vol. ii. p. 236. Ed. Bot. 1759. Shortly after the picture of Leo X. and the cardinals came into my possession, I had it taken out of the frame, in the presence of some of my friends conversant with works of art: when, on one of the upright edges of the panel, which is about three quarters of an inch thick, we found the remains of an inscription, which was much obliterated, but which, according to the best judgment that could be formed of it, was composed of the letters

ANDREA. F. P. - - - -

probably followed by the date of the year, which was, however, quite illegible. The coincidence of this fact with the relation of Vasari, and the tradition of Gabbiani, was considered by the parties present as a sufficient evidence of *this* being the identical picture of *Andrea del Sarto;* although it is said that such picture is now at *Capo di Monte.* It must, however, be observed, that another copy was made by Vasari, for Ottaviano de' Medici, *vide* Vasari, vol. iii. p. 507, for which he received five hundred crowns, and which is probably one of the three pictures now known. This picture now holds a conspicuous station in the splendid collection at Holkham.

grace and a decorum not less interesting than the more obtrusive excellences of their rivals. The subjects represented in this apartment are selected from the history of those distinguished pontiffs who had borne the same name as the reigning pope. The coronation of Charlemagne by Leo III., and the justification of the same pontiff from the accusations preferred against him to that monarch, occupy two sides of the room. The other two exhibit the victory of S. Leo IV. over the Saracens at the Port of Ostia, and the miraculous extinction of the conflagration in the *Borgo Vecchio* at Rome; incidents which we may be assured were not selected without a reference to the views and conduct of the reigning pontiff, who, in raising these monuments to the memory of his illustrious predecessors, meant to prepare the way to the more direct celebration of the transactions of his own life;[68] but the time was fast approaching which terminated these magnificent projects; and the actions of Leo X. were destined to be commemorated in another place, and by a much inferior hand.[69]

[68] This apartment was finished in the year 1517, as appears by the inscription over the window, towards the Belvedere, where, under the arms of Leo X., we read

LEO X. PONT. M.	PONTIFICATUS
ANNO CHRISTI.	SUI ANNO.
MCCCCCXVII.	IIII.

[69] The grand duke Cosmo I. employed Giorgio Vasari, the historian of the painters, to represent, in fresco, on the walls of his palace at Florence, the achievements of the family of Medici, commencing with the elder Cosmo, *Pater Patriæ*, proceeding through those of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Leo X., Clement VII., the duke Alessandro, Giovanni, captain of the *Bande Nere*, and terminating with those of Cosmo I. Of this immense labour Vasari has himself left an account, not less diffuse and ostentatious than the work itself, in a series of dialogues, entitled "RAGIONAMENTI del Signor Cavaliere Giorgio Vasari, Pittore e Architetto Aretino, sopra le invenzioni da lui dipinte in Firenze, nel palazzo di loro Altezze Serenissime, con lo illustriss. ed eccellentiss. Signore D. Francesco Medici allora Principe di Firenze," which was published after the death of Vasari, by his nephew, in 1588, and reprinted at Arezzo, in 1762, 4to. As an artist, Vasari has incurred the severe, but I fear, too well founded reprehensions of the late professor of painting to the Royal Academy; who denominates him "the most superficial artist, and the most abandoned mannerist of his time, but the most acute observer of men, and the most dexterous flatterer of princes. He overwhelmed the palaces of the Medici and the popes, the convents and churches of Italy, with a deluge of mediocrity, commended by rapidity and shameless *bravura* of hand. He alone did more work than all the artists of Tuscany together; and to him may be truly applied what he had the insolence to say of Tintoretto, that he had turned the art into a boy's toy."—Fuseli's Second Lecture, p. 72. For some remarks more favourable to the character of Vasari as an artist, *vide* notes of Count Bossi, in Ital. Ed. vol. xi. pp. 75, 63.*

The galleries of the Vatican, intended to unite the detached parts of that immense fabric, and usually denominated the *Loggie*, having been left by Bramante in an unfinished state, Leo X. prevailed upon Raffaello, who had already given several specimens of his skill in architecture, to undertake the completion of the work. He accordingly formed a model for that purpose, in which he introduced great improvements on the design of Bramante, arranged the whole in a more convenient manner, and displayed the elegance of his taste in various appropriate ornaments. The execution of this plan gave great satisfaction to the pontiff; who, being desirous that the interior embellishments of this part of the palace should correspond with its exterior beauty, directed Raffaello to make designs for such ornamental works in painting, carving, and stucco, as he thought most suitable for the purpose. This afforded the artist an opportunity of displaying his knowledge of the antique, and his skill in imitating the ancient grotesque and arabesque ornaments, specimens of which then began to be discovered, as well in Italy as in other places; and which were collected from all parts at considerable expense by Raffaello, who also employed artists in various parts of Italy, and even in Greece and Turkey, to furnish him with drawings of whatever remains of antiquity might appear deserving of notice.[70] The execution of this great work was chiefly intrusted to two of his scholars, Giulio Romano and Giovanni da Udine; the former of whom superintended the historical department, the latter the stucco and grotesques, in the representation and exquisite finish of which he excelled all the artists of his time; but various other artists, who had already arrived at considerable eminence, were employed in the work, and laboured with great assiduity. Among these

Loggie of Raffaello.

[70] Vasari, Vite de' Pittori, vol. ii. p. 118. A print of the time of Raffaello is in my possession, representing the base of a column, ornamented with *bas reliefs* of two female figures, each supporting a buckler; between them a large circle or shield, with the letters S. P. Q. R., and below, three boys with festoons of flowers. At the foot is inscribed,

Bazamento d. la colona d. Constantinopolo
mandato a Rafelo da Urbino.

This print, although not marked, is engraved by Agostino Veneziano.

were Giovanni Francesco Penni, called *Il Fattore*, Bartolommeo da Bagnacavallo, Perino del Vaga, Pellegrino da Modena, and Vincenzo da S. Gemignano.[71] In the various compartments of the ceiling Raffaello designed a series of pictures from sacred history, some of which are supposed to have been finished with his own hand, and the rest by his pupils under his immediate direction.[72] The great extent and variety of this undertaking, the fertility of imagination displayed by Raffaello in his designs, the condescension and kindness with which he treated his pupils, who attended him in great numbers whenever he appeared in public, and the liberality of the pontiff in rewarding their labours, all combined to render the Vatican at this period a perfect nursery of art. Among the lowest assistants, a boy had been employed in carrying the composition of lime and other materials requisite for the works in fresco. From daily observing these productions he began to admire them, and from admiring to wish to imitate them. His meditations, although secret, were not fruitless; he became an artist before he produced a specimen of his talents, and at eighteen years of age seized the pencil and astonished his employers. The disciples of Raffaello owned no superiority but that of genius. Polidoro da Caravaggio was received among them as a companion and a brother, and by his future eminence added new honours to the school in which he had been formed.[73] After the completion of the *Loggie*, Raffaello was employed by the pontiff to embellish in a similar manner one of the saloons of the Vatican, where he painted several figures of the apostles and saints; and availing himself of the assistance of Giovanni da Udine, decorated the interstices with arabesques, in which he introduced the figures of various animals, which had at different times been

Polidoro da Caravaggio.

[71] Vasari, Vite de' Pittori, vol. ii. p. 118.

[72] The paintings of Raffaello in the Loggie have frequently been engraved in fifty-two pieces, and are known by the name of the Bible of Raffaello; particularly by Giovanni Lanfranco and Sisto Badalocchi, pupils of Annibale Carracci, to whom they dedicated the work in 1607, and by Horatio Borgianni in 1615, as well as by many subsequent artists; for a further account of whom, *vide* Bottari note on Vasari, vol. ii. p. 119.

[73] Vasari, Vita di Polidoro da Caravaggio.

presented to the pope,[74] who was so highly gratified by the judgment and fancy displayed in these works, that he invested Raffaello with the general superintendence of all the improvements in the Vatican.

The Cartoons.

The demands made by Leo X. upon the talents and the time of Raffaello were indeed unremitting, and could not have failed to have exhausted the efforts of a less fertile imagination or a less rapid hand. Having determined to ornament one of the apartments of the Vatican with tapestry, which was at that time woven in Flanders with the utmost perfection and elegance, he requested Raffaello to furnish the designs from such portions of scripture history as might be suitable for the purpose. The passages which he chose were selected from the Acts of the Apostles; and these he designed on cartoons, or paper, as models for the imitation of the Flemish artists. Each of these subjects was ornamented at the bottom with a frieze, or border, in *chiaro-scuro*, representing the principal transactions in the life of Leo X. The pieces of tapestry wrought from these designs, and which, until very lately, decorated the papal chapel, were executed by the tapestry weavers with a harmony of colour and brilliancy of effect that astonished all who saw them, and seemed to be rather the production of the pencil than the loom. In this work Leo expended the enormous sum of seventy thousand crowns.[75] But although the tapestry arrived at Rome, the drawings, yet more valuable, were suffered to remain in the hands of the Flemish workmen, from whose descendants it is supposed they were purchased, in the ensuing century, by the accomplished but unfortunate Charles I.[76] During the disturbances which soon afterwards arose in these kingdoms,

[74] This work was destroyed by the ignorant and superstitious Paul IV. (Caraffa), who, as Vasari tells us, "per fare certi suoi stanzini e bugigattoli da ritirarsi, guastò quella stanza, e privò quel palazzo d'un' opera singolare; il che non arebbe fatto quel sant' uomo, s'egli avesse avuto gusto nell' arti del disegno."—Vasari, tom. iii. p. 47.

[75] Vasari, vol. ii. p. 124, but Panvinius, in his life of Leo X., states the expense to have been 50,000 gold crowns. Vite de' Pontefici, ii. 495.

[76] Richardson, Traité de la Peinture, iii. 459. The same author adds, that Charles II. would have sold them to Louis XIV., who applied to him by his ambassador to purchase them, but that he was dissuaded from it by the earl of Danby, afterwards duke of Leeds. Ibid.

these precious monuments were exposed to sale, in common with the rest of the royal collection: but Cromwell was not so devoid of taste as to permit them to be lost to this country, and directed that they should be purchased.[77] No further attention seems, however, to have been paid to them, and soon after the accession of William III. they were found in a chest cut into strips for the use of the tapestry weavers, but in other respects without material injury. These celebrated cartoons now form the chief ornament of the palace of Hampton Court. Let not the British artist who is smitten with the love of his profession and owns the influence of genius, fail to pay his frequent devotions at this shrine.[78]

The Transfiguration.

We now touch the confines of the highest state of the art; of that period when the powers of Raffaello, who undoubtedly united in himself all the great requisites of a perfect painter in a higher degree than any other individual, were exerted to their full extent. To distinguish this æra was the destination of his last great work, the transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor. In the production of this piece Raffaello was attracted by friendship, and stimulated by emulation. During the absence of Michel-Agnolo from Rome, that great artist had heard the praises of Raffaello resounded from every quarter, and had found his productions commended for propriety of invention, correctness of design, grace of composition, and harmony of

[77] The number of cartoons was originally twelve. It is probable that Giulio Romano added that of the Magi, which was exhibited with the rest. Seven of these only are now preserved, although some mutilated fragments have been discovered, which are supposed to have been parts of those which are lost. But for further information respecting the dispersion and present state of these interesting works, *vide* note of Bossi, in Ital. Ed. vol. xi. p. 168, *et seq.*; also, "The Book of Raphael's Cartoons," by Cattermole, 8vo.

[78] Richardson has entered into a long disquisition to prove that the cartoons, now at Hampton Court, have preserved the most perfect specimen of the productions of Raffaello, by his own hand, that now exists in any one place; and that they are to be preferred to his works either in the Vatican or the Farnesina. Bottari has noted this observation without attempting to reply to it (Note al Vasari, ii. 124); and Lanzi has confirmed it by asserting, that in these works the art had arrived at its highest pitch of excellence, and that the world has not since seen any production of equal beauty. Lanzi, Storia Pittorica, i. 401. The cartoons have been frequently engraved by various artists, and the friezes of the life of Leo X. by Pietro Santi Bartoli of Perugia. Mr. Holloway, an eminent English artist, has engraved six of the cartoons, on a large scale, and in a superior style.

colouring; whilst his own were represented as having no other excellence than truth of drawing to recommend them.[79] Relinquishing for a moment that department which was more consonant to the severe energy of his own genius, and in which he stands without a rival in modern times, he resolved to oppose a barrier to the triumphs of his great competitor, and by availing himself of the experienced pencil and attractive colouring of Sebastiano del Piombo, to give to his own vigorous conceptions those advantages which were necessary to exhibit them with full effect. This union of genius with talent, gave rise to several celebrated productions, the designs of which were furnished by Michel-Agnolo, and the execution intrusted to Sebastiano.[80] At this juncture the cardinal Giulio de' Medici had engaged Raffaello to paint for him in oil the picture of the Transfiguration, which was intended to ornament the great altar of the cathedral of Narbonne, of which place the cardinal was archbishop. No sooner had he commenced the work, than Sebastiano begun, as if in competition with him, his celebrated picture of the raising of Lazarus, which was painted with the greatest attention, and in part from the designs of Michel-Agnolo, and under his immediate superintendence and direction.[81] Such a contest was well calculated to call forth all the efforts of Raffaello, and the work which he produced is acknowledged to have displayed his various excellences to full advantage.[82] The pictures when completed were exhibited together to public view in the chamber of the consistory, and both received high commendation. The work of Sebastiano was universally approved of, as a

[79] Vasari, Vite, vol. ii. p. 470.

[80] Among these a Transfiguration in fresco, a Flagellation of Christ, with other pieces, in one of the chapels of S. Piero in Montorio in Rome, are mentioned as having attracted particular approbation. *Vide* Vasari, *ut sup.* and Lanzi.

[81] Vasari, vol. ii. p. 471. This picture was sent by the cardinal de' Medici to his cathedral of Narbonne, instead of the Transfiguration of Raffaello. It has since been transferred to this country, and enriched the magnificent and select collection of Mr. Angerstein, which now forms a portion of the National Gallery.

[82] "Il quadro della Transfigurazione," says Mengs, "è una chiara riprova che Raffaelle avea acquistato maggior idea del vero bello; poichè contiene assai più bellezze che tutte le altre sue anteriori" Op. di Mengs, i. 134. On the death of Raffaello, which happened shortly after the completion of this picture, the cardinal de' Medici changed his intention of sending it to Narbonne, and placed it in the church of S. Pietro in Montorio at Rome, where it remained until it was lately brought to France, and placed in the collection of the Louvre.

wonderful instance of energetic design and powerful effect; but the warmest admirers of Michel-Agnolo have not hesitated to confess, that in beauty and in grace the picture of Raffaello had no equal.[83]

Hall of Constantine.

Among the last and unfinished labours of Raffaello, are the designs for another apartment in the Vatican, now called the Hall of Constantine, which were begun by him under the directions of Leo X., and terminated, after the death both of the artist and the pontiff, by Giulio Romano and Gian-Francesco Penni, who are acknowledged to have proved themselves by this work the worthy disciples of so great a master. This series comprises four grand compositions, each occupying one side of the apartment. The first represents the vision of Constantine, with the miraculous appearance of the holy cross. The second and largest is the victory of Constantine over Maxentius. The third is the baptism of the emperor; and the fourth, the donation made by him to the church. On the basement of this apartment are represented the figures of several of the Roman pontiffs who distinguished themselves by their superior piety; each of whom appears to be seated in a niche, and to be attended by two angels, who support his mantle, or assist in holding the book which he is employed in reading.[84] Among them are the sainted pontiffs, Pietro, Damaso, Leo, Gregory, and Silvester. On the base of a column, at the foot of the picture which represents the baptism of Constantine, is inscribed, CLEMENS VII. PONT. MAX. A LEONE X. COEPTUM CONSUMAVIT.

[83] This picture was engraved by the scholars of Marc-Antonio Raimondi, in 1538; and afterwards by several other artists. A large print from the cartoon of it has lately been published at Rome by Francesco de' Santis, which exhibits, by a comparison with the former prints, the alterations made by the artist in the execution of his design. The manner in which Raffaello has treated this subject, in representing the transfiguration of Christ on the mountain, and the presentation for cure of the boy possessed by an evil spirit below, has given occasion to some critics to charge him with having represented two separate actions, and two distinct periods of time, in the same picture. This objection has been answered by several writers, and particularly at great length, by Mr. Rutgers, in his letter on this subject to Messrs. Richardson, printed in the *addenda* to their treatise, "Sur la Peinture;" and more concisely, but more decisively, by Mr. Fuseli, at the end of his third lecture at the Royal Academy.

[84] Bellori, Descrittione, &c. p. 150.

As an architect, Raffaello is scarcely less entitled to commendation than in the other departments of art. On the death of Bramante, in the year 1514, a competition took place for the office of superintendent of the church of S. Pietro, between the professors of architecture at Rome; among whom were Fra Giocondo, Raffaello, and Balthazar Peruzzi, the latter of whom, at the request of Leo X., formed a new model for the building, excluding such parts as appeared to him not to correspond with the rest, and comprehending the whole in one magnificent and simple form. But, although the design of Peruzzi gave great satisfaction to the pontiff, and some parts of it were even adopted by succeeding architects in carrying forwards this great work, yet Leo, in compliance with the dying request of Bramante, conferred the office of architect on Raffaello, giving him as a coadjutor, or assistant, the experienced Fra Giocondo, then at an advanced period of life.[85] The appointment of Raffaello, which is dated in the month of August, 1514, contains high commendations of his talents, and assigns to him a salary of three hundred gold crowns, with full power to call for the supplies necessary for carrying forward the work.[86] For the same purpose he was also authorized to make use of such marble as might be found in the city of Rome, or within the distance of ten miles from its walls; and a penalty was imposed upon all persons, who, upon discovering the remains of any ancient edifice, should not, within three days, give notice of the same to Raffaello, who, as prefect of S. Peter's, was empowered to purchase and make use of such part of it as might suit his purpose. These regulations were the means of preserving from destruction many remains of ancient art, which would otherwise undoubtedly have perished. In the brief, addressed by the pontiff to Raffaello on this occasion, it is observed, that "great quantities of stone and marble

Raffaello employed to delineate the remains of ancient Rome.

[85] Fra Giocondo was not only an eminent architect, but an accomplished scholar, and instructed the learned Julius Cæsar Scaliger in the Greek and Latin languages. On his erecting for Louis XII. the famous bridge over the Seine, Sannazaro produced the well-known couplet:

"Jocundus geminum imposuit tibi Sequana pontem,
Hunc tu jure potes dicere *Pontificem*."

[86] App. No. C.

are frequently discovered with inscriptions or curious monumental devices, which are deserving of preservation for the promotion of literature, and the cultivation of the Latin tongue; but are frequently cut or broken, and the inscriptions obliterated, for the sake of using them as materials in new buildings." The pontiff therefore imposes a heavy fine upon any person who shall destroy any inscription, without the permission of Raffaello.[87] These precautions could not fail of answering, in a great degree, the commendable ends which the pontiff had in view; and to him may be ascribed the preservation of such memorials of former ages as had escaped the ravages of his predecessors; many of whom had not only permitted these venerable relics to be defaced, at the pleasure of those who found them, but had themselves torn down some of the finest works of antiquity, and employed the splendid fragments in the churches and modern edifices of Rome.

Report of Raffaello to the pope.

The progress of this great work, during which the pontiff had frequent interviews with his architects, suggested to him a yet more extensive and magnificent plan. This was the forming an accurate survey of the city of Rome, with representations of all the remains of ancient buildings, so as to obtain, from what might yet be seen, a complete draught or model of the whole, as it existed in the most splendid æra of its prosperity.[88] This task he also intrusted to Raffaello, who undertook it with great alacrity, and appears to have made some progress towards its completion; but the untimely death of that great artist, which happened soon after the commencement of the undertaking, frustrated the views of the pontiff. A singular memorial of the measures adopted by Raffaello for carrying this purpose into effect, yet, however, remains, in a letter addressed by him to the pope, and which, until within the space of a few years past, has been erroneously attributed to the Count Baldassare Castiglione.[89]

[87] App. No. CI.

[88] This commendable undertaking has been in some degree revived in the present times by the Roman academy of Archæology.

[89] In the year 1799, the Abate Daniele Francesconi published a discourse on this subject, addressed to the Florentine academy, and modestly entitled, "Congettura

In this letter, which displays in every sentence the knowledge of a practical artist, the author has fully explained the nature of his undertaking, the rules which he had prescribed to himself for carrying it into effect, and even the implements made use of for that purpose. "There are many persons," says he, "Holy Father, who, estimating great things by their own narrow judgment, esteem the military exploits of the ancient Romans, and the skill which they have displayed in their buildings, so spacious, and so richly ornamented, as rather fabulous than true. With me, however, it is widely different; for when I perceive, in what yet remains of Rome, the divinity of mind which the ancients possessed, it seems to me not unreasonable to conclude, that many things were to them easy which to us appear impossible. Having, therefore, under this conviction, always been studious of the remains of antiquity, and having, with no small labour, investigated and accurately measured such as have occurred to me, and compared them with the writings of the best authors on this subject, I conceive that I have obtained some acquaintance with the architecture of the ancients. This acquisition, whilst it gives me great pleasure, has also affected me with no small concern, in observing the inanimate remains, as it were, of this once noble city, the queen of the universe, thus lacerated and dispersed. As there is a duty from every child towards his parents and his country, so I find myself called upon to exert what little ability I possess, in perpetuating somewhat of the image, or rather the shadow, of that which is, in fact, the universal country of all Christians, and at one time was so elevated and so powerful, that mankind began to believe that she was raised beyond the efforts of fortune, and destined to perpetual duration. Hence it would seem that time, envious of the glory of mortals, but not fully confiding in his own strength, had combined with fortune, and with the profane and unsparing barbarians, that to his corroding file

che una lettera creduta di Baldassar Castiglione sia di Raffaelle d'Urbino," for a copy of which I am indebted to the obliging attention of the learned Abate Jacopo Morelli, librarian of S. Marco at Venice. In this discourse, and the judicious notes by which it is accompanied, the author has demonstrated, in the most satisfactory manner, that the letter in question is, in fact, the answer or report of Raffaello to the commission delegated to him by the pontiff.

and consuming tooth they might add their destructive fury; and by fire, by sword, and every other mode of devastation, might complete the ruin of Rome. Thus, those famous works which might otherwise have remained to the present day in full splendour and beauty, were, by the rage and ferocity of these merciless men, or rather wild beasts, overthrown and destroyed; yet not so entirely as not to leave a sort of mechanism of the whole, without ornament indeed; or so to express it, the skeleton of the body without the flesh. But why should we complain of the Goths, the Vandals, or other perfidious enemies, whilst they who ought, like fathers and guardians, to have protected the defenceless remains of Rome, have themselves contributed towards their destruction. How many have there been, who, having enjoyed the same office as your holiness, but not the same knowledge, nor the same greatness of mind, nor that clemency in which you resemble the Deity, how many have there been who have employed themselves in the demolition of ancient temples, statues, arches, and other glorious works! How many who have allowed these edifices to be undermined, for the sole purpose of obtaining the *pozzolana* from their foundations; in consequence of which they have fallen in ruins! What materials for building have been formed from statues and other antique sculptures! Insomuch, that I might venture to assert, that the new Rome which we now see, as large as it may appear, so beautiful and so ornamented with palaces, churches, and other buildings, is wholly composed of the remains of ancient marble. Nor can I reflect without sorrow, that even since I have been in Rome, which is not yet eleven years, so many beautiful monuments have been destroyed; as the obelisk that stood in the Alexandrian road, the unfortunate arch, and so many columns and temples, chiefly demolished by M. Bartolommeo della Rovere. It ought not, therefore, holy father, to be the last object of your attention, to take care that the little which now remains of this the ancient mother of Italian glory and magnificence, be not, by means of the ignorant and the malicious, wholly extirpated and destroyed; but may be preserved as a testimony of the worth and excellence of those divine minds, by

whose example we of the present day are incited to great and laudable undertakings. Your object, however, is rather to leave the examples of the ancients to speak for themselves, and to equal or surpass them by the erection of splendid edifices, by the encouragement and remuneration of talents and of genius, and by dispensing among the princes of Christendom the blessed seeds of peace. For as the ruin of all discipline and of all arts is the consequence of the calamities of war, so from peace and public tranquillity is derived that desirable leisure which carries them to the highest pitch of excellence." After this introduction, the author proceeds:—"Having then been commanded by your holiness to make a design of ancient Rome, as far as it can be discovered from what now remains, with all the edifices of which such ruins yet appear, as may enable us infallibly to ascertain what they originally were, and to supply such parts as are wholly destroyed by making them correspond with those that yet exist, I have used every possible exertion, that I might give you full satisfaction, and convey a perfect idea of the subject." He then enters upon a technical description of the principal edifices then existing in Rome, which he divides into three classes, those of the ancients, of the middle ages, and of the moderns, giving to each their peculiar characteristics. He describes a mathematical instrument which he has employed for completing his task with accuracy, and which appears, from the use of the mariner's compass, to be the same as that which is now called the *plane-table;* and after having thus given a full explanation of his proceedings, he transmits to the pope the drawing of an entire edifice, completed according to the rules which he had laid down.[90]

[90] Since the publication of the former editions of the present work, I have had the pleasure of finding the account I had given of this great undertaking of Raffaello most amply confirmed, by the discovery of the original drawings, by his own hand, in the MS. library of T. W. Coke, Esq., at Holkham. This precious volume contains thirty-five folio sheets, some of which are folded, and drawn on both sides. These drawings are, for the most part, executed with a reed pen, in brown ink, or bistre, and are sometimes accompanied by short *memoranda*, in the handwriting of Raffaello, stating where the subjects of them were found, &c. The drawings consist of capitals, friezes, cornices, bases, ceilings, &c., with a few on other subjects; amongst which is a fine free sketch of Moses raising the brazen serpent, as painted by Michel-Agnolo on the ceiling of the Sistine chapel, with variations by Raffaello; which may assist in deciding the warmly-contested question, *whether Raffaello studied the works of Michel-Agnolo?* That this volume

Death of Raffaello.

With the death of his favourite artist it is probable that Leo relinquished this undertaking. This event happened on Good-Friday, in the year 1520, Raffaello having on that day completed the thirty-seventh year of his age. The regret which every admirer of the arts must feel for his early loss, is increased by the reflection, that this misfortune was not the result of any inevitable disease, but is to be attributed to the joint consequences of his own imprudence, and of the temerity or ignorance of his physician.[91] With every accomplishment, both natural and acquired, with qualities that not only commanded the approbation, but conciliated the affection of all who knew him, it was his misfortune not sufficiently to respect the divine talents with which he was endowed. His friend, the cardinal da Bibbiena, had endeavoured to prevail on him to marry, and had proposed to give him his niece as a wife;[92] but the idea of restraint was intolerable to him; and whilst he appeared disposed to comply with the wishes of the cardinal, he still found means, under various pretexts,

of drawings, which was obtained in Italy, about a century ago, by the late Lord Leicester, is a portion of those executed by Raffaello for his great work, there can be no doubt; such decision not resting on a mere inspection of them, although this will sufficiently shew, that they cannot be the work of any other hand; but being confirmed by the express evidence of several Italian writers, by whom the present volume is particularly referred to. In a note in the anonymous Life of Raffaello, published by Comolli, is the following passage:—"I molti disegni architettonici da lui fatti a questo oggetto, sono stati mai sempre l'ammirazione e lo stupore de' conoscitori."—"Winckelman (Osservazioni sull' Architettura, p. 50, note 6, ediz. Roma,) ne ricorda due collezioni; una presso il *Barone di Stosch*, l'altra nella Biblioteca di *Tomaso Coke, Lord Leicester*."—Vita di Raff. edit. da Comolli, p. 72, note 80.*

[91] "Raffaello attendendo in tanto a suoi amori, così di nascosto, continuò fuor di modo i piacceri amorosi, onde avvenne ch' una volta fra l'altre, disordinò più del solito, perchè tornato a casa con una grandissima febbre, fu creduto da' Medici che fosse riscaldato. Onde non confessendo egli il disordine che aveva fatto, per poco prudenza loro gli cavarono sangue, di maniera che indebolito si sentiva mancare ladove egli aveva bisogno di ristoro."—Vasari, Vite, vol. ii. p. 132.

[92] Richardson relates, that he had seen a letter of Raffaello containing many curious particulars of his life, some of which he has given, and which seem to be authentic. Traité de la Peinture, vol. iii. p. 463. Raffaello made a formal disposition of his property, whereby, after providing for the support of his favourite mistress, and the salvation of his soul, which latter object he secured by directing that a chapel should be built, and endowed with a certain number of masses, he left the residue of his effects to his disciples, Giulio Romano and Gian Francesco Penni, and appointed Baldassar Turini, then datary to the pope, and usually called Baldassare da Pescia, to whose unpublished correspondence we have had such frequent occasion to refer in the course of this work, the only executor of his will. Vasari, vol. ii. p. 132. A further account of the works of Raffaello, and of his scholars who assisted him in the execution of them, may be found in the very interesting notes of Count Bossi, in Ital. Ed. vol. xi. pp. 164, 168, 181, &c.*

to postpone the union. Among the reasons assigned for this delay it has been alleged, that, on the finishing the pictures in the Vatican, the pope intended to confer on him, in reward of his labours, the rank and emoluments of a cardinal. It must, however, be confessed, that such a promotion, if indeed it ever was in contemplation, would have conferred little honour either on the artist or his patron. In the estimation of his own times, as well as of the present, he already held a higher rank than Leo could bestow; and the hat of a cardinal could only have disgraced the man whose chief pretensions to it were founded on his pallet and his pencils.[93]

Other artists employed by Leo X.

It would be no less unjust to the character and liberality of Leo X. than to the disinterestedness of Raffaello, and indeed to the merits of the age, to suppose that the patronage of the pontiff was confined to the encouragement of a single artist, to the exclusion of all contemporary excellence. In truth, no person was ever more free from that envy which is the invariable mark of inferior talents, than Raffaello himself. Among those whom he recommended to the favour of Leo X. was Luca della Robbia, who had carried to high perfection an art which had long been practised by his ancestors; that of painting on *Terra invetriata*, or glazed earth; an art which has since been lost, or at least is now confined to the narrow limits of enamel painting. In this method he executed the *Impresa*, or arms of Leo X. which yet adorn the apartments of the Vatican, and com-

Luca della Robbia.

[93] Vasari asserts, that the pope wept bitterly at the death of Raffaello. "La sua morte amaramente lo fece piangere."—Vasari, vol. ii. p. 33. The great picture o the Transfiguration, which Raffaello had only just finished, was displayed at thef head of the apartment where his remains were placed prior to interment. His epitaph was written by Bembo.

D. O. M.
RAPHAELI SANCTIO JOAN. F. URBINAT.
PICTORI EMINENTISS. VETERUMQUE ÆMULO
CUJUS SPIRANTEIS PROPE IMAGINEIS
SI CONTEMPLERE
NATURÆ ATQUE ARTIS FŒDUS
FACILE INSPEXERIS
JULII II. ET LEONIS X. PONT. MAX.
PICTURÆ ET ARCHITECT. OPERIBUS
GLORIAM AUXIT
VIXIT A. XXXVII. INTEGER INTEGROS
QUO DIE NATUS EST EO ESSE DESIIT
VII. ID. APRIL MDXX.

pleted the floors of the papal *Loggie*.[94] In the decoration of the Vatican, Leo was desirous of obtaining the assistance, not only of the most eminent painters, but of the most skilful artificers in every kind of ornament; to the end that this place might concentrate and exhibit in one point of view, all that was exquisite in art. His exertions for this purpose were eminently successful; and in the ensuing century the celebrated French painter, Niccolo Poussin, was employed by Louis XIII. in making drawings of the decorations of the Vatican, to be employed in the palace of the Louvre, which he was then erecting;[95] a circumstance which confers honour on the taste of that sovereign, and marks the commencement of that improvement, which under the patronage of his successor, arrived at its highest pitch of excellence.

Andrea Contucci.

The reputation acquired by Andrea Contucci, called Andrea dal Monte Sansovino, by his celebrated group in the chapel of Gorizio, to which we have before had occasion to refer, induced the pope to require his assistance in completing the ornaments for the chapel of our Lady of Loretto, which had been commenced by Bramante, but left imperfect at his death. This work consisted of a series of pieces in sacred history, executed in *basso rilievo* in marble. The talents displayed by Andrea in this undertaking fully justified the choice of the pontiff, and even Vasari, although devoted to the admiration of Michel-Agnolo, acknowledges that these productions were the finest and most finished specimens of sculpture which had until that time been seen. The enterprise was, however, too extensive for the accomplishment of an individual; and some of the *rilievos* being left by Andrea in an unfinished state, were completed by succeeding artists. Thus Baccio Bandinelli finished the representation of the birth of the Virgin; Raffaello da Monte Lupo that of her marriage; and Girolamo Lombardo the nativity of Christ, and adoration of the Magi. The miracle of the migration from Sclavonia to Loretto of this famous chapel, which is pretended to have been the birth-place and residence of the Holy Virgin, supplied another subject for the inventive talents of Andrea,

[94] Vasari, Vite de' Pittori, vol. i. pp. 202, 203.
[95] Bottari, note al Vasari, vol. ii. p. 120.

and his design was afterwards executed by the Florentine sculptor, Tribolo.[96]

Among other great works completed by Leo X. during his brief pontificate, may be enumerated the rebuilding and adorning with paintings the church of our Lady at Montecello, the superintendence of which place had been intrusted to him whilst a cardinal. He also restored and beautified the baptismal font of Constantine in the Lateran, which had nearly become ruinous. He vigilantly repaired the roads and bridges within the Roman territories; erected or enlarged many magnificent palaces in different parts of his dominions; conducted to his favourite villa of Malliana a plentiful supply of water, and ornamented the place by a beautiful building. Beyond the limits of the Roman state, he attended to the completion and decoration of the palace of Poggio Cajano, situate between Pistoja and Florence, which had been erected by his father Lorenzo. The direction of this undertaking was intrusted by the pontiff to his relation Ottaviano de' Medici, who possessed the same taste for the arts which distinguished the rest of his family, and lived on terms of friendly intimacy with the most eminent painters of the time. It was the intention of the pontiff to ornament the walls and ceiling of the great hall with paintings in fresco, the execution of which had been committed to Francia Bigio; but Ottaviano de' Medici called in further assistance, and allotting only one-third of the work to Bigio, apportioned the rest between Andrea del Sarto, and Jacopo da Puntormo, in hopes that, by the emulation thus excited, the work would be better and more expeditiously performed. One of the pictures undertaken by Bigio was the representation of Cicero carried in triumph by his fellow-citizens. Andrea del Sarto commenced a picture of the tribute of various animals presented to Cæsar, and Jacopo da Puntormo, one of Vertumnus and Pomona, characterised by their insignia, and their attendants. Other pieces were also commenced; but the great deliberation with which the artists proceeded, in the hopes of surpassing their competitors, and perhaps some degree of dissatisfaction arising from the par-

Francia Bigio, Andrea del Sarto, Jacopo da Puntormo.

[96] Vasari, vol. ii. p. 174.

tition of their labour, delayed the completion of their undertaking, until its further progress was effectually prevented by the death of Leo X.; an event which, as Vasari has observed, not only frustrated many great works at Rome, at Florence, at Loretto, and other places, but impoverished the world by the loss of this true Mecænas of all distinguished men.[97]

Lionardo da Vinci.

Among other artists, whom the elevation of Leo X. to the pontificate induced to visit the city of Rome, Vasari has enumerated the accomplished Lionardo da Vinci, who is said to have accompanied Giuliano de' Medici from Florence, on that occasion.[98] The same author informs us, that on his arrival, the pope gave him a subject on which he might employ his pencil. Lionardo, who devoted much of his time to the improvement of the mechanical processes of his art, began to prepare oils and varnishes; whereupon the pope exclaimed, "What, alas! can be expected from a man who attends to the finishing before he has begun his work!" We are also told, that on this occasion, Lionardo executed for Baldassare Turini da Pescia, a picture of the Madonna and infant Christ, and an exquisite portrait of a boy; both of which were, in the time of Vasari, in the possession of M. Giulio Turini at Pescia.[99] To what a degree of proficiency Lionardo might have attained, had he devoted to the prosecution of his art that time which he misapplied in alchemical experiments, or lost in puerile amusements, may readily be conjectured from the astonishing specimens which he occasionally produced; but whilst Raffaello and Michel-Agnolo were adorning Italy with their immortal labours, Lionardo was blowing bubbles to fill a whole apartment, and decorating lizards with artificial

[97] Vasari, vol. ii. p. 655.

[98] Ibid. p. 12.

[99] In the former editions of this work I had stated at length the reasons for the doubts I entertained as to the visit of Lionardo to Rome; but I have since met with a document which removes all uncertainty on the subject. In the "Histoire de la Peinture en Italie, par M. B. A. A. Paris, 1817," 2 tom. 8vo, a quotation is given from a MS. of Lionardo himself, as follows:—"Je partis de Milan pour Rome, le 24 Septembre, 1514, avec François Melzi, Salai, Lorenzo, et Fanfoia:" tom. ii. p. 234. Although the period here mentioned differs one year from that assigned for the festivities at Rome on Giuliano de' Medici being received into the rank of a Roman citizen (*vide ante*, chap. x.), yet it is decisive of the fact, that Lionardo was at Rome in the time of Leo X. On this question, and on the works and studies of Lionardo da Vinci, the Italian reader may consult the observations of Count Bossi, in his notes in Ital. Ed. vol. xi. p. 193 to 204; vol. xii. p. 249.

wings. Even these occupations may, however, be taken as indications of the same character, which he frequently manifested in his works, impatient of the limits of nature, and aiming at the expression of something beyond what had ever occurred to his observation; a propensity which marks a great and daring mind, but which, if not regulated and chastened by the laws of probability and of truth, is in danger of leading, as in fact it too often led Lionardo, to the expression of caricature, deformity, and grimace.

Origin of the art of engraving on copper.

It has been considered as a great advantage to the reputation of Michel-Agnolo, and as a misfortune to that of Raffaello, that whilst the former was yet living, the transactions of his history were recorded by two of his scholars, whilst no one was found among the numerous admirers of the latter, who would undertake to perform for him the same office;[100] but this disadvantage was amply compensated by another circumstance, which has perhaps rendered more service to the character of Raffaello than could have been done by the most eloquent encomiums, or the most flattering pen. This observation can only apply to the promulgation of his beautiful designs, by means of engravings from plates of copper, an art then recently invented, and rapidly rising to perfection. From the practice of chasing and inlaying metals, wood, or ivory, called by the Italians *Lavori di Niello*, and which had been cultivated by the Florentines with great success, the modern method of engraving derives its origin. In designing the subjects to be inlaid on armour, on household plate, and other implements, the painter was not unfrequently called in to the aid of the mechanic; and as these labours began to be performed with greater care and attention, it became usual to take impressions from the engraved metal, in order to judge of the effect of the work, before the cavities were filled with the substance intended. This substance was in general a composition of silver and lead, which being black, was denominated *niello* (*nigellum*). Of these impressions, which are hence called prints *in niello*, the industry of modern inquirers has discovered several specimens, which are dis-

Stampe di Niello.

[100] Lanzi, Storia Pittorica, i. 394.

tinguished from other early prints, not only by the inscriptions being reversed in the impression, but by their rudeness in other respects. From this practice to that of engraving on metal for the express purpose of multiplying the design, the transition was not difficult. Among the first persons who distinguished themselves in this new career, were Antonio Pollajuolo and Sandro Botticelli, the latter of whom furnished the designs for the edition of Dante, published in 1488, which were engraved by Baccio Baldini.[101] Many other early artists are enumerated by writers on this subject, but their pretensions are in general extremely doubtful, and we may with great justice attribute to Andrea Mantegna, the merit of being the first person who by his performances gave stability and importance to the art. The prints of Andrea yet frequently occur to the collector, and display great invention and expression of character.[102] They sometimes even border on grace and elegance.[103] His drawing is in general correct, and in some instances exhibits great freedom. All his prints are peculiarly distinguished by the shadows being formed by diagonal lines, which are always found in the same direction, and not crossed by other lines, as has since been practised. He has not affixed the date to these productions, but they are certainly to be placed among the earliest efforts of the art, and may for the most part be assigned with confidence to the latter part of the fifteenth century.[104]

Baccio Baldini.

Andrea Mantegna.

[101] This is generally supposed to be the first book which was ornamented with engravings on copper, but Mr. Heineken has cited others of anterior date. Idée Générale, &c. 143. Dict. des Artistes, iii. 208. It appears to have been the intention of the printer to have placed a vignette at the head of each canto, but only two are inserted, viz. at the commencement of the first and second canto of the "Inferno," and if three be found, the third is only a repetition of the second. It is now incontestably proved, that the supposed rare editions of this book, which are said to contain a greater number of these engravings, and which are alluded to by the learned Morelli, in his "Libreria Pinelliana," vol. iv. p. 280, have no existence; and that if any work has such an appearance, the prints are either pasted on the leaf, or copied by a pen. Of the last description is that of the Pinelli library, described by Morelli. The copy which I possess agrees with that description in every respect, and appears to be the same book.

[102] Of this his two prints of the battle of sea-monsters, and the triumph of Silenus, afford sufficient proof.

[103] As in his print of four nymphs dancing.

[104] Mantegna died in 1505. Vasari, who places this event in 1517, has confounded it with the date of the monument erected to Mantegna, in the church of S. Andrea at Mantua. Pilkington's Dict. of Painters, edited by Fuseli, p. 313.

The person, however, who was destined to carry this art to a much higher degree of perfection, was Marc-Antonio Raimondi, of Bologna, frequently called, from having when young studied under the painter Francesco Francia, Marc-Antonio di Francia. Heineken conjectures that he was born in the year 1487, or 1488, but one of his pieces bears the date of 1502,[105] and some of his others appear to be anterior to it, whence we may perhaps place that event some years earlier. His first attempts were in *Niello*, in which he obtained great applause, but having taken a journey to Venice, he there found exposed to sale several of the prints of Albert Durer, both from copper and wood. The purchase of these works exhausted his slender finances, and in order to repair them, he began to copy the series of prints of the life of Christ, by Albert Durer, consisting of thirty-six pieces engraved in wood, which he imitated with such exactness on copper, as effectually to deceive those who saw them, and enable him to sell them as the prints of the German artist. Vasari informs us, that when Albert was acquainted with this circumstance, by a friend who transmitted to him one of the copies by Marc-Antonio, he immediately repaired to Venice to complain of the fraud to the senate; but that the only satisfaction which he could obtain, was a decree prohibiting Marc-Antonio from affixing the name or the emblem of Albert to his own engravings in future.[106] An attentive examination of the works of these artists affords, however, no little reason to doubt of the truth of this narrative, which Vasari has probably adopted without sufficient authority.

Marc-Antonio Raimondi.

From Venice Marc-Antonio repaired to Rome, where soon after his arrival he attracted the notice of Raffaello, by engraving from one of his designs a figure of Lucretia.[107] This print being shewn to that great artist, he immediately saw the important uses to which the talents of the engraver might be applied, and from that time the abilities of Marc-Antonio were chiefly devoted to the representation of the designs of Raffaello. The first piece assigned to him by

[105] His print of Pyramus and Thisbe.

[106] Vasari, Vite de' Pittori, ii. 413.

[107] Marc-Antonio engraved this subject twice after Raffaello, but the larger print was the first engraved. They are both without mark or date.

Raffaello was the Judgment of Paris, which he executed with great ability,[108] and this was succeeded by several other works, which were the admiration of all Italy, and have preserved to the present day many exquisite designs of that great artist, which would otherwise have been lost to the world. It has been said that Raffaello not only directed Marc-Antonio in the execution of his labours, but that he frequently engraved the outlines of his figures, so as to render them as correct as possible ;[109] and, although this may be allowed to rest on conjecture only, yet it is certain that the labours of Marc-Antonio were highly approved by Raffaello, who, as a proof of his proficiency, transmitted impressions of his prints to Albert Durer, and received in return a present from the German artist of many of his works. The reputation of Marc-Antonio was now established. The utility of his art was universally acknowledged. His school was thronged with disciples, many of whom became great proficients. Marco da Ravenna, Agostino Venetiano, and Giulio Bonasone, were scarcely inferior to their master, and by their labours, and those of their successors, a correct and genuine taste for picturesque representation has been diffused throughout Europe.

Invention of etching.

The art of engraving in copper by the *burin*, was accompanied, or speedily succeeded, by another invention of no less importance ; that of engraving by means of *aquafortis*, or as it is now called, etching. The great labour and long experience which the management of the tool required, had divided the province of the engraver from that of the painter, and it might frequently have happened, that through the incorrect or imperfect medium of the former, the latter could scarcely recognise his own works. The art of etching, as it required but little mechanical skill, enabled the painter to transfer to the copper his own precise ideas ; and to this we have been indebted for some of the most exquisite productions of genius and of taste. In fact, these prints may justly be esteemed as original drawings of the masters who have produced them ; and, although the works of the modern

[108] Vasari, Vite de' Pittori, vol. ii. p. 416.
[109] On this subject, see Heinek. Dict. des Artistes, vol. i. p. 280.

engraver may frequently be entitled to great admiration, yet they will never, in the estimation of an experienced judge, be allowed to rival those free and unfinished, but correct and expressive sketches, which the immediate hand of a great painter has produced.

The origin of this invention has been attributed by the Italians to Parmegiano; but it was certainly known in Germany, if not before Parmegiano was born, at least before he was able to practise it. If, however, Parmegiano was not the inventor, the beautiful works which he has left in this department, and which exhibit all the elegance, grace, and spirit of his paintings, which they will in all probability long survive, give him a decided superiority over all that preceded him; nor whilst we possess these precious remains, can we suppress our regret, that the same mode of execution was not occasionally resorted to by the other great artists of the time, and that we are not allowed to contemplate the bold contours of Michel-Agnolo, or the graceful compositions of Raffaello, as expressed and authenticated by their own hand.[110]

[110] The reader who is desirous of more ample information respecting the rise and progress of engraving, may consult the references of Mr. Henke, in Germ. Ed. vol. iii. pp. 429, 431, and the notes of Count Bossi, Ital. Ed. vol. xi. pp. 204, 209, 211, 214, &c. But the most satisfactory information on this subject may be found in the History of Engraving, by Wm. Young Ottley, Esq., in two vols, 4to, London, 1816, a work not less remarkable for its deep research, than for the beautiful fac-similes of early art by which it is illustrated.*

Medal of Raphael

A monk informs Leo X. of his death.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1521.

Tranquillity of Italy—Leo seizes upon several of the smaller states—Attempts the duchy of Ferrara—Meditates the expulsion of the French and Spaniards from Italy—Engages a body of Swiss mercenaries—Treaty with the Emperor for restoring the family of Sforza to Milan—The French general L'Ecus made a prisoner by Guicciardini and liberated—Hostilities commenced against the French—Francis prepares to defend his Italian possessions—The allies attack Parma—The duke of Ferrara joins the French—The cardinal Giulio de' Medici legate to the allied army—The Swiss in the service of France desert to the enemy—The allies pass the Adda—Capture of Milan—The allies attack the duke of Ferrara—Sudden indisposition of Leo X.—His death—Reasons for believing that he was poisoned—His funeral and monument.

ITALY had now for some years enjoyed a state of repose; nor did there appear to exist among the sovereigns of Europe any immediate cause which might lead them to disturb her tranquillity. Charles V. had hitherto been too much engaged in confirming his authority, and regulating his administration in Germany, in Spain, and in Flanders, to pay any particular attention to his Neapolitan possessions; and Francis I. appeared to be rather solicitous to secure his dominions in the Milanese, than ambitious of further conquests. The Venetians, who by the aid of the French monarch had recovered the important cities of Brescia and Verona, still maintained with

Tranquillity of Italy. 1521. Æt. 46. Pont. IX.

him a close alliance; and the secondary states of Italy were too well aware of the dangers which they might incur in the general commotion, to give occasion to new disturbances. Even the duke of Ferrara, although by no means reconciled to the loss of Modena and Reggio, which were still retained by Leo X., thought it prudent to suppress his resentment, lest it should afford the pope a pretext, of which he would gladly have availed himself, to do him a more essential injury.

Nor were the great prosperity of the Roman see and the personal character of the pontiff, considered as slight assurances of the continuation of peace. The dissensions which, under the pontificates of Alexander VI. and Julius II. had torn the states of the church, were at length appeased, and Leo found the obedience of his subjects unlimited, and his authority uncontrolled. To the possession of the Roman see, he had united the cities and territories of Urbino and Sinigaglia; whilst Tuscany, then in its highest state of riches and population, remained as a patrimonial inheritance at his absolute disposal. Thus fortunately situated, and the continuation of his prosperity being secured by friendly alliances with the other sovereigns of Europe, he not only indulged his natural disposition in the encouragement of literature, and the promotion of works of art, but is said to have devoted himself to an indolent course of life, from which he was roused only by the pursuit of his pleasures, which consisted in music, in hunting, or in the company of jesters and buffoons. From this quarter, therefore, no danger was apprehended; and in the confidence of the continuance of tranquillity, Italy had already revived from her terrors, and begun to lose the remembrance of her past calamities.

If, however, the pope devoted his leisure to amusement, it may be doubted whether he had thereby acquired that total dislike of public business, which has been so generally attributed to him; on the contrary, if we may judge from his conduct, it may be presumed that no one watched more narrowly over the affairs of Italy, or observed those of

Leo seizes upon several of the smaller states.

Europe with greater vigilance. For some years he had turned his attention towards the smaller states in the vicinity of the Roman territory, which had been seized upon by successful adventurers, or were occupied by domestic tyrants, but over which the church had always asserted its superiority, whenever an opportunity occurred of enforcing its claims. The city of Perugia was governed by Gian-Paolo Baglioni, who, if we may believe contemporary historians, was a monster of iniquity and impiety; but the cruelty with which he exercised his usurped authority, rendered him no less an object of dread, than his other crimes did of horror.[1] Acting on those maxims which he appears to have adopted on other occasions, and which, however fallacious, have found apologists in subsequent times, Leo conceived that against such an offender, every species of treachery was justifiable. Pretending, therefore, that he wished to consult with Baglioni on affairs of importance, he invited him to Rome; but Baglioni, affecting to be indisposed, sent in his stead his son Gian-Paolo, for the purpose of discovering the intentions of the pope. Leo received the youth with the greatest kindness, and after detaining him some time, sent him back to his father, whom he again requested to take a journey to Rome, and at the same time transmitted to him a safe-conduct. The violation of such an assurance was a crime, which even the guilty mind of Baglioni could not conceive, and he accordingly hastened to Rome, where he was admitted to the presence of the pontiff, and to the honour of kissing his feet. On the following day, however, he was taken into custody by Annibale Rangone, captain of the pontifical guard, and subjected to the torture, where he is said to have disclosed enormities, the perpetration of which could not have been expiated by a thousand deaths.[2] This treacherous and tyrannical act was closed by the decapitation of Baglioni, in the castle of S. Angelo, and by the pope possessing himself

[1] Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 142. Some further remarks on the character of Baglioni, and on the petty tyrants who had obtained possession of different cities in Italy, whose enormities frequently afford subjects for the novelists of the times, may be found in the notes of Bossi, Ital. Ed. vol. xii. p. 259, &c.*

[2] Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 143.

of the states of Perugia; whilst the family of Baglioni sought a shelter at Padua, under the protection of the Venetian republic, in whose service he had long been employed. From similar motives, and under similar pretexts, Leo despatched Giovanni de' Medici with one thousand horse and four thousand foot, to attack the city of Fermo, then held by Lodovico Freducci, a military commander of great courage and experience. On the approach of the papal army, Freducci quitted the city, and attempted to make his escape at the head of two hundred horse; but having been intercepted by Giovanni, and refusing to submit, he was, after a desperate resistance, left dead on the field, with one-half of his followers; and Fermo was received into the obedience of the papal see. The fall of Freducci intimidated the petty tyrants who had possessed themselves of cities or fortresses in the march of Ancona; some of whom effected their safety by flight, and others resorted to Rome to solicit the clemency of the pope. It appeared, however, that they who distrusted him had formed a more accurate judgment of his character than they who confided in him; several of the latter having been imprisoned, and a strict inquiry made into their conduct; in consequence of which, such as were supposed to have committed the greatest enormities were executed, without any regard to the circumstances under which they had placed themselves in the power of the pontiff.[3]

In the dissensions between Leo X. and the French monarchs, the part adopted by the duke of Ferrara had given great offence to the pope, who did not, however, discover by his public conduct the resentment which he harboured in his breast. After having frequently been called upon, without effect, to fulfil his promise of restoring to the duke the cities of Modena and Reggio, Leo at length avowed his resolution to retain them; and in the close of the year 1519, when Alfonso was incapacitated by sickness from attending to his defence, and his life was supposed to be in danger, the vigilant pontiff marched an army into the vicinity of Ferrara, for the

Attempts the duchy of Ferrara.

[3] Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 143. Jov. Vita Leon. X. lib. iv. p. 83.

purpose, as was supposed, of occupying the government in case of the death of the duke. The friendship and active interference of Federigo, marquis of Mantua, who had shortly before succeeded to that dignity, on the death of his father Francesco, defeated this project. The Roman army was withdrawn, and mutual expressions of confidence and respect took place between the pontiff and the duke. These circumstances did not, however, prevent the pope, in the course of the ensuing year, from forming a plan for possessing himself of the city of Ferrara by treachery. The person whom he employed for this purpose was Uberto Gambara, an apostolic protonotary, who afterwards attained the dignity of the purple. A secret intercourse was established between Uberto and Ridolfo Hello, the captain of a body of German soldiers in the service of the duke, who having received the sum of two thousand ducats as the reward of his treason, engaged to deliver up one of the gates of the city to the papal troops. Orders were accordingly sent to Guido Rangone, who commanded the papal army, and to Guicciardini, governor of Modena, to collect their forces under other pretexts, and to be in readiness to possess themselves of the gate, which they were to defend until further succours should arrive; but when the plan was arranged, and the day for the attack agreed on, it was discovered that Ridolfo had from the beginning communicated the whole affair to Alfonso, who having seen sufficient of the intention of the pontiff, and being unwilling that matters should proceed to extremities, took the necessary means for convincing the pope that Ridolfo had imposed upon him.[4] The conduct of Leo X. towards the duke of

[4] Muratori has not scrupled to assert that the pope entered into a conspiracy to assassinate the duke, and that Guicciardini found himself unintentionally involved in this black transaction. For this imputation, he refers, in general, to the Ferrarese historians, and to Guicciardini. I have taken the trouble of examining these writers, and apprehend that Muratori has on this, as on other occasions, been led, by his partiality to the family of Este, to extend the accusation against the pope beyond what his authorities can justify. Of the histories of Ferrara, that of Pigna terminates in the year 1476, and consequently throws no light on this transaction. Gyraldi, although he relates the animosity between the duke and the pontiff, and mentions the determination of the latter to possess himself of Ferrara, has not accused him of any treacherous attempt against the life of the duke; Sardi, or rather his continuator, Faustini, has indeed informed us, "that in the beginning of the year 1520, the life of the duke was attempted by one Ridolfello, captain of his

Ferrara, discloses some of the darkest shades in his character; and in this instance, we find those licentious principles which induced him to forfeit his most solemn promises, on pretence of the criminality of those to whom they were made, extended to accomplish the ruin of a prince who had not, by his conduct, furnished any pretext for such an attempt.

Nor were the designs of the pope, at this period, limited to the subjugation of the smaller states of Italy. The most decisive evidence yet remains, that he had not only formed a project for expelling the French monarch from the territories of Milan and of Genoa, but that he also intended to turn his arms against the kingdom of Naples, and by delivering it from the yoke of the Spaniards, to acquire the honour to which Julius II. had so ardently aspired, of being considered as the assertor of the liberties of Italy. He was, however, well aware, that these great undertakings could not be accomplished merely by his own strength and his own resources, and he therefore resolved to take advantage of the dissensions which had already arisen between Francis I. and the emperor, to carry his purposes into effect.

Leo meditates the expulsion of the French and Spaniards from Italy.

Before he engaged in negotiations, which he foresaw must involve him in hostilities, he resolved to raise such a force as would not only be sufficient for his own defence, but would enable him to co-operate vigorously with his allies, in effecting the purposes which he had in view. To this end he despatched, as his envoy to Switzerland, Antonio Pucci, bishop of Pistoga, with directions to raise for his service a body of six thousand men.[5] In this undertaking the bishop found no difficulty,

Engages a body of Swiss mercenaries.

German guard, who, having been corrupted by a large sum of money, entered his chamber with an intent to assassinate him; but that, being overawed by the appearance and countenance of the duke, he relinquished his design, and confessed the whole transaction." This relation differs so greatly from that of Muratori, that it can scarcely be considered as the authority on which he has relied. Faustini has not even insinuated that the pope was an accomplice, nor has he connected this transaction with the movements of the papal army. The narrative of Guicciardini corresponds with that which I have given, and contains no charge of any intention on the part of the pontiff to *assassinate* the duke; nor has Paulus Jovius, who has left a very full and circumstantial narrative of the life of Alfonso, taken any notice of such a transaction.

[5] Guicciard. lib. xiv. vol. ii. p. 175.

as the pontiff had, ever since the war of Urbino, taken care to renew his treaties with the Helvetic chiefs, and had intrusted the bishop with one hundred and fifty thousand gold crowns for their pay.[6] Having thus prepared the way for active operations, he proposed to Francis I. to unite with him in an attack upon the kingdom of Naples. In the conditions of this treaty it was stipulated that Gaeta, and the whole of the Neapolitan territory between the river Garigliano and the ecclesiastical state, should be united to the dominion of the church; and that the remainder of the kingdom should be held for the second son of the French monarch, who was then an infant, and should be governed by an apostolic nuncio, until he was enabled to take upon himself the government.[7] Whilst these negotiations were depending, the Swiss troops in the service of the pope were permitted to pass through the states of Milan, and were stationed in different parts of Romagna and the march of Ancona. This, however, was the only advantage which Leo derived from his treaty with the French monarch; and was, in all probability, the sole object which he had in view. Francis now began to see with jealousy the conduct of the pontiff, and declined the overtures which had been made to him. His delay, or his refusal, afforded Leo a plausible pretext for a step which it is highly probable that he had previously determined upon; and he immediately and openly united his forces with those of the emperor, for the express purpose of wresting from Francis the dominion of Milan, and expelling the French from Italy.[8]

Treaty with the emperor for restoring the family of Sforza to Milan.

On the expulsion and death of Maximiliano Sforza, the right of that family to the supreme authority of the Milanese had devolved upon his brother Francesco, who had taken refuge at Trent, where he impatiently waited for a favourable opportunity of recovering the possessions of his ancestors; having constantly refused all the offers of the French monarch to induce him to relinquish his claims. His expectations had been encouraged by the zeal and activity of

[6] Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 146.
[7] Guicciard. chap. xiv. vol. ii. p. 175. [8] Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 146.

Girolamo Morone, formerly chancellor to Maximiliano, duke of Milan, and by whose advice that city had been surrendered to the French; but who, not having experienced from Francis I. the same attentions as from his predecessor, Louis XII., had assiduously, though secretly, laboured to overturn his authority. By the interference of Morone, a treaty was concluded, on the eighth day of May, 1521, between the pope and the emperor, for establishing Francesco Sforza in his dominions. By this treaty it was also stipulated, that the cities of Parma and Piacenza should again be united to the dominions of the church; that the emperor should support the claims of the pope on the Ferrarese; and that he should confer on Alessandro de' Medici, the illegitimate son of Lorenzo, duke of Urbino, then about nine years of age, a territorial possession in Naples;[9] and on the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, a pension of ten thousand crowns, payable from the archbishopric of Toledo, then lately vacated.[10] But for the more effectual accomplishment of the objects proposed, it was agreed that this alliance should not be made public until measures had been taken, as well in Genoa as in Milan, for overturning the authority of the French, either by fraud or by force.

The government of the French in Milan had given great dissatisfaction, insomuch that many of the noble and principal inhabitants had quitted the city, and taken refuge in different parts of Italy, intending to join the standard of Francesco Sforza, as soon as he should be enabled to take the field. By the advice of Morone, it was determined that this force should be concentrated in the city of Reggio, which place, as well as the city of Modena, was then governed on behalf of the pope by the historian Guicciardini, who was directed secretly to forward the enterprise, and to advance to Morone ten thousand ducats for the pay of his troops. About the same time the papal galleys were ordered to unite with those of the emperor, then at Naples, and to proceed with

The French general L'Ecus made a prisoner by Guicciardini, and liberated.

[9] This was agreed to be the duchy of Civita di Penna, which brought in an annual revenue of ten thousand crowns, and which Alessandro afterwards enjoyed.

[10] This treaty is given by Lünig, Codex Ital. Diplomat. vol. i. p. 167, and by Du Mont, Corps Diplomat. vol. iv. par. viii. suppl. p. 96.

two thousand Spaniards to the port of Genoa, accompanied by Girolamo Adorno, one of the Genoese exiles who had been compelled to quit that place by the rival faction of the Fregosi, and whose appearance it was expected would conciliate the favour of the populace to the attempt. The doge Fregoso had, however, been informed of their approach, and had so effectually secured the coast, that the commander of the fleet found it expedient to retire without attempting to disembark.[11] In the mean time, the Sieur de L'Ecus,[12] who during the absence of his brother, Odet de Foix, Mareschal de Lautrec, held the chief authority in Milan, being apprized of the assemblies of the Milanese exiles within the papal states, resolved to use his endeavours for suppressing them. Taking with him, therefore, a company of four hundred horse, and followed by Federigo Gonzaga, lord of Bozzolo, at the head of one thousand infantry, he made his appearance before the gates of Reggio, in the hope, as Guicciardini conjectures, that he might be enabled to secure the persons of the exiles, either by prevailing upon the governor, who was not a soldier by profession, and was supposed to be wholly unprovided for an attack, to deliver them up to him, or by availing himself of some pretext for entering the place. Guicciardini had, however, received intimation of his design, and had requested the papal commander, Guido Rangone, then in the Modenese, to enter the city of Reggio by night; he had also called in to his assistance the soldiers raised by Morone, and directed that the neighbouring inhabitants should be in readiness, at the sound of the bell, to repair to the gates. In the morning the French commander presented himself before the city, and sent one of his officers to request an interview with the governor. Guicciardini complied with his wishes, and a place was appointed where the meeting should take place without the walls. L'Ecus accordingly made his appearance, with several of his followers, and dismounting from his horse, proceeded towards the gate through which Guicciar-

[11] Guicciard. lib. xiv. vol. ii. p. 183.

[12] Thomas de Foix, Sieur de L'Ecus. Capello in his Commentaries, denominates him *Thomaso Fusio chiamato Monsignor de L'Escus*; Guicciardini calls him *Lo Scudo*, and Robertson the *Mareschal de Foix*.

dini and his attendants passed to meet him. The French commander then began to complain to the governor that he had shewn favour and afforded support to the Milanese rebels, who had been suffered to assemble in that city for hostile purposes; whilst the governor, on the other hand, lamented that a body of French troops had thus, without any previous representations having been made as to their object, suddenly entered the dominions of the church. During this interview, one of the French officers, availing himself of the opportunity afforded him by the opening of one of the gates, for the purpose of admitting a waggon laden with corn, attempted to enter the city at the head of his troops, but was repulsed by the soldiers provided for its defence. This incident excited a general alarm, and the inhabitants, supposing that the French commander had been privy to the attempt, began to discharge their artillery from the walls, by which Alessandro Trivulzio, an eminent Italian commander in the service of the French, who stood near L'Ecus, received a wound of which he died on the second day following; nor was it to be attributed to any other cause than the fear of injuring the governor, that L'Ecus himself escaped. In his turn he accused Guicciardini of treachery; and not knowing whether to remain where he stood, or to seek his safety in flight, suffered the governor to take him by the hand and lead him into the city, accompanied only by La Motte, one of his officers. The rest of his troops, supposing that their chief was taken prisoner, betook themselves to flight in such haste, that several of them left their weapons behind them. After a full explanation had taken place, Guicciardini set at liberty the French commander, who despatched La Motte to Rome to inform the pope of the cause of his visit to Reggio, and to request that he would give orders for prohibiting the assembling of the Milanese exiles within his territories.[13] Of this incident Leo availed himself to represent to the consistory the misconduct and treachery of the French, whom he accused of a design of possessing themselves of the city of Reggio; he declared it to be his intention to unite his arms with those of the

[13] Guicciard. lib. xiv. vol. ii. p. 180. Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 147.

emperor; and although the treaty with Charles V. had actually been concluded, he now affected to treat with the imperial ambassador as to the terms of the confederation, and issued a papal bull, by which he excommunicated as well the French monarch as his two commanders, Odet and Thomas de Foix, until they should restore the cities of Parma and Piacenza to the authority of the holy see.[14]

Hostilities commenced against the French.

Hostilities being now unavoidable, Leo called to Rome the celebrated Italian commander Prospero Colonna, who had been appointed by the emperor one of the imperial generals, to consult with him on the most effectual means of carrying on the war.[15] He also engaged in his service Federigo, marquis of Mantua,[16] and conferred on him the title of captain-general of the church, to which he had long aspired. On this occasion the marquis sent back to France the insignia of the order of S. Michael, with which he had been honoured by the king.[17] The army of the allies consisted of six thousand Italian troops, two thousand Spaniards who had returned from the attack of Genoa, and two thousand more who were despatched from Naples, under the command of Ferdinando D'Avalos, marquis of Pescara. These were afterwards joined by six thousand Germans, raised at the joint expense of the pope and the emperor, and by the Swiss troops which Leo had brought into Italy; whose numbers had, however, been reduced, by the return of many of their associates, to about two thousand. If to these be added the papal and Florentine troops not enumerated with the above, the force of the allied army may be computed to

[14] This document is preserved in Du Mont, Corps Diplomat. Suppl. vol. iii. par. i. p. 71. Charles V. also issued an imperial edict, which Leo published at Rome. About this time an explosion of gunpowder happened in the citadel of Milan, supposed to have been occasioned by lightning, by which several French soldiers lost their lives, and the fortifications were considerably damaged. Guicciard. lib. xiv. vol. ii. p. 185. This incident is commemorated in a Latin poem by Antonius Thylisius, of Cosenza, entitled, "Turris de cœlo percussa;" published, with his other poems, at Rome, 1524, 8vo.

[15] Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 148.

[16] He had previously entered into stipulations with the marquis for three hundred men-at-arms, the treaty for which is given by Du Mont, Corps Diplomat. vol. iv. par. i. p. 322.

[17] Guicciard. lib. xiv. vol. ii. p. 18..

have amounted to upwards of twenty thousand men.[18] Of these the chief command was confided to Prospero Colonna; but the immediate direction of the papal army was intrusted to Guicciardini, who, under the name of commissary-general, was expressly invested with authority over the marquis of Mantua. In the month of August the Italian troops assembled at Bologna; and Colonna, having soon afterwards effected a junction with the German and Spanish auxiliaries, proceeded to the attack of Parma.

These formidable proceedings occasioned great alarm to Francis I., who now began to perceive the effects of his own imprudence in divesting the pope of Parma and Piacenza. But whilst he endeavoured in vain to mitigate the resentment of the pontiff, he resorted to such measures as seemed necessary for the defence of his possessions, and Lautrec, then in France, was ordered to return to his government, with a promise, on the part of the king, that he should speedily receive a supply of three hundred thousand ducats. On his arrival Lautrec began to collect the French forces, dispersed in different parts of Lombardy. The Venetians also despatched to the assistance of their allies a body of eight thousand foot and about nine hundred horse, under the command of Teodoro Trivulzio and Andrea Gritti.[19] The most strenuous efforts of both the contending parties were, however, employed in obtaining the assistance of the Swiss, on whose determination it was conceived that the event of the contest would finally depend; and, notwithstanding the representations and promises of the cardinal of Sion, and of the imperial envoys, the cantons agreed to fulfil the treaty which they had previously formed with Francis I., and to supply him with a considerable force; in consequence of which four thousand of these mercenaries, being a comparatively small part of the number for which he had stipulated, arrived at Milan.[20] Lautrec now commenced his operations, and

Francis I. prepares to defend his Italian possessions.

[18] Guicciard. lib. xiv. vol. ii. p. 187. [19] Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 147.

[20] The number agreed for was ten thousand. *Vide* Guicciard. lib. xiv. vol. ii. p. 188. Planta's Hist. of the Helvetic States, vol. ii. p. 115. The importance which the Swiss acquired in the affairs of Europe by their courage and military skill has been properly noticed by Count Bossi; who has, at the same time

despatching his brother L'Ecus, at the head of five hundred lances, and Federigo of Bozzolo, with five thousand infantry, to the defence of Parma, employed the utmost vigilance in securing the city of Milan and the rest of its territory against the expected attack.

The allies attack Parma.

The allied forces, after various dissensions between the Italian, German, and Spanish troops, and great diversity of opinion amongst the commanders, at length commenced their attack upon Parma; and although they were frequently on the point of relinquishing the attempt, they at length succeeded in compelling the French garrison to retire to that part of the city which lies beyond the river, and immediately occupied the station which their adversaries had left. The inhabitants of this district expressed the greatest satisfaction on being restored to the dominion of the church; but their joy was speedily terminated by the outrages committed by the promiscuous soldiery, who had proceeded to sack the city. From this violence they were, however, at last restrained by the most decisive measures on the part of the commander Colonna, who, among other instances of a just severity, executed by the halter a number of soldiers who had violated the sanctuary of a monastery, and thus at length succeeded in appeasing the tumult.[21]

In the mean time the French and Venetian army, of which Lautrec had now taken the command, although consisting of upwards of fifteen thousand men, had remained inactive, in expectation of the arrival of the additional body of six thousand Swiss, by whose assistance they might be enabled to oppose the papal and imperial troops in the field. On receiving intelligence of the attack upon Parma, they advanced, however, to the banks of the Taro, about

observed, that the practice of hiring out their troops to the best bidder, and often to both the contending parties, occasioned the loss of that influence, and even of their dignity and power. Ital. Ed. vol. xii. p. 28. This disgraceful practice was strongly reprobated by Zuinglius, who, with the views of a patriot, and the feelings of an enlightened preacher of the gospel, represented to his fellow-citizens, in the most energetic manner, the disgraces and losses they brought upon their country, by suffering themselves to be hired as mercenaries by foreign powers. The citizens of Zurich were the only persons that paid any attention to him. Sleidan. Com. lib. iii. p. 159. Ap. Henke, Germ. Ed. vol. iii. p. 453.*

[21] Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 148.

seven miles from that city, for the purpose of opposing the further progress of the enemy.[22] At this juncture, the hopes of the French were encouraged by the duke of Ferrara, who, having discovered the tenor of the treaty between the pope and the emperor, and finding no security for himself but in the success of the French, took the field at the head of a formidable body of troops, and advancing into the Modenese, captured the towns of Finale and San Felice, threatening even the city of Modena. This unexpected event compelled the allies to divide their forces; Guido Rangone was despatched with a powerful body of troops to oppose the duke of Ferrara; all further attacks on the city of Parma were abandoned; and an opportunity was afforded the French commander of supplying the place with provisions, and fortifying it against subsequent attacks.

The duke of Ferrara joins the French.

The retreat of the papal army from Parma was a cause of great vexation to the pontiff, who had hitherto been obliged to bear almost the whole expenses of the war, and who now began to doubt whether his views had not been counteracted by the insincerity of his allies.[23] He therefore, by means of his envoy, the cardinal of Sion, redoubled his efforts to obtain a reinforcement from the Swiss; and although the Helvetic chiefs had already despatched several bodies of troops into Italy, to the aid of the French, yet such was their avidity for pay and for plunder, that they agreed to furnish the pope with twelve thousand men, under the pretext that they should be employed only in the defence of the states of the church. At the same time Leo despatched his cousin, the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, under the title of legate of the church, to take upon himself the superintendence of the allied army, and to allay by his authority the disputes and jealousies which had arisen among the commanders, and which seemed daily to increase.

The cardinal Giulio de' Medici legate to the allied army.

The opposing armies, after frequent movements, and some skirmishes of little importance, now waited with the ut-

[22] Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 149.
[23] Guicciard. lib. xiv. vol. ii. p. 198. Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol x. p. 149

most impatience for the arrival of those reinforcements from Switzerland, which had been promised to both, and which were expected to give the party which should obtain their services a decided superiority. A considerable body of these mercenaries at length arrived, and formed a junction at Gambara with their countrymen in the pay of the allies; the two cardinal legates of Medici and of Sion, preceded by their crosses of silver, marching in the midst of them, to the great scandal of their religion and office. A negotiation was now opened, in which it may be presumed the services of the Swiss were offered to the highest bidder; but the French commander having been disappointed in his promised supply of three hundred thousand ducats from France, which had been appropriated by the duchess of Angoulême, mother of the French monarch, to her own use, the offers and promises of the pontifical legates prevailed; and the Swiss, notwithstanding the remonstrances and efforts of Lautrec, united their forces with those of Colonna; whilst those in the service of the French monarch deserted their standards, and either joined the papal troops or returned to their own country.

The Swiss in the service of France desert to the enemy.

Dispirited by this disappointment, and alarmed at the accession of strength which his adversaries had thus obtained, Lautrec thought it expedient to retreat beyond the banks of the Adda. Having therefore strongly garrisoned Cremona and Pizzighitone, he broke up his camp, and took his station on the side of the river next to Milan, intending to oppose the further progress of the enemy. The papal and imperial commanders, having with their new accession of strength acquired fresh spirits, resolved to relinquish all attempts of less importance, and proceed immediately to attack the city of Milan. The passage of the river was conducted with a degree of secrecy and despatch which is allowed to have conferred great honour on Colonna; and its success attached no less disgrace to the military talents of Lautrec, who had boasted, even in a despatch to his sovereign, that he would prevent his enemies from effecting their purpose. The transporta-

The allies pass the Adda.

tion of the army took place at Vaprio, about five miles from Cassano, where the French troops were then encamped; the cardinal de' Medici having accompanied the first detachment of the army in one of the boats employed for that purpose.[24] No resistance was made on the part of the French; and although the movement was rendered tedious by various circumstances unavoidable in such an attempt, yet a considerable body of the allied army effected a landing. It might have been presumed, that when Lautrec was apprized of this circumstance, he would have marched his whole force against the invaders; but after a fatal deliberation of some hours, he despatched his brother, with a body of French infantry, four hundred lances, and some pieces of artillery, to oppose their further progress. A vigorous action took place, in which the superiority was warmly contested. The French commander, with the cavalry, fought with great courage; and if the artillery had arrived in time, it is supposed that the French would have repulsed the allies. The troops which had not yet passed, seeing the danger to which their associates were exposed, made the utmost efforts to cross the river to their assistance. Giovanni de' Medici, prompted by that fearless magnanimity by which he was always distinguished, plunged into the current at the head of his troops, mounted on a Turkish horse, and arrived in safety on the opposite shore. By these exertions L'Ecus was compelled to retreat with considerable loss to Cassano, where Lautrec immediately broke up his camp and hastened towards Milan, intending to concentrate all his forces in the defence of that capital. On his arrival he committed an act of useless and imprudent severity, by the public execution of Christoforo Pallavicini, a nobleman not less respectable by his age and character than by his rank and influence, and who had previously been committed to prison as a partisan of the pope, between whom and his family there had long subsisted a friendly intimacy.

On the nineteenth day of November, 1521, the allied army arrived, without further opposition, in the vicinity of

[24] Guicciard. lib. xiv. vol. ii. p. 207.

Milan, where an incident took place which has been represented as of a very surprising nature. Whilst the legates and principal officers were debating near the abbey of Chiaravalle, on the mode to be adopted for the attack of the city, they are said to have been accosted by an old man, in the dress of a peasant, who informed them that if they would instantly prosecute their enterprise, the inhabitants would, at the sound of the bells, take up arms against the French; an incident, says Guicciardini, "which appears marvellous; as, notwithstanding all the diligence that could be used, it never was discovered either who this messenger was, or by whom he had been sent." At the approach of night, Ferdinando D'Avalos, marquis of Pescara, at the head of the Spanish troops, proceeded to the attack. On presenting himself before one of the bastions in the suburbs of the city, which was defended by a party of Venetians, a mutual discharge of musquetry took place; but on the assailants making an attempt to scale the walls, the Venetians, abandoning their station, betook themselves to flight.[25] The marquis, pursuing his good fortune, entered the suburbs, and, after a short contest, in which the Venetian commander, Trivulzio, was wounded and taken prisoner, dispersed the French and their allies. On his approaching the gates of the city, they were instantly opened by his partisans, whilst the cardinal de' Medici and the other chiefs were received with their followers at another of the gates, according to the assurances received from their unknown visitor. The French commander, surprised and dispirited by the sudden approach of the enemy, and terrified by the general indignation expressed by the populace, withdrew with his troops to Como, having first strongly garrisoned the citadel of Milan. Some apprehensions were entertained for the safety of the citizens from the violence of the victorious army; but by the vigilant conduct of the cardinal de' Medici, and the prudent advice of Morone, all outrage was prevented, and a proclamation was issued prohibiting, on pain of death, any injury to the inhabitants. In the morning, an embassy of

Capture of Milan.

[25] Commentarj di Galeazzo Capella, lib. i. p. 11.

twelve citizens of the order of nobility appeared before the cardinal legate to surrender the city and entreat protection. Morone, in the name of Francesco Maria Sforza, now regarded as duke of Milan, took possession of the government under the title of his lieutenant. The other cities of the Milanese successively submitted to his authority, and Parma and Piacenza once more acknowledged the sovereignty of the Roman see.[26]

The allies attack the duke of Ferrara.

No sooner had the papal commanders accomplished this object, than they turned their arms against the duke of Ferrara, who, by an act of open hostility, had now afforded the pope that pretext for a direct attack upon him, which he had long sought for. The towns of Finale and San Felice were speedily retaken, and many of the principal places of the duchy of Ferrara, on the confines of Romagna, were occupied by the papal troops. The Florentines at the same time possessed themselves of the extensive district of Garfagnana, whilst Guicciardini, as commissary of the pope, seized upon the small province of Frignano, which had been remarkable for its fidelity in adhering to the duke. In the midst of these hostilities the pope issued a monitory, in which, after loading the duke with reproaches, he excommunicated him as a rebel to the church, and placed the city of Ferrara under an interdict. The violence of these measures, instead of intimidating the duke, only served to stimulate his exertions and to rouse his resentment. He determined to defend his dominions to the last extremity. He fortified the city of Ferrara as completely as possible, and provided it with ammunition and provisions for a siege. He increased his Italian militia, and engaged in his service four thousand German mercenaries. To the monitory of the pope he replied by a manifesto, wherein he insisted on the justice of his cause, and bitterly complained of the outrageous and treacherous conduct of the pontiff. But just as the storm was expected to burst forth, an event occurred which not only relieved him from his apprehensions, but produced a most important alteration in

[26] Guicciard. lib. xiv. vol. ii. p. 211. Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 151.

the concerns of Italy, and in the general aspect of the times.[27]

Sudden indisposition of Leo X.

When the intelligence arrived of the capture of Milan, and the recovery of Parma and Piacenza, Leo was passing his time at his villa of Malliana. He immediately returned to Rome, where he arrived on Sunday, the twenty-fourth day of November, for the purpose of giving the necessary directions to his commanders, and partaking in the public rejoicings on this important victory. It was at first rumoured that the cardinal de' Medici had prevailed upon Francesco Sforza to cede to him the sovereignty of Milan, in consideration of which he had agreed to surrender to the duke his cardinal's hat, with the office of chancellor of the holy see, and all his benefices, amounting to the annual sum of fifty thousand ducats; and it was supposed to be on this account that the pope expressed such symptoms of joy and satisfaction as he had on no other occasion evinced, and gave orders that the rejoicings should be continued in the city during three days. On being asked by his master of the ceremonies whether it would not also be proper to return solemn thanks to God on such an occasion, he desired to be informed of the opinion of this officer. The master of the ceremonies told the pope, that when there was a war between any of the Christian princes, it was not usual for the church to rejoice upon any victory, unless the holy see derived some benefit from it; that if the pope, therefore, thought that he had obtained any great advantages, he should manifest his joy by returning thanks to God; to which the pope smiling replied, "that he had indeed, obtained a great prize."[28] He then gave directions that a consistory should be held on Wednesday, the twenty-seventh day of November; and finding himself somewhat indisposed, he retired to his chamber, where he took a few hours' rest.[29]

[27] Alfonso has commemorated his unexpected deliverance in a medal struck on this occasion, with the motto, Ex ore Leonis.

[28] "Quod bonum magnum in manibus haberet."
Par. de Grassis, Diar. Inedit.

[29] These circumstances are related on the authority of Paris de Grassis. The original is given in App. No. CII.

The indisposition of the pontiff excited at first but little alarm, and was attributed by his physicians to a cold caught at his villa. The consistory was not, however, held; and on the morning of Sunday, the first day of December, the pope suddenly died. This event was so unexpected, that he is said to have expired without those ceremonies which are considered as of such essential importance by the Roman church.[30] Jovius relates, that a short time before his death, he returned thanks to God with his hands clasped together and his eyes raised to heaven; and expressed his readiness to submit to his approaching fate, after having lived to see the cities of Parma and Piacenza restored to the church, and the French effectually humbled;[31] but this narrative deserves little further credit than such as it derives from the mere probability of such an occurrence. In truth, the circumstances attending the death of the pontiff are involved in mysterious and total obscurity, and the accounts given of this event by Varillas and similar writers in subsequent times, are the spurious offspring of their own imagination.[32] Some information on this important event might have been expected from the diary of the master of the ceremonies, Paris de Grassis; but it is remarkable, that from Sunday the twenty-fourth day of November, when the pope withdrew to his chamber, to the same day in the following week, when he expired, no

His death.

[30] The death of the pontiff without the sacraments, occasioned the following lines, attributed, but perhaps without reason, to Sanazzaro:—

"Sacra sub extrema si forte requiritis hora
Cur Leo non potuit sumere; vendiderat."

[31] Jovii, Vita Leon. vol. x. lib. iv. p. 93.

[32] Anecdotes de Florence, p. 303. Essais de Montaigne, vol. i. p. 15. Seckendorf, lib. i. sec. xlvii. p. 191, &c. A very apocryphal account of the conduct of the pontiff in his last moments, is also given by Fra Callisto Piacentino, regular canon of the Lateran, an enthusiastic preacher of the school of Savonarola; who in one of his discourses on the words, "*Seminastis multum et intulistis parum*," exclaims, "Povero Papa Leone! che s'aveva congregato tante dignitadi, tanti thesori, tanti palazzi, tanti amici, tanti servitori, et a quella ultimo passaggio del pertuso del sacco, ogni cosa ne cadde fuori. Solo vi rimase Frate Mariano, il qual per esser leggiere (ch' egli era buffone) come una festuca rimase attaccato al sacco; che arrivato quello povero Papa al punto di morte, di quanto e' s'havesse in questo mondo nulla ne rimase, eccetto Frate Mariano, che solo l'anima gli raccomandava, dicendo, *Raccordatevi di Dio, Santo Padre.* E il povero Papa, in agonia constituto, a meglio che potea, replicando dicea, *Dio buono, Dio buono, O Dio buono!* et cosi l'anima rese al suo Signore. Vedi s'egli é vero, che *qui congregat merces ponit eos in sacculum pertusum.*"—Ap. Tirab. vol. vii. par. iii. p. 419.

notice is taken by this officer of the progress of his disorder, of the particulars of his conduct, or of the means adopted for his recovery.[33] On the last mentioned day Paris de Grassis was called upon to make preparations for the funeral of the pontiff. He found the body already cold and livid. After having given such directions as seemed to him requisite on the occasion, he summoned the cardinals to meet on the following day. All the cardinals then in Rome, being twenty-nine in number, accordingly attended; but the concourse of the people was so great in the palace, that it was with difficulty they could make their way to the assembly. The object of this meeting was to arrange the ceremonial of the funeral, which it was ordered should take place on the evening of the same day.[34]

Reasons for believing that Leo X. was poisoned.

Such is the dubious and unsatisfactory narrative of the death of Leo X., which occurred when he had not yet completed the forty-sixth year of his age; having reigned eight years, eight months, and nineteen days. It was the general opinion at the time, and has been confirmed by the suffrages of succeeding historians, that his death was occasioned by the excess of his joy on hearing of the success of his arms. If, however, after all the vicissitudes of fortune which Leo had experienced, his mind had not been sufficiently fortified to resist this influx of good fortune, it is probable that its effects would have been more sudden. On this occasion it has been well observed, that an excess of joy is dangerous only on a first emotion, and that Leo survived this intelligence eight days.[35] It seems, therefore, not unlikely that this story was fabricated merely as a pretext to conceal the real cause of his death; and that the slight indisposition and

[33] Leo was born on the eleventh of December, 1475; elected pope eleventh of March, 1513; and died, first of December, 1521; having governed the church eight years, eight months, and twenty days. Bossi has defended this chronology against the erroneous statement of the Benedictine fathers, in the "Art de Vérifier des Dates," that Leo died at forty-four years of age, "*agé seulement de quarante quatre ans*;" and against Moreri, who has placed the death of the pontiff on the second of November, 1521. Ital. Ed. vol. xii. p. 110.*

[34] *Vide* App. No. CIII.

[35] M. de Bréquigny, ap. Notices des MSS. du Roi. tom. ii. p. 596. It has also been noticed by earlier writers, as Sleidan, Jovius, De Thou, and others. *Vide* Casp. Burmann. Analecta, de Hadriano VI. p. 52, ap. Henke, Germ. Ed. vol. iii. p. 457.*

temporary seclusion of the pontiff, afforded an opportunity for some of his enemies to gratify their resentment, or promote their own ambitious views, by his destruction. Some circumstances are related which give additional credibility to this supposition. Before the body of the pope was interred, Paris de Grassis, perceiving it to be much inflated, inquired from the consistory whether they would have it opened and examined, to which they assented. On performing this operation, the medical attendants reported that he had certainly died by poison. To this it is added, that during his illness the pope had frequently complained of an internal burning, which was attributed to the same cause; "whence," says Paris de Grassis, "it is certain that the pope was poisoned." In confirmation of this opinion, a singular incident is also recorded by the same officer, who relates in his diary, that a few days before the indisposition of the pontiff, a person unknown and disguised, called upon one of the monks in the monastery of S. Jerom, and requested him to inform the pope, that an attempt would be made by one of his confidential servants to poison him; not in his food but by his linen. The friar, not choosing to convey this intelligence to the pope, who was then at Malliana, communicated it to the datary, who immediately acquainted the pope with it. The friar was sent for to the villa, and having there confirmed in the presence of the pontiff what he had before related, Leo, with great emotion, observed, "that if it was the will of God that he should die, he should submit to it; but that he should use all the precaution in his power." We are further informed, that in the course of a few days he fell sick, and that with his last words he declared that he had been murdered, and could not long survive.[36]

The consternation and grief of the populace on the death of the pontiff were unbounded. On its being rumoured that he died by poison, they, in the first emotions of their fury, seized upon Bernabò Malespina, one of the pope's cup-bearers, who had excited their suspicions, by attempting to leave the city at this critical conjuncture, on the pretext of

[36] *Vide* App. No. CIV.

hunting, and dragged him to the castle of S. Angelo. On his examination it was alleged against him, that the day before the pope became indisposed, he had received from Malespina a cup of wine, and after having drunk it, had asked in great anger what he meant by giving him so disagreeable and bitter a potion. No sufficient proofs appearing of his guilt, he was, however, soon afterwards liberated; and the cardinal legate de' Medici arriving at the city prohibited any further examination on the subject.[37] He could not, however, prevent the surmises of the people, some of whom conjectured that Francis I. had been the instigator of the crime; a suspicion wholly inconsistent with the ingenuous and open character of that monarch. It has since been suggested that the duke of Ferrara, whose dominions were so immediately endangered by the hostile attempts of the pontiff, or the exiled duke of Urbino, might have resorted to these insidious means of revenge;[38] but of these individuals the weightier suspicion would fall on the latter, who, by his assassination of the cardinal of Pavia, had given a decisive proof, that in the gratification of his resentment he knew no bounds; and who had by his complaints and representations to the sacred college, succeeded in exciting a considerable enmity against the pontiff. even within the limits of the Roman court.

The obsequies of the pope were performed in the Vatican, without any extraordinary pomp;[39] the avowed reason of

[37] The cardinal de' Medici communicated the intelligence of the death of Leo X. to Henry VIII. in a letter, the original of which is preserved among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum; at the same time the cardinal transmitted to him the papal bull for his new title of Defender of the Faith. *Vide* App. No. CV.

[38] Fabron. Vita Leon. X. p. 239. Mr. Henke has observed, in confirmation of this opinion, that the duke of Urbino, in the very first days of the funeral obsequies of the pontiff, made preparations for the recovery of his dominions, for which he cites the authority of Paris de Grassis, in Hoffman, "Novum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Collect." vol. i. p. 487. *Vide* Germ. Ed. vol. iii. p. 459; but Bossi seems inclined to impute this crime to the duke of Ferrara; who was at this time closely attacked by the pope, and in danger of losing his dominions. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. xii. p. 47.*

[39] This event furnished some one of his adversaries with an occasion of stigmatizing his memory by the following lines:—

"Obruta in hoc tumulo est, cum corpore, fama Leonis.
Qui male pavit oves, nunc bene pascit humum."

On the other hand, the death of the pontiff gave rise to numerous panegyrics, to which it would be equally tedious and useless to refer, as they may be found in the works of almost all the poets of the time.

which was the impoverished state of the Roman treasury, exhausted as it was alleged by his profuse liberality, and by the wars in which he had been engaged. The recent successes with which his efforts had been crowned, might, however, have supplied both the motives and the resources for a more splendid funeral, if other circumstances, arising from the peculiar and suspicious manner of his death, had not rendered it improper or inexpedient. His funeral panegyric was pronounced by his chamberlain, Antonio da Spello, in a rude and illiterate manner, highly unworthy of the subject; for which reason his oration has not been preserved; but in the academy *della Sapienza* at Rome, a discourse is annually pronounced in praise of Leo X. Many of these have been printed, and are occasionally met with in rare collections. For several years no monument distinguished the place of his sepulture; but after the death of Clement VII. the cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, having removed his remains from the Vatican to the chapel of *S. Maria ad Minervam*, employed the eminent sculptor Alfonso Lombardi to erect suitable memorials to the memory of the two pontiffs, to whom he stood so nearly related. Lombardi accordingly formed the models, after sketches furnished by Michel-Agnolo, and repaired to Carrara to procure the marble requisite for the purpose; but, on the untimely death of the cardinal, he was deprived of this favourable opportunity of displaying his talents: and through the influence of Lucrezia Salviati, the sister of Leo X., the erection of the monument of that pontiff was intrusted to Baccio Bandinelli, who had made a model of it during the life of Clement VII., and who completed it in the church of *S. Maria ad Minervam*, where it is yet to be seen in the choir behind the great altar, and near to it is that of Clement VII.[40] The statue of Leo is the work of Raffaello da Monte Lupo; and that of Clement VII. is by the hand of Giovanni Bigio.[41] Another monument to Leo X.

His funeral and monument.

[40] "*S. Maria sopra Minerva* belongs to the Dominicans, and is of a long, narrow figure. It was built on the ruins of a temple of Minerva. In the choir are the very conspicuous mausoleums of Leo X. and Clement VII."—Dr. Smith's Tour on the Continent, vol. ii. p. 154.

[41] Titi, Nuovo studio di Pittura, &c. p. 20. But it appears from the "Lettere

is said to have been erected in the church of *S. Pietro in Vaticano*,[42] under an arch near the famous sculpture of a charity by Michel-Agnolo; where, however, it is now no longer to be found.

Pittoriche," that Clement VII. had employed Michel-Agnolo to prepare his monument; and that the method he took to get it completed was to excommunicate the artist in case he laboured at any other work, either of painting or sculpture, until he had finished it. This extraordinary *breve* is given in the "Lettere Pittoriche," at length, by Bottari, from the archives of the Vatican, and is, I presume, the only evidence by which it appears that Michel-Agnolo was employed to execute a monument of Clement VII. *Vide* Lett. Pitt. vol. vi. p. 203, and note.*

[42] "Sotto la volta dell' Arco contiguo erano due depositi, uno di Leone X. che non v'è più; l'altro di Leone XI."—Titi, Nuovo studio, p. 20. It was on this monument of Leo X. that the following well-known epitaph is said to have been placed:—

"Deliciæ humani generis, Leo maxime, tecum
Ut simul illuxere, interiere simul."*

Medal struck upon the capture of Milan.

Alberto Pio, lord of Carpi, and Paul III. conversing on the character and conduct of Leo X.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Diversity of opinion respecting the character of Leo X.—Causes of such diversity—From his family connexions—From political enmities—From his conduct as head of the church—Inquiry into his real character—His person and manners—His intellectual endowments—His political conduct—His ecclesiastical character—His supposed neglect of sacred literature—Charges of profligacy and irreligion—Aspersions on his moral character—His relaxations and amusements—Encouragement of letters and arts—How far he was rivalled in this respect by the other princes of his time—Conclusion.

Among all the individuals of ancient or modern times, who, by the circumstances of their lives, by their virtues, or by their talents, have attracted the attention of mankind, there is perhaps no one whose character has stood in so doubtful a light as that of Leo X. From the time of his pontificate to the present day, the applauses so liberally bestowed upon him by some, have been counterbalanced by the accusations and reproaches of others, and numerous causes have concurred in giving rise to erroneous opinions and violent prejudices respecting him, into which it may now be necessary, or at least excusable, to institute a dispassionate inquiry.

Diversity of opinion respecting the character of Leo X.

That distinguished excellence, or even superior rank and elevation, is as certainly attended by envy and detraction, as the substance is followed by the

Causes of such diversity.

shadow, has been the standing remark of all ages; but independently of this common ground of attack, Leo X. was, from various circumstances, the peculiar object of censure and of abuse. This liability to misrepresentation commenced with his birth, which occurred in the bosom of a city at all times agitated by internal commotions, and where the pre-eminent station which his family had long occupied, rendered its members obnoxious to the attacks and reproaches of their political opponents. Hence almost all contemporary historians may be considered as partisans, either warmly attached, or decidedly adverse to him; a circumstance highly unfavourable to the impartiality of historical truth, and which has tinged the current of information at its very source, with the peculiar colouring of the narrator. Nor did these prejudices cease with the death of Leo X. The exalted rank which his family afterwards acquired by its near connexion with the royal house of France, and the important part which some of its members acted in the affairs of Europe, are circumstances, which, whilst they recalled the ancestors and relations of the Medici to more particular notice, gave occasion to the warmest sentiments of commendation and of flattery on the one hand, and to the most unbounded expressions of contempt and of execration on the other.[1]

From his family connexions.

Another source of the great diversity of opinion respecting this pontiff, is to be traced to the high office which he filled, and to the manner in which he conducted himself in the political concerns of the times. As many of the Italian potentates, during the wars which desolated Italy, attached themselves to the cause of foreign powers, in like manner several of the Italian historians have espoused in their writings the interests of other

From political enmities.

[1] Among these panegyrical and satirical productions may be enumerated "Le Brilliant de la Royne; ou, les Vies des Hommes Illustres du nom de Medici, par Pierre de Boissat, Seigneur de Licieu, 1593," a work not without merit, but highly favourable to the family of the Medici. On the other hand, there appeared in 1663, a piece entitled, "Discours merveilleux, de la vie, actions, et deportemens, de la Reyne Catherine de Medicis, Mère de Francis II., Charles IX., Henry III., Rois de France;" in which the character of Leo X., with those of others of the family, is vehemently abused. (The author of this curious book was probably the celebrated Henry Stephens. *Vide* Meusel. Bibl. Hist. vol. ix. tom. i. p. 200, ap. Henke, Germ. Ed. vol. iii. p 464.)*

nations, and have hence been led to regard the conduct of Leo X. with an unfavourable eye, as the result of an ambitious and restless disposition. This indifference to the independence and common cause of Italy, is observable even in the greatest of the Italian historians, and has led Guicciardini himself unjustly to depreciate, rather than duly to estimate the merits of the pontiff. The same dereliction of national and patriotic spirit is yet more apparent in Muratori, who has frequently written with too evident a partiality to the cause of the French monarchs; a partiality which is perhaps to be accounted for from the close alliance which subsisted between them and the ancestors of his great patrons, the family of Este. It may further be observed, that Leo frequently exerted his authority, and even employed his arms, against the inferior potentates of Italy, some of whom severely felt the weight of his resentment; and that these princes have also had their annalists and panegyrists, who have not scrupled, on many occasions, to sacrifice the reputation of the pontiff to that of their patrons. To these may be added various other causes of offence, as well of a public as of a private nature, unavoidably given by the pontiff in the course of his pontificate, and which afforded a plausible opportunity to those whom he had offended, of vilifying his character, and loading his memory with calumny and abuse.

From his conduct as head of the church.

But the most fruitful cause of animosity against Leo X. is to be found in the violence of religious zeal and sectarian hatred. That he was chief of the Roman church has frequently been thought a sufficient reason for attacking him with the most illiberal invectives. To aspersions of this nature he was more particularly exposed by the circumstances of the times in which he lived, and by the part which he was obliged to act in opposing the progress of the Reformation. In this kind of warfare, Luther was himself a thorough proficient; nor have his disciples and advocates shewn any want of ability in following his example. Still more unfortunate is it for the character of Leo, that whilst, by the measures which he adopted against the reformers, he drew down upon himself

their most unlimited abuse, he has not always had the good fortune to escape the severe censure of the adherents of the Romish church; many of whom have accused him of a criminal lenity, in neglecting to suppress the new opinions by more efficacious measures, and of attending to his own aggrandizement or gratification, whilst the church of Christ was suffering for want of that aid which it was in his power alone to afford.[2]

Inquiry into his real character.

The difficulties which arise from these various representations respecting the character of Leo X., instead of deterring us from further inquiry, render it a still greater object of speculation and curiosity. What then, we may ask, were his personal and intellectual accomplishments? Was he a man of talents, or a mere favourite of fortune? Will his public and private conduct stand the test of an impartial examination? In what degree is the world indebted to him for the extraordinary proficiency in literature and the arts which took place during his pontificate? Such are some of the questions which naturally arise, and to which it is now reasonable to expect a reply.

His person and manners.

That the hand of nature has impressed on the external form and features indications of the mind by which they are animated, is an opinion that has of late received considerable support, and which, under certain restrictions, may be admitted to be well founded. From the accounts which have been transmitted to us of the countenance and person of Leo X., and from the authentic portraits of him which yet remain, there is reason to believe that his general appearance bespoke an uncommon character; and the skilful physiognomist might

[2] Murat. Annal d'Ital. vol. x. p. 145. To the censures of the Protestant writers on the one hand, and of the adherents to the church of Rome on the other, Count Bossi has given an ample and satisfactory reply. Among the former he has particularly noticed the unfavourable manner in which Jortin has, in his "Life of Erasmus," represented the character of the pontiff; observing, that his remarks are all conceived in general terms, and are only simple assertions, not substantiated by any facts, but derived from the most prejudiced of the Protestant writers. *Vide* Ital. Ed. vol. xii. p. 113. On this subject the reader may also peruse the note, or rather dissertation of Bossi, *Sul problema Storico, "se la riforma promessa da Lutero avrebbe avuto luogo, nel caso, che in vece di Leone X. avesse alcun altro occupato la sede pontificia?"*—Ital. Ed. vol. vi. p. 323.

yet, perhaps, delight to trace, in the exquisite picture of him by Raffaello, the expressions of those propensities, qualities, and talents, by which he was more peculiarly distinguished. In stature he was much above the common standard. His person was well formed; his habit rather full than corpulent;[3] but his limbs, although elegantly shaped, appeared somewhat too slender in proportion to his body. Although the size of his head, and the amplitude of his features, approached to an extreme, yet they exhibited a certain degree of dignity which commanded respect. His complexion was florid; his eyes were large, round, and prominent, even to a defect; insomuch, that he could not discern distant objects without the aid of a glass, by the assistance of which, it was observed, that in hunting and country sports, to which he was much addicted, he saw to a greater distance than any of his attendants. His hands were peculiarly white and well formed, and he took great pleasure in decorating them with gems. His voice was remarkable for softness and flexibility, which enabled him to express his feelings with great effect. On serious and important occasions no one spoke with more gravity; on common concerns with more facility; on jocular subjects with more hilarity. From his early years he displayed a conciliating urbanity of manner, which seemed perfectly natural to him, but which was probably not less the effect of education than of disposition; no pains having been spared in impressing on his mind the great advantage of those manners and accomplishments which soften animosity, and attract esteem. On his first arrival at Rome, he soon obtained the favourable opinion of his fellow-cardinals by his uncommon mildness, good temper, and affability, which led him to resist no one with violence, but rather to give way when opposed with any great degree of earnestness. With the old he could be serious, with the young jocose; his visitors he entertained with great attention and kindness,

[3] Paris de Grassis gives us, however, a singular picture of the pontiff whilst he performed divine service in hot weather. "Est enim crassus, et crasso corpore, ita ut nunc semper in sudoribus sit, et nunquam aliud facit inter rem divinam quam aliquo linteolo caput, faciem, guttur, et manus sudore madentes abstergere.—Diar. inedit.

frequently taking them by the hand and addressing them in affectionate terms, and on some occasions embracing them, as the manners of the times allowed. Hence, all who knew him agreed that he possessed the best possible dispositions, and believed themselves to be the objects of his particular friendship and regard; an opinion which, on his part, he endeavoured to promote, not only by the most sedulous and unremitting attention, but by frequent acts of generosity. Nor can it be doubted, that to his uniform perseverance in this conduct he was chiefly indebted for the high dignity which he attained so early in life.[4]

His intellectual endowments.

In his intellectual endowments Leo X. stood much above the common level of mankind. If he appears not to have been gifted with those creative powers which are properly characterized by the name of genius, he may justly be said to have displayed the highest species of talent, and in general, to have regarded the times in which he lived, and the objects which presented themselves to his notice, with a comprehensive and discriminating eye. His abilities have indeed been uniformly admitted, even by those who have in other respects been sparing in his praise.[5] That he was not affected by the superstitious notions so prevalent in his own times, is itself a proof of a clear and vigorous mind.[6] The memory of Leo was remarkable; and as he read with great patience and perseverance, frequently interrupting and prolonging his meals by the pleasure which he took in this employment, so he obtained a very extensive acquaintance with the historical events of former times. In the regulation of his diet he adhered to the strictest rules of temperance, even

[4] This account of Leo X. is chiefly obtained from the fragment of a Latin life of him by an anonymous author, preserved in the archives of the Vatican. For some judicious observations on the character and personal accomplishments of Leo X. *vide* also Bossi, Ital. Ed. vol. xii. pp. 122, 125.*

[5] Guicciard. lib. 14.

[6] He ridiculed the folly of Paris de Grassis, who requested him to order prayers and processions to avert the evils which were foretold by inundations, by thunder, by the fall of a crucifix, or a consecrated wafer carried away by the wind. "There is nothing in all this," said the pope to his master of the ceremonies, "but what is perfectly natural. People believe that it indicates an invasion by the Turks, and I yesterday received letters from the emperor, informing me that the princes of Christendom have united to attack Constantinople, and drive the Turks from their dominions." Par. de Grass ap. Notices des MSS. du Roi. tom. ii. p. 598.

beyond the usual restraints of the church. Although not perhaps perfectly accomplished as a scholar, yet he was well versed in the Latin language, which he both spoke and wrote with elegance and facility, and had a competent knowledge of the Greek. Nor ought it greatly to diminish our opinion of him in this respect, that Bembo has thought proper to detract from his reputation for learning, when we consider that this ungenerous insinuation was intended merely to flatter the reigning pontiff, Paul III., at the expense of his more illustrious predecessor.[7] By Jovius we are informed that he wrote verses both in Italian and in Latin. The former have in all probability perished. Of the latter a single specimen only is known, which has already been submitted to the judgment of the reader.[8]

His political conduct.

In his political character, the great objects which Leo appears to have generally pursued, sufficiently evince the capaciousness of his mind, and the just sense which he entertained of the important station in which he was placed. The pacification of Europe, the balancing of its opposing interests in such manner as to insure its tranquillity, the liberation of the states of Italy from their dependence on foreign powers, the recovery of the ancient possessions of the church, and the repressing and humbling the power of the Turks, were some of those great purposes, which he appears never to have abandoned. On his elevation to the papal throne he found the whole extent of Italy oppressed or threatened by foreign powers, and torn by internal commotions. The Spaniards were in possession of the kingdom of Naples; the French were preparing for the attack of Milan; and the states of Italy, in aiding or opposing the cause of these powerful intruders, were at constant war with each other. The first and most

[7] In estimating the causes of the diversity of opinions respecting Leo X. Mr. Henke has observed, that his successor, Adrian VI., was a man so unlike him in almost every respect, that without calumniating Leo X. no one could praise him; and without commending Leo X. no one could detract from him. Compared with this successor, Leo X. must, especially to men of literature and genius, have appeared much greater, and more commendable than their gratitude had before considered him. Of Adrian VI. they very unanimously believed what was said by Pierio Valeriano, "Si aliquanto diutius vixisset, gothica illa tempora adversus bonas literas videbatur suscitaturus." Henke, Germ. Ed. vol. iii. p. 466.*

[8] *Vide ante*, chap. xxii., and App. No. XCVIII.

earnest desire of the pontiff was to free the whole extent of Italy from its foreign invaders; an object not only excusable, but in the highest degree commendable. Whilst the extremities of that country were occupied by two powerful and ambitious monarchs, the one of them always jealous of the other, its interior could only become the theatre of war, and be subjected to continual exactions and depredations. The preponderating power of either the one or the other of these sovereigns might prove fatal to the liberties of the whole country; and at all events, the negotiations and intrigues to which they both had recourse, for supporting their respective interests among the inferior states, occasioned an agitation and ferment which kept it in continual alarm. In this situation, the accomplishment of the ends which the pontiff had proposed to himself, was the only mode by which he could reasonably hope to establish the public tranquillity; and if this be kept in view, it will enable us to explain, although it may not always excuse, many parts of his conduct, which may otherwise appear weak, contradictory, or unintelligible. To oppose himself to such adversaries by open arms was impossible; nor, whilst the same causes of dissension remained, was there the most distant prospect of forming an effective union among the Italian states; several of which had, by a weak and unfortunate policy, entered into close alliances with the invaders. Nothing therefore remained for the pontiff but to turn the strength of these powerful rivals against each other, and to take advantage of any opportunity which their dissensions might afford him, of liberating his country from them both. Hence it was his great object to secure, by incessant negotiations and constant assurances, the favour and good opinion of the French and Spanish monarchs; to be a party to all their transactions, and to enter into all their designs, so that he might be enabled to maintain a kind of equilibrium between them, and to give the preponderance, on important occasions, either to the one or the other of them, as might best suit his own views. This policy was, however, at some times combined with more open efforts; and the inefficacy of the papal arms was supplied by powerful bodies of Swiss mercenaries,

which the pope retained in his service by liberal stipends, and by whose assistance he twice expelled the French from Italy. Although frequently counteracted and defeated in his projects by the superior strength and resources of his adversaries, yet he never appears, throughout his whole pontificate, to have deviated from the purposes which he had originally in view. His exertions had at length opened to him the fairest prospects of success; and it is highly probable, that if an untimely death had not terminated his efforts, he would finally have accomplished his great undertaking.[9] That he had intended to retain the command of the Milanese, or to vest the supreme authority of that state in the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, may be regarded as certain;[10] and the union of these territories with those of Tuscany and of Rome, together with the continued aid of his Swiss allies, would have enabled him to attack the kingdom of Naples, then almost neglected by its young sovereign, with the fairest probability of success. In examining the public conduct of Leo X. by this test, it will be found to display a consistency not to be discovered by considering it in separate parts, or on detached occasions. His insincerity in his treaties with Francis I., although not justified, was occasioned by this unalterable adherence to his primitive designs; and the avidity of that monarch in depriving the pontiff of the districts of Parma and Piacenza, confirmed him in his resolution to seize the first opportunities of carrying those designs into effect. The French monarch should have known, that even in the moment of victory, it is not always expedient to grasp at every possible advantage, or to subject a humiliated adversary to intolerable or irksome terms; and that as morality and good faith should enforce the execution, so justice and moderation should be the basis of public engagements.

Nor was Leo less uniform and consistent in his endeavours to allay the dissensions among the Christian powers, with the view of inducing them to unite their arms against the Turks; a course of conduct which has given occasion to

[9] Bossi has taken a different view of this subject. Ital. Ed. vol. xii. p. 126.*

[10] Guicciard. lib. xiv. vol. ii. p. 175.

charge him with extravagant and romantic views; but which cannot be fairly judged of without considering the state of the times, and recollecting that those powerful barbarians had then recently established themselves in Europe, had overturned in Egypt the empire of the Mamelukes, and made several attempts against the coast of Italy, in one of which they had possessed themselves of the city of Otranto. That the pontiff was defeated in his purpose, is not to be attributed to any want of exertion on his part, but to the jealousy of the Christian states, which were yet more fearful of each other than they were of the Turks. And if, in this instance, the pontiff could not inspire the rulers of Christendom with his own feelings, and actuate them with good-will towards each other, and with animosity only towards their common enemy, he yet succeeded so far as, in all probability, to deter the Turks from turning their arms against the western nations; so that during his pontificate, the Christian world enjoyed a respite from commotion, which, when compared with the times which preceded, and those which followed, may be considered as a season of tranquillity and of happiness. If amidst these splendid and commendable purposes, he occasionally displayed the narrow politics of a churchman, or the weaker prejudices of family partiality, this may, perhaps, be attributed not so much to the errors of his own disposition and judgment, as to the example of his predecessors and the manners of the age, which he could not wholly surmount; or to that mistaken sense of duty, which has too often led those in power to consider all measures as lawful, or as excusable, which are supposed to be advantageous to those whom they govern, or conducive to the aggrandizement of those, who, from the ties of nature, look up to them for patronage and for power.

In one respect, however, it is impossible that the conduct of Leo X. as a temporal prince can either be justified or extenuated. If a sovereign expects to meet with fidelity in his allies, or obedience in his subjects, he ought to consider his own engagements as sacred, and his promises as inviolable. In condescending to make use of treachery against his adversaries, he sets an example which shakes the founda-

tions of his own authority, and endangers his own safety; and it is by no means improbable, that the untimely death of the pontiff was the consequence of an act of revenge. The same misconduct which probably shortened his days, has also been injurious to his fame;[11] and the certainty, that he on many occasions resorted to indirect and treacherous means to circumvent or destroy his adversaries, has caused him to be accused of crimes which are not only unsupported by any positive evidence, but are in the highest degree improbable.[12] He has, however, sufficient to answer for in this respect, without being charged with conjectural offences.[13] Under the plea of freeing the territory of the church from the dominion of its usurpers, he became an usurper himself; and on the pretext of punishing the guilt of others, was himself guilty of great atrocities. If the example of the crimes of one could justify those of another, the world would soon become only a great theatre of treachery, of rapine, and of blood; and the human race would excel the brute creation only in the superior talents displayed in promoting their mutual destruction.

His ecclesiastical character.

In his ecclesiastical capacity, and as supreme head of the Christian church, Leo X. has been treated with great freedom and severity. Even the union of the temporal and spiritual power in the same person has been represented as totally destructive of the true spirit of religion, and as productive of an extreme corruption of morals. "The ecclesiastical character," says a lively writer, "ought to have the ascendancy, and the temporal dignity should be considered only as the accessary, but the former

[11] To this circumstance the anonymous author of the life of Leo X., before quoted, attributes, with great appearance of probability, the numerous lampoons which soon after the death of the pontiff were poured out against his memory.

[12] Thus he has been accused of having poisoned Bendinello de' Sauli, one of the cardinals who conspired against him in the year 1517, (*vide ante*, chap. xiv.) and yet more positively, although more preposterously, with having destroyed, by a similar act of treachery, the cardinal da Bibbiena, his early preceptor and great favourite, who was supposed to have aspired to the pontificate, and who died at Rome in the month of November, 1520. Jovii Elogia, No. lxv. p. 156. Bandin. Il Bibbiena, p. 49.

[13] Valerianus informs us, that immediately after the death of the pontiff, his conduct and character were attacked by the most scurrilous libels, and that it was even debated in the consistory whether his name and acts should not be abolished from the records of the holy see. De Literator. Infel. lib. i. p. 21.

is almost always absorbed in the latter. To unite them together is to join a living body to a dead carcase; a miserable connexion, in which the dead serves only to corrupt the living, without deriving from it any vital influence."[14] The Lutheran writers have indeed considered this union of spiritual and temporal authority as an unequivocal sign of Antichrist;[15] yet it may be observed, that even after the Reformation, the necessity of a supreme head in matters of religion was soon acknowledged; and as this was too important a trust to be confided to a separate authority, it has in most protestant countries been united to the chief temporal power, and has thus formed that union of church and state, which is considered as so essentially necessary to the security of both. Hence, if we avoid the discussion of doctrinal tenets, we shall find, that all ecclesiastical establishments necessarily approximate towards each other; and that the chief difference to an individual is, merely whether he may choose to take his religious opinions on the authority of a pope or of a monarch, from a consistory or a convocation, from Luther, from Calvin, from Henry VIII., or from Leo X.[16]

His supposed neglect of sacred literature.

But dismissing these general objections, which at all events apply rather to the office than to the personal conduct of the pope, we may still admit, that an evident distinction subsists between a great prince and a great pontiff, and that Leo, however he might possess the accomplishments of the one, may have been defective in those of the other. That this was in fact the case, is expressly asserted, or tacitly admitted, by writers

[14] Bayle, Dict. in art. Leon. X. [15] Seckend. de Lutheran. lib. i. sec. 5. p. 11.

[16] Bossi has endeavoured to establish a distinction between the pope and a temporal sovereign, which appears to me to be futile; observing, that "the pope exercises his sovereignty in respect of his being at the head of the Christian religion, whilst the temporal princes, inasmuch as they are invested with a territorial government, exercise an authority over the religious worship of their respective states."—Ital. Ed. vol. xii. p. 73. To this I shall reply in the words of a writer whom I have before cited: "Whence church governors pretend to derive this right does not signify. It can neither be derived from the nature of Christianity, the doctrine or practice of Christ or his apostles, the condition of man in a state of nature, his condition as a member of society, subject to magistracy, nor, indeed, in England, from anything but the *act of supremacy;* an act which transferred a power over men's consciences from the pope to the king."—Arcana, p. 32.*

in other respects of very different opinions. "Leo X. displayed," says Fra Paolo, "a singular proficiency in polite literature, wonderful humanity, benevolence, and mildness; the greatest liberality, and an extreme inclination to favour excellent and learned men; insomuch, that for a long course of years, no one had sat on the pontifical throne that could in any degree be compared to him. He would, indeed, have been a perfect pontiff, if to these accomplishments he had united some knowledge in matters of religion, and a greater inclination to piety, to neither of which he appeared to pay any great attention."[17] These animadversions of Fra Paolo are thus adverted to by his opponent Pallavicini, who has entered very fully into the consideration of this part of the character of Leo X. "It has been asserted by Paolo," says this writer, "that Leo was better acquainted with profane literature than with that called sacred, and which appertains to religion; in which I by no means contradict him. Having received from God a most capacious mind, and a studious disposition, and finding himself whilst yet almost in his infancy, placed in the supreme senate of the church, Leo was wanting in his duty, by neglecting to cultivate that department of literature which is not only the most noble, but was the most becoming his station. This defect was more apparent when being constituted, at thirty-seven years of age, the president and chief of the Christian religion, he not only continued to devote himself to the curiosity of profane studies, but even called into the sanctuary of religion itself, those who were better acquainted with the fables of Greece, and the delights of poetry, than with the history of the church, and the doctrines of the fathers." * * "Nor will I affirm," says the same author, "that he was as much devoted to piety as his station required, nor undertake to commend or to excuse all the conduct of Leo X., because, to pass over that which exists in suspicion rather than in proof, (as scandal always delights to affix her spots on the brightest characters, that their deformity may be the more apparent,) it is certain, that the attention which he paid to the chase, to amusements, and to pompous exhibitions, although it might in part be

[17] Fra Paolo, Conc. di Trent. lib. i. p. 5.

attributed to the manners of the age, in part to his high rank, and in part to his own natural disposition, was no slight imperfection in one who had attained that eminence among mankind, which requires the utmost degree of perfection."[18] But whilst the partisans of the reformers on the one hand, and the adherents of the Roman church on the other, have thus concurred in depreciating the character and conduct of the pontiff, they have been guided by very different motives. The former, with Luther at their head, have accused him of endeavouring, by the most rash and violent measures, to enforce that submission which ought at least to have been the result of a cool and temperate discussion; whilst the latter have represented him as too indifferent to the progress of the new opinions, and as having indulged himself in his own pursuits and amusements, whilst he ought to have extirpated, by the most efficacious methods, the dangerous heresy which at length defied his utmost exertions. To attempt the vindication of Leo against these very opposite charges would be superfluous. In their censure of him the zealous of both parties are agreed; but to the more moderate and dispassionate, it may appear to be some justification of his character, to observe, that in steering through these tempestuous times, he was himself generally inclined to adopt a middle course; and that if he did not comply with the proposal of the reformers, and submit the questions between Luther and himself to the decision of a third party, neither did he adopt those violent measures, to which the church has occasionally resorted for the maintenance of its doctrines, and to which he was incited by some of the persecuting zealots of the age. To countenance the doctrines of the reformers was incompatible with his station and office; to have suppressed them by fire and sword, would justly have stigmatized him as a ferocious bigot; yet either of these extremes would certainly have procured him from one party at least, that approbation which is now refused to him by both.

Nor has the concurring testimony of Fra Paolo, Pallavicini, and other polemical writers, been uniformly assented to

[18] Pallav. Con. di Trento, lib. i. cap. ii. p. 51

as a sufficient proof of that gross neglect of sacred literature imputed to Leo X. Of the encouragement afforded by him to many learned ecclesiastics, who devoted themselves to the study of the sacred writings, several instances have before been given, to which, if necessary, considerable additions might yet be made.[19] On this subject we might also appeal with great confidence to the evidence of a contemporary writer, who assures us that "Leo X. diligently sought out those men who had signalized themselves in any department of knowledge, moral or natural, human or divine; and particularly in that chief science which is called *theology;* that he rewarded them with honourable stipends, conformed himself in his conduct to their suggestions, and treated them with the same kindness and affection that he experienced from them in return." The same author adds, that the most celebrated philosophers and professors of the civil law were also invited by Leo X. from all parts of Italy and France to Rome; "for the purpose," says he, "of rendering that city, which had already obtained the precedency in religion, in dignity, and in opulence, not less celebrated as the seat of eloquence, of wisdom, and of virtue."[20]

But perhaps the most decisive proof of the partiality with which Leo regarded real knowledge and useful learning, may be found in the particular attention shewn by him, on all occasions, to the moderate, the candid, and truly learned Erasmus. Between him and the pontiff an epistolary intercourse occasionally subsisted, which, notwithstanding the opinions of the religious zealots of opposing sects, who have condemned the condescension of the one, and the commendatory style of the other, confers equal honour on both. Before the elevation of Leo to the pontifical chair, they had met together at Rome, and had formed a friendly intimacy. When the character of Leo, as supreme pontiff, had in some degree unfolded itself, and he appeared as the pacificator of the Christian world, and the promoter of liberal studies, Erasmus addressed to him, from London, a long and congratulatory epistle, which may be considered as a compendium of the previous life and conduct of the pontiff. After

[19] *Vide* particularly chap. xi. *passim.*

[20] Brandolini, Leo, p. 127.

adverting to the extraordinary circumstances which prepared the way to his elevation, he compares the pontificate of Leo with that of Julius II., and expatiates at large on the happy effects of his measures, when contrasted with the warlike pursuits of his restless predecessor. He then alludes to the recent humiliation of Louis XII. and to the ascendancy which Leo had obtained, as well over that monarch, as over Henry VIII. Thence he takes occasion to refer to the earnest efforts then making by the pontiff for the union of the princes of Christendom against the Turks; without, however, approving of violent and sanguinary measures, which he considers as inconsistent with the character and conduct of Christians, who ought to set an example of benevolence, forbearance, and piety, and subdue the world by these virtues, rather than by fire and sword. But the chief object of his letter is to request the favour of the pontiff towards a new and corrected edition of the works of S. Jerom, which he had then undertaken at the instance of William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and which was soon afterwards published, with a dedication to that munificent prelate.[21] To this address Leo returned a highly satisfactory reply, in which he recognises his former acquaintance with Erasmus; expresses his most earnest wishes that the Author of all good, by whose providence he has himself been placed in so elevated a station, may enable him to adopt the most efficacious measures for the restoration of true virtue and piety among mankind: and assures Erasmus, that he expects with joyful impatience the volumes of S. Jerom, and of the New Testament, which he had promised to transmit to him.[22] At the same time he wrote to Henry VIII. recommending Erasmus to him in the warmest terms, as deserving not only of his pecuniary bounty, but of his particular favour and regard.[23] The edition of the New Testament in Greek and Latin, with the corrections and annotations of Erasmus, made its appearance soon afterwards, accompanied with a dedication to Leo X., to whom Erasmus also addressed a letter, expressing his grateful

[21] Erasmi Epist. lib. ii. ep. 1. Ed. Lond. 1642.
[22] Ibid. ep. 4.
[23] Ibid. ep. 5.

acknowledgments for the recommendation of him to Henry VIII., which had been the result of the kindness and favourable opinion of the pontiff, without his own solicitation.[24] At a subsequent period, when this eminent scholar had incurred the suspicion of being secretly attached to the cause of the reformers, he again addressed himself to Leo X., as well as to some of the cardinals of his court, vindicating, in a respectful, but manly style, the moderation of his own conduct; at the same time lamenting that the advocates of the church had resorted to violence and scurrility for the defence of their cause, and that the pope had, by the intemperance of others, been prevented from attending sufficiently to the mild and liberal suggestions of his own disposition.[25] In the course of his correspondence, Erasmus has celebrated the pontiff for three great benefits bestowed upon mankind; the restoration of Christian piety, the revival of letters, and the establishment of peace throughout Christendom.[26] The attention paid by Leo to the graver studies of theology, jurisprudence, philosophy, and medicine, is also admitted by Erasmus; who solicits the pontiff to patronise the study of languages and elegant literature, merely that they may be of use in promoting the knowledge of those more important subjects, to which he has already referred.[27]

Charges of profligacy and irreligion.

Were we to place implicit confidence in the opinions of many authors who have taken occasion to refer to the character of Leo X., we must unavoidably suppose him to have been one of the most dissolute, irreligious, profane, and unprincipled of mankind. By one writer we are told that Leo led a life little suited to one of the successors of the apostles, and entirely devoted to voluptuousness;[28] another has not scrupled to insert the name of this pontiff in a list which he has formed of the supposed atheists of the time.[29] John Bale, in his satirical work, entitled, "The Pageant of Popes," in which, in his

[24] Erasmi Epist. lib. ii. ep. 6.
[25] Ibid. lib. xiv. ep. i. 5.
[26] Ibid. lib. i. ep. 30.
[27] Ibid. lib. xi. ep. 9; and see note of Mr. Henke, Germ. Ed. vol. iii. p. 482, and of Count Bossi, Ital. Ed. vol. xii. p. 128.
[28] "Il mena une vie peu convenable aux successeurs des Apôtres, et tout-à-fait voluptueuse."—Bayle, Dict. art. Leon. X.
[29] Mosheim. ap. Jortin, Remarks on Ecclesiast. Hist. vol. v. p. 500.

animosity against the church of Rome, he professes it to be his intention to *give her double according to her works*, has informed us, that when Bembo quoted to Leo X., on some occasion, a passage from one of the evangelists, the pope replied, *It is well known to all ages how profitable this fable of Christ has been to us*;[30] a story, which it has justly been remarked, has been repeated by three or four hundred different writers, without any authority whatsoever, except that of the author above referred to. Another anecdote of a similar nature is found in a Swiss writer; who, as a proof of the impiety and atheism of the pontiff, relates, that he directed two of the buffoons whom he admitted to his table, to take upon them the characters of philosophers, and to discuss the question respecting the immortality of the soul; when, after having heard the arguments on both sides, he gave his decision by observing, that *he who had maintained the affirmative of the question, had given excellent reasons for his opinion, but that the arguments of his adversary were very plausible.* This story rests only on the authority of Luther, who on such an occasion can scarcely be admitted as a sufficient evidence.[31] We are told by another protestant author, that at the time "when Leo was thundering out his anathemas against Luther, he was not ashamed to publish a bull in favour of the profane poems of Ariosto; menacing with excommunication all those who criticised them, or deprived the author of his emolument,"[32] a circumstance which has been adduced by innumerable writers, and even by the dispassionate Bayle,[33] as an additional proof of

[30] "On a time when cardinall Bembus did move a question out of the gospell, the pope gave him a very contemptuose answere, saying: "*All ages can testifye enough how profitable that fable of Christe hath ben to us and our companie.*"—Bale's Pageant of Popes, p. 179. Ed. 1574. Of the candour and accuracy of this zealous friend to the reformed religion, the following passage affords an ample specimen:—"This Leo did enrich above measure his *bastardes* and cosins, advaunceing them to dignityes both spirituall and temporall, with robbing and undoing other. For he made *Julianus* his sister's son, duke of *Mutinensis*, and *Laurentianus*, duke of *Urbin;* marrying the one to the sister of *Charles*, duke of *Savoye*, and the other to the *duchess of Poland*," &c..—Bale, p. 180.

[31] Ap. Seck. lib. iii. p. 676. It is observable, that in the satirical "Vie de Cath. de Medicis," vol. i. p. 13, this story is related of Clement VII.

[32] David Blondel. ap. Bayle, art. Leon. X.

[33] Bayle, Dict. art. Leon. X. Other authors have asserted, that Leo actually excommunicated all those who should dare to criticise the writings of Ariosto. "Leon X. fit publier une bulle, par laquelle il excommunioit tous ceux qui oseroient

the impiety of the pontiff, and of the disgraceful manner in which he abused his ecclesiastical authority. But in answer to this it may be sufficient to observe, that the privilege to Ariosto was granted long before Luther had signalized himself by his opposition to the Romish church, and that such privilege is in fact nothing more than the usual protection granted to authors, to secure to them the profits of their works. That it contains any denunciations against those who censure the writings of Ariosto, is an assertion wholly groundless; the clause of excommunication extending only to those who should surreptitiously print and sell the work without the consent of the author;[34] a clause which is found in all licenses of the same nature, frequently much more strongly expressed; and which was intended to repress, beyond the limits of the papal territories, those literary pirates, who have at all times, since the invention of printing, been ready to convert the industry of others to their own emolument.

Aspersions on his moral character.

Nor has the moral character of Leo X. wholly escaped those disgraceful imputations which affix a stain of all others the most readily made, and the most difficult to expunge. These accusations are noticed by Jovius, who, at the same time, justly asks, whether it was likely that, amidst the abuse and detraction which then characterized the Roman court, the best and most blameless prince could have escaped the shafts of malice? or whether it was probable that they who levelled these malignant imputations against the pontiff, had an opportunity of ascertaining their truth?[35] To these remarks he might safely

entreprendre de critiquer ce poëme d'Arioste, ou d'en empecher la vente."—Richardson sur la Peinture, tom. iii. p. 435. "Leo, whilst he was pouring the thunder of his anathemas against the heretical doctrines of Martin Luther, published a bull of excommunication against all those who should dare to censure the poems of Ariosto."—Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 411.

[34] There are two copies of this bull extant, which agree in substance, but I have preferred that which was published in the first edition of the "Orlando Furioso." Ferrara, 1516, and republished in the appendix to the "Pontifical Letters of Sadoleti," p. 193. The other copy may be found in the "Pontifical Letters of Bembo," lib. x. ep. 40.

[35] "Non caruit etiam infamia, quod parum honeste nonnullos e cubiculariis (erant enim e toto Italia nobilissimi) adamare, et cum his tenerius atque libere jocari videretur. Sed quis, vel optimus atque sanctissimus princeps in hac maledicentissima aula lividorum aculeos vitavit? Et quis ex adverso tam maligne im-

have trusted the vindication of Leo, without indecently and absurdly attempting to extenuate the alleged offence of the pontiff as a matter of slight importance in a great prince.[36] With respect to the moral conduct of Leo X. in private life, the most satisfactory evidence remains, that he exhibited not only in his early years, but after his elevation to the pontificate, an example of chastity and decorum, the more remarkable, as it was the more unusual in the age in which he lived. Nor can it be supposed that so many writers would, in commending the pontiff for virtues which he was known, or suspected, not to possess, have incurred the double risk of degrading their own characters in the eye of the world, and giving the pontiff reason to suppose that they had ironically or impertinently alluded to so dangerous a subject.

His relaxations and amusements.

But whilst we reject these unfounded and scandalous imputations, it must be allowed that the occupations and amusements in which the pontiff indulged himself, were not always suited either to the dignity of his station, or to the gravity of his own character. "It seems to have been his intention," says one of his biographers, "to pass his time cheerfully, and to secure himself against trouble and anxiety by all the means in his power. He, therefore, sought all opportunities of pleasure and hilarity, and indulged his leisure in amusement, jests, and singing; either induced by a natural propensity, or from an idea that the avoiding vexation and care might contribute to lengthen his days." On some occasions, and particularly on the first day of August in every year, he was accustomed to invite such of the cardinals as were admitted to his more intimate acquaintance, to play cards with him; and of this opportunity he always availed himself to display his liberality, by distributing pieces of gold among the

probus ac invidiæ tabe consumptus, ut vera demum posset objectare, noctium secreta scrutatus est?"—Jov. in Vita Leon. X. lib. iv. p. 86.

[36] Sed alia principis, alia hominis esse vitia quis nescit? Hæc uni privata conditione quum noceant, etiam aliquibus fortasse prosunt; illa vera ab dira potestate, et luctum et calamitatem universis mortalibus apportant; idque verissimum esse, constat præclaro quondam populi Romani testimonio, qui neminem sibi principem Trajano meliorem exoptavit, quanquam eum illicitæ libidinis ac ebrietatis censura notasset. Jov. *ut sup.*

crowd of spectators whom he allowed to be present at these entertainments. In the game of chess he was a thorough proficient, and could conduct its most difficult operations with the utmost promptitude and success; but gaming with dice he always reproved, as equally inconsistent with prudence and injurious to morals.[37]

His knowledge of music was not only practical, but scientific. He had himself a correct ear, and a melodious voice, which had been cultivated in his youth with great attention. On the subject of harmony, and the principles of musical notation, he delighted to converse, and had a musical instrument in his chamber, by the assistance of which he was accustomed to exemplify and explain his favourite theory.[38] Nor were the professors of music less favoured by him than those who excelled in other liberal arts. To the cultivation and encouragement of this study, he was more particularly led by the consideration of its essential importance to the due celebration of the splendid rites of the Romish church.[39] In the magnificence of his preparations, the propriety of his own person and dress, and the solemnity and decorum of his manner on these occasions, he greatly excelled all his predecessors.[40] In order to give a more striking effect to these devotional services, he sought

[37] Jovii Vita Leon. X. lib. iv. p. 86. [38] Fabron. Vita Leon. X. p. 206.

[39] "Ipsa laxamenta curarum honesta; non enim vel consilium, vel ingenium, vel ætas, vel Pontificalium opum affluentia in obscœna solatia, turpesque voluptates, vel qui desidiam sequuntur lusus, sublimem animum dejecerunt, aut in delicias detorquent; sed rerum molibus interdum subductum nunc variarum vocum suavissima modulatio, nunc sonorum armonia excepit; non mollibus illis, impudicisque condita modis, quibus olim theatra, scenæ, fora perstrepebant, sed quibus Dei laudes canimus, quibusque sacrorum cæremonias honoramus."—Matt. Herculan. Encom. Leon. X. ap. Fabron. in adnot. 84.

[40] "Non però si vogliono tralasciare il gran decoro, e la maestà, con cui escercitò sempre le sacre funzioni, sopra tutti gli antecessori," &c. Pallavicini, Conc. di Trento, lib. i. cap. ii. p. 51. That he did not allow his ostentation to interfere with his devotion, appears from a passage in Par. de Grassis. "Vespera in Vigilia Corporis Christi, papa fuit semper nudo capite, in processione portans sacramentum. Et hoc fecit ex devotione; licet majore cum majestate fuisset cum mitra."—Diar. inedit. Leo did not, however, approve of long sermons In the year 1514, he ordered his master of the palace, on pain of excommunication, to see that the sermon did not exceed half an hour; and, in the month of November, 1517, being wearied with a long discourse, he directed his master of the ceremonies to remind the master of the palace, that the council of the Lateran had decided, that a sermon should not exceed a quarter of an hour at the most. In consequence of these remonstrances, there was no sermon on the first day of the year 1518; the master of the palace being fearful that the preacher would exceed the prescribed limits. P. de Grass. Diar. ap. Notices des MSS. du Roi, vol. ii. p 598.

throughout all Europe for the most celebrated musical performers, both vocal and instrumental, whom he rewarded with the utmost liberality. As a proof of the high estimation in which these professors were held by him, he conferred on Gabriel Merino, a Spaniard, whose chief merit consisted in the excellence of his voice, and his knowledge of church music, the archbishopric of Bari. Another person, named Francesco Paolosa, he promoted, for similar qualifications, to the rank of an archdeacon; and the pontifical letters of Bembo exhibit various instances of the particular attention paid by him to this subject.[41]

That a mind, which, like that of the pontiff, could discriminate all the excellences of literature and of art, could, as we are told was the fact, also stoop to derive its pleasures from the lowest species of buffoonery, is a singular circumstance, but may serve to mark that diversity and range of intellect which distinguished not only Leo X., but also other individuals of this extraordinary family.[42] To such an extreme was this propensity carried, that his courtiers and attendants could not more effectually obtain his favour than by introducing to him such persons as by their eccentricity, perversity, or imbecility of mind, were likely to excite his

[41] Pietro Aaron, a Florentine of the order of Jerusalem, and canon of Rimini, a voluminous writer on the science of music, in the dedication of his treatise, entitled, "Toscanello della Musica," the most considerable of all his writings, printed at Venice, 1523, informs us, that he had been admitted into the papal chapel at Rome, during the pontificate of Leo X., in speaking of whom he says, "though this pontiff had acquired a consummate knowledge in most arts and sciences, he seemed to love, encourage, and exalt music more than any other; which stimulated many to exert themselves with uncommon ardour in its cultivation. And among those who aspired at the great premiums that were held forth to talents, I became," says he, "a candidate myself; for being born to a slender fortune, which I wished to improve by some reputable profession, I chose music; at which I laboured with unremitting diligence till the irreparable loss I sustained by the death of my munificent patron, Leo."—Dr. Burney's History of Music, vol. iii. p. 154. The pope is said to have diverted himself with the folly and absurdity of Evangelista Tarasconi of Parma, whom he prevailed on to write a treatise on music, full of the most absurd precepts, advising, among other things, that the arms of the performers should be tied up in a particular manner, so as to give greater strength to their fingers, &c. Jovius in Vita Leon. X. lib. iv. p. 84. But the learned Padre Ireneo Affò thinks that Jovius has caricatured his picture too highly. Tarasconi was a man of considerable learning, and among others, left a work entitled, "Historia Calamitatum Italiæ, tempore Julii II.," which has not however, been printed, and is now probably lost. *Vide* Affò, Memorie degli Scrittori Parmigiani, vol. iii. p. 230.

[42] This peculiarity in the character of the pontiff was discovered even by the licentious Pietro Aretino, who otherwise would not have experienced his bounty. Fabr. in adnot. 85.

mirth.[43] On one occasion this well-known disposition of the pontiff is said to have subjected him to an unexpected intrusion. A person having waited in vain for several days, in the hope of speaking to him, addressed himself at length to the chamberlain, assuring him that he was a great poet, and would astonish the pope by the most admirable verses he had ever heard; a stratagem which procured him immediate admission, although to the chagrin and disappointment of the pontiff.[44] That Leo could bear a jest with a good grace is, however, evinced by another incident: a person having presented him with some Latin verses in hopes of a great reward, the pope, instead of gratifying his expectation, repeated to him an equal number of lines with the same terminations; whereupon the disappointed poet exclaimed,

> Si tibi pro numeris numeros fortuna dedisset,
> Non esset capiti tanta corona tuo.
>
> Had fortune your verses with verses repaid,
> The tiara would ne'er have encircled your head:

and the pope, instead of being offended, opened his purse, and rewarded him with his usual liberality.[45]

There is reason to believe that the pleasure which Leo X. derived from the sumptuous entertainments so frequently given within the precincts of the Roman court, arose not so much from the gratification of his own appetite, in the indulgence of which he was very temperate,[46] as from the

[43] Of the society that occasionally frequented the pontifical table, some idea may be formed from the following passage:—"Habet iste bonus pontifex apud se lurconem quendam edacem, et mendicum fratrem, nomine patrem Martinum et Marianum, qui pullum columbarium, sive assum, sive elissum, bolo uno sorbitione unica glutit, ova, ut ferunt, qui viderunt, absorbet quadringenta, viginti quoque devorat capos," &c.—Titius. ap. Fabron. adnot. 82.

[44] Jan. Nycii Erythræi Pinacotheca, vol. ii. p. 110. If Leo was disappointed on this occasion, he might have consoled himself on another, in which one who had been thought a very sage personage, and whom he had honoured with the name of his *poet*, turned out, (by no uncommon metamorphosis) to be a mighty great fool. "In die et festo sanctorum Cosmæ et Damiani, hæc missa fuit habita cum vesperis, more solito; et papa creavit unum Poetam, quem curia semper prudentem opinata est, et tunc cognovit eum *stultum et fatuum*."—P. de Grass. Diar. inedit. This probably alludes to the story of Baraballo. *Vide ante*, chap. xvii.

[45] Histoire des Papes, tom. iv. p. 418. Ed. La Haye, 1733, 4to. The author of this work, François de Bruys, relates this anecdote from the collection of witty and merry sallies, "La sage folie," of the Italian poet and historian Spelta. Note of Mr. Henke, Germ. Ed. vol. iii. p. 492.*

[46] Even when he celebrated the anniversary of his election with the cardinals, in the Vatican, he set an example of sobriety in his own person, as appears from Par. de Grassis.

delight which he took in ridiculing the insatiable gluttony of his companions.[47] Dishes of an uncommon kind, or composed of animals not usually considered as food, but so seasoned as to attract the avidity of his guests, were occasionally introduced, and, by the discovery of the fraud, gave rise to jocular recrimination and additional mirth.[48] It is not, however, improbable that these accounts have been either invented, or exaggerated, by the fertile imagination of the narrator; and it is certain that they are greatly at variance with others which are entitled at least to equal credit. The severe rules of abstinence which the pope constantly imposed upon himself, and the attention to his studies, even during his meals, which has before been noticed, are circumstances not easily to be reconciled to the riot and dissipation which he is supposed to have so indecorously encouraged. To these may be added the evidence of a contemporary writer, who appears to have been one of his guests, and to have formed an opinion very different from that of Jovius, as to the conduct of the pontiff on these occasions. "Such was the attention of Leo X. to improvement," says this writer, "that he would not allow even the time of his meals to elapse without some degree of utility to his guests. Nor could all the splendour of the table, and the apparatus of the feast, engage our attention, or prevent our entering into conversation, not indeed on light and trifling topics, but on the most sacred and interesting subjects, and such as in their discussion required the greatest erudition, and the most perspicacious mind."[49]

When Leo occasionally retired from the tumults of the city to his villa of Malliana, about five miles from Rome, he dedicated a considerable portion of his time to the amusements of fowling and hunting, in which he engaged with such earnestness as to disregard all the inclemencies of weather, and the inconveniences arising from want of accommodation. To these active exercises he was most probably led to accustom himself, from an idea that they were conducive to his health.[50] Having, from his youth, been

[47] Jov. Vita Leon. X. lib. iv. p. 85. [48] Ibid.
[49] Matt. Herculan. ap. Fabron. in adnot. 83.
[50] A contemporary author informs us, that the pontiff was not induced to pur-

devoted to these sports, he was well skilled in conducting them; and was highly offended with any of his companions, whatever their rank might be, who, through ignorance or carelessness, spoiled the expected diversion.[51] An unsuccessful chase seemed to be one of the heaviest misfortunes; whilst those who were hunting for the pontifical favour rather than the beasts of the field, always found that it was the best time to obtain it when the exertions of the pontiff had been crowned with success.[52] Towards the decline of the year, when the heat of the season began to be mitigated by the rains, he visited the warm baths of Viterbo, the vicinity of which abounded with partridges, quails, and pheasants, and where he frequently took the diversion of hawking. Thence he passed to the beautiful lake of Bolsena, where he spent his time in fishing on the island in the midst of the lake, or at the entrance of the river Marta. In this neighbourhood he was always splendidly entertained by the cardinal Alessandro Farnese, afterwards Paul III., who had erected there superb villas and palaces, and by extensive plantations of fruit and forest trees, had ornamented and enriched the surrounding country.[53] After quitting these confines, he usually pursued his journey along the Tuscan territories, until he arrived at the shore of the sea, near Civita Vecchia. Here an entertainment of the

sue these amusements so much for the pleasures of the chase, as for the purpose of invigorating both his body and mind for the due performance of his more important occupations. Matt. Herculan. ap. Fabron. in adnot. 84. Reasons of nearly a similar nature are alleged by the pontiff himself, in justification of his frequent use of those active diversions, as appears from a papal brief addressed by him to Giovanni Neroni, in which he appoints him *Pontifical Gamekeeper*, and directs him in what manner he is to execute this important trust. Bembi Ep. Pont. lib. x. ep. i.—Mr. Henke has given, in the appendix to the Germ. Ed. No. XXXII., a curious Latin epistle from the celebrated Ciceronian, Christopher Longolius, to Leo X., which was accompanied by the present of two *excellent hounds*. Longol. Orat. et Ep. p. 85, ed. Flor. 1524. Germ. Ed vol. iii. p. 494.

[51] His master of the ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, was highly scandalized at the profane habiliments in which the pontiff took the field. "Die martis X. Januarii, facto prandio, Papa recessit ex urbe profecturus ad Tuschanellam, et alia loca ibi vicina. Et fuit cum stola, sed pejus sine rochetto, et quod pessimum cum stivalibus, sive ocreis, in pedes munitus."—Diar. inedit.

[52] Jovii, Vita Leon. X. lib. iv. p. 88.

[53] The learned Abate Andres, in his *Prodromus* of the Greek and Latin anecdotes, in the library of the king of Naples, printed in 4to, 1816, has published a poem, entitled, "Tranquilli Molossi Palietum, seu Descriptio Venationis, quam Alexander Farnesius in Palieti sui silvis Leoni X. P.M. aliisque Romanæ Aulæ proceribus paravit." From this poem some considerable extracts are given by Count Bossi, for which I must refer to Ital. Ed. vol. xii. p. 130, &c.*

most acceptable kind was provided for him In a large plain surrounded with hills like an amphitheatre, and overspread with underwood for covert, a great number of wild boars and deer were collected, and the Roman pontiff, forgetful of both church and state, enjoyed the pleasures of the chase in their highest perfection. From Civita Vecchia he returned, about the month of November, by Palo and the forest of Cervetri, to Rome; which, however, he soon quitted for his villa at Malliana; a place with which he was so delighted, notwithstanding the insalubrity of the air, occasioned by the exhalations of the surrounding fens, that it was with difficulty he could be prevailed on to return to the city, unless a meeting of the consistory or some important occasion required his presence. His arrival at Malliana was welcomed by the peasantry with no less joy than the appearance of the abundant harvest. His bounty was showered down alike who surrounded him on the road the old and the young, rustic offerings. But not satisfied present to him their generosity, he frequently entered with indiscriminate them, inquired into their wants, paid conversation with unfortunate, or infirm; bestowed marriage debts of the aged, the damsels, and assisted those who had portions upon numerous family; there being, in his opinion, nothing so becoming a great prince as to alleviate distress, nothing so away every person satisfied and cheerful from his presence.[54]

Encouragement of letters and arts.

After all, however, it must be confessed, and to the applause of Leo X., to the claims of gratitude of after-times, are chiefly to be ascribed in all munificent encouragement afforded by him to every department of polite literature and elegant art. It is this great characteristic, which amidst two hundred and fifty successive pontiffs, who, during nearly twenty centuries, have occupied this long space of most eminent station in the Christian world, has placed him above all the rest, and given him a distinguished notwithstanding the diversity of political station which, even literary opinions, has been acknowledged in all religious, and

[54] Jovii Vita Leon X. lib. iv. pp.

civilized countries, and by every succeeding age.[55] It is true, some modern authors have endeavoured to throw doubts even upon this subject, and have indirectly questioned, or boldly denied the superiority of his pretensions, as a patron of letters, to those of the other sovereigns of the age. "It is well known," says one of these writers, "what censure attaches to the character of Leo X. for having favoured and rewarded musicians and poets, in preference to theologians and professors of the law; whilst the glory of having revived and promoted the studies of polite literature, is to be attributed rather to the pontiffs, his predecessors, and to his own ancestors, than either to himself or to his cousin Clement VII."[56] "I observe," says another eminent literary historian, "that these times are generally distinguished as THE AGE OF LEO THE TENTH; but I cannot perceive why the Italians have agreed to restrict to the court of this pontiff that literary glory which was common to all Italy." "It is not my intention," adds he, "to detract a single particle from the praises due to Leo X. for the services rendered by him to the cause of literature. I shall only remark, that the greater part of the Italian princes of this period might with equal right pretend to the same honour; so that there is no particular reason for conferring on Leo the superiority over all the rest."[57] After the pages which have been already devoted to enumerate the services rendered by Leo X. to all liberal studies, by the establishment of learned seminaries, by the recovery of the works of the ancient writers, and the publication of them by means of the press, by promoting the knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, and by the munificent encouragement bestowed by him on the professors of every branch of science, of literature, and of art, it would surely be as superfluous to recapitulate his claims, as it would be unjust to deny his pretensions to an eminent degree of positive merit.[58] How far he was rivalled in his exertions

[55] "Quantum Romani Pontificis fastigium inter reliquos mortales eminet, tantum *Leo* inter Romanos pontifices excellit," says Erasmus, lib. i. ep. 30.

[56] Denina, Revoluzione d'Italia, lib. xxi. cap. 12, *nel fine*.

[57] Andres, dell' Origine, &c. d'Ogni Letturatura. vol. i. p. 380.

[58] For some observations on this subject the reader may consult the notes of Count Bossi in Ital. Ed. vol. xii. p. 136, &c.*

in these commendable pursuits, by the other princes of his time, is a question which has not hitherto been particularly discussed. If, however, for this purpose, we take a general view of the states of Italy, or even of Europe, and compare the efforts made by their sovereigns with those of Leo X., we shall find little cause to accede to the opinion so decisively advanced. In Naples, with the expulsion of the family of Aragon, and the introduction of the Spanish government, the literary constellation which had shone so bright at the close of the preceding century, suddenly disappeared, and left that unfortunate and distracted country in almost total darkness. The vicissitudes to which the city and territories of Milan had been exposed, and the frequent change of its sovereigns, had effectually prevented that place from being considered as a safe asylum for either the muses or the arts; and even the character of the princes of the house of Sforza, in the time of Leo X., as displayed during the short period in which they held the sovereignty, exhibited few proofs of that predilection for literature, by which some of their ancestors had been distinguished. Although the city of Venice was further removed from the calamities of the time, yet the continental territories of that state had suffered all the horrors of warfare; and even the capital derives more celebrity, in the estimation of the present day, from its having been fixed upon by Aldo for the establishment of his press, than from the literary character of its inhabitants.[59] The family of Gonzaga, the sovereigns of Mantua, have justly been distinguished as eminent patrons of learning; but the inferiority of their resources, which were exhausted by military expeditions, and the narrow limits of the theatre of their exertion, prevent their being

How far Leo was rivalled in this respect by the other princes of his time.

[59] For a more favourable account of the state of literature at Venice, I think it incumbent on me to refer to the statement of Bossi, who has alleged, in addition to his own opinion, that of my late excellent and learned correspondent, the Cav. Morelli, who has in several of his works vindicated the claims of that republic to a high degree of literary merit. In admitting to a certain extent the validity of these claims, I shall not greatly weaken my argument, which, strictly speaking, applies only to individuals, and not to aggregate bodies; and besides, the Venetians may be admitted to have had a considerable share in the early promotion of literature, without being allowed to have rivalled, in that respect, Leo X. *Vide* Ital. Ed vol. xii. p. 138.*

placed in any degree of competition with Leo X. On the death of Guidubaldo, duke of Urbino, in the year 1508, and the accession of his successor, Francesco Maria della Rovere, that court changed its character; and after the expulsion of the duke by Leo X., in the year 1516, the duchy of Urbino may be considered as composing, like the Tuscan state, a part of the dominions of Leo X. Of all the principalities of Italy, Ferrara is the only one that had any pretensions to contend with the pontifical see in the protection and encouragement afforded to men of talents, learning, and wit, and the possession of Ariosto alone, is an advantage not to be counterbalanced by any individual of the Roman court; yet the patronage conferred on this great man by the family of Este, was so scanty, as to have supplied him with frequent subjects of remonstrance and complaint. As a patron of learning, Alfonso was greatly inferior to many of his predecessors, and he was indebted for his glory rather to his military exploits, than to his successful cultivation of the arts of peace. During his avocations or his absence, the encouragement of literature devolved, with the care of his states, on his duchess Lucrezia, to whom is to be attributed no small share of the proficiency made in liberal studies during the times in which she lived. Nor is there any person of the age who is better entitled to share with Leo X. in the honours due to the restorers of learning, than the accomplished, but calumniated daughter of Alexander VI.

Still less pretensions than the Italian potentates have the other sovereigns of Europe to participate in or to diminish the glory of Leo X. The cold and crafty policy of Ferdinand of Spain, and the vanity, imbecility, and bigotry of the emperor elect, Maximilian, were ill adapted to the promotion, or the toleration, of liberal studies;[60] and their

[60] Mr. Archdeacon Coxe, after noticing the present work, in a manner which demands my sincere acknowledgments, has remarked, that I, like Robertson and Hume, "have treated the character of Maximilian I. with unmerited contempt; and that, being misled by their authorities, by the prejudices of the Italian historians, and by the fluctuation of his conduct in the Italian states, I have depicted him without a single virtue or good quality."—Hist. of the House of Austria, vol. i. p. 443. On this I may be allowed to observe, that the only instances in

youthful successor, Charles V., and his rival, Francis I., were too much engaged in hostilities against each other, to allow them at this time to afford that encouragement to letters and to arts, which they manifested at a subsequent period. The most munificent, as well as the most learned monarch of his time, was Henry VIII., under whose auspices England vigorously commenced her career of improvement; but the unaccountable versatility, and unrelenting cruelty of his disposition, counteracted in a great degree the effects of his liberality; and it was not until the more tranquil days of his daughter Elizabeth, that these kingdoms rose to that equality with the other states of Europe in the cultivation of science and of literature, which they have ever since maintained.

Conclusion.

That an astonishing proficiency in the improvement of the human intellect was made during the pontificate of Leo X. is universally allowed. That such proficiency is principally to be attributed to the exertions of that pontiff, will now perhaps be thought equally indisputable. Of the predominating influence of a powerful, an accomplished, or a fortunate individual on the character and manners of the age, the history of mankind furnishes innumerable instances; and happy is it for the world, when the pursuits

which I have had occasion to advert to the character of this sovereign, have been in connexion with the affairs of Italy, in which Mr. Coxe himself candidly admits that his conduct was fluctuating; and if, in this opinion, I am also supported by Hume and Robertson, I cannot be supposed to have deviated far from the truth. On this head the German edition of the present work exhibits a much longer critique by Mr. Henke, who is of opinion, (Germ. Ed. vol. iii. p. 500,) that before we can positively decide on the relative merits of Leo X. and the other sovereigns of the time, as promoters of science and literature, a further investigation would be necessary. In bringing forwards the exertions of Maximilian I. in this respect, as described by Frommanni, (Comment. de Maxim. I. in Rem Literariam meritis, p. 632) Mr. Henke has not, however, thought proper to place them in any degree of competition with those of Leo X. On the contrary, he has, at considerable length, stated the reasons why Leo X. was enabled to render greater services to the cause of literature than it was in the power of Maximilian to do; thereby admitting all that I have ventured to contend for. I would willingly, with Mr. Henke, "give every merit its crown," but I cannot, for that reason, assent to the opinion of Denina, that the glory of having revived and promoted the studies of polite literature is to be attributed rather to the predecessors of Leo X. than to himself; nor to that of the Abate Andres, that the greater part of the Italian princes of the period might, *with equal right*, aspire to the same honour; and that, therefore, there is no particular reason for conferring on Leo the superiority over the rest, or for characterizing these times as The Age of Leo X.*

of such individuals, instead of being devoted, through blind ambition, to the subjugation or destruction of the human race, are directed towards those beneficent and generous ends, which, amidst all his avocations, LEO THE TENTH appears to have kept continually in view.

Arms of the Medici family.

FRANCISCI ARSILLI

SENOGALLIENSIS,

DE POETIS URBANIS,

AD PAULUM JOVIUM

LIBELLUS.

Tempora Apollineæ presentia frondis honorem,
Illius an laudem sæcula prisca ferant,
Paule, diu mecum demorsis unguibus æqua
Sub trutina examen, judiciumque traho.
Felices Musæ, felix quas protulit ætas,
Cum foret Augusto Principe Roma potens.
Mæcenas Vatum ingenti mercede solebat
Elicere ingenia Pieriamque manum.
Testis erit nobis numerosus Horatius, et qui
Jam cecinit Phrygio prælia gesta duci.
Et Naso, atque alii, vastum quos fama per orbem
Nunc celebrat, multo numine plena cohors.
Adde quod his aures solitus præstare benignas
Cæsar erat: surdis tempora nostra canunt.
Ad laudem rude pectus erat, cui calcar inerti
Non possent tanti Principis ora dare.
Talia dum tacitus dubia sub mente revolvo,
Temporibus priscis cedere nostra reor.
Sed quoties ævum hoc, peravaraque temporis hujus
Sæcula, quæ Musis occuluere fores,
Obruta et ut jaceat cæno Parnassia laurus,
Nostra ego nil illis esse minora puto.
Nunc miseri tantum Vates virtutis amore,
Non precio inducti plectra sonora movent.
Quos si Pastor agens ad pinguia culta Minervæ
Duceret, et rabidos pelleret inde Lupos,
Pascua mordaci rictu qui cuncta vagantes,
Phœbei laniant vellera culta gregis,
Qualia nectarei caperes modulamina cantus,
Forsan et antiquis invidiosa viris.

Plurima nunc quamvis Vatum conatibus obstent,
Attamen his œstrum mentis inesse vides.
Quos furor ille animis cœlo dilapsus inhæret
Et propriæ immemores conditionis agit.
Hinc tua nescio quid pectus præstringit, et urget
Ut superet Joviæ gloria gentis avos:
Ac mea nescio quid molli dicat otia Phœbo,
Meque etiam invitum munera ad ista rapit.
Hinc fovet alma sinu sacros tot Roma Poetas
Fama, quibus cineres contigit ante suos.

Jac. Sadoletus.

Ætas nulla tuum minuet, Sadolete, decorem,
Gloria nec longo tempore victa cadet,
Laocoontei narras dummarmoris artes,
Concidat ut natis vinctus ab angue pater.
Curtius utque etiam patriæ succensus amore,
Et specie et forti conspiciendus equo,
Fervida dum virtus foret in juvenilibus annis
Præcipitem se se tristia in antra dedit.

Petr. Bembus.

Bembus, et hoc mirum est, Venetis nutritus in undis
Ethrusco hunc tantum quis putet ore loqui?
Nec minus est Elegis Latio Sermone disertus,
Hoc Pana ostendit dum Galatea fugit.
Hic canit Heroas, atque illos versibus æquat,
Et superat cantu tempora prisca novo.
In breve sive opus est spacium deflectere carmen,
Curriculo effrænis colla retorquet equi.
Hi simul Idalios Damaseni e gramine ruris
Unanimi flores sæpe tulere sinu;
Horum opera, ad fontis dum Musæ Aganippidos umbram,
Phœbei evitant torrida plaustra jugi,
Ut Sociis vacuas oblectet carmine mentes
Ad citharæ pulsum Calliopea refert;
Unisonaque illi responsant voce Sorores,
Et plaudunt numeris turba canora deæ.

Hier. Vida Cremon. Sacerdos.

Est sacer a docto celebratus carmine Vida,
Vida, Cremonensis candida Musa soli.
Panthoiden Samii corpus si credere fas est
Intrasse, et clypei pondera nosse sui;
Altiloqui Genium Vatem hunc adamasse Maronis
Quis neget, ut Juli grandia gesta canat?
Grandia gesta canat; canat ut confectus ab annis
Ausonii molem sustinet imperii.

Franc. Sperulus Camers.

Sperulus est Elegis cultus, dum cantat amores,
Arduus, heroum dum fera bella canit;
Nec minor est Lyricis, cum barbitos æmula Vati
Æolio molles concinit icta modos.

Nota erit Hesperiis, atque Indis nota puella,
Felsineus multa quam colit arte Pius; Bapt. Pius Bonon.
Idem priscorum reserans enigmata Vatum
Conspicuo reddit lucidiora die.
Est Casa molliculi Vates Nova carminis Auctor, M. Ant. Casanova.
Cujus amat placidos blanda Camœna sales;
Huic decor, et cultus astant, Veneresque jocique,
Hunc fovet in tenero gratia trini sinu.
Galle tuæ passim resonant per compita laudes, Gallus Romanus Comicus.
Scena graves numeros te recitante probat.
Vivet inæternum facundi Musa Camilli, Camillus Portius.
Quem peperit genitrix Portia stirpis honor.
Certat Romano tua pagina culta Tibullo,
Laurea nunc culti carminis ambigua est.
Nonne reus Musis fierem, si nostra Catani, Jo. Maria Cataneus.
Et magni Augusti laudibus ora vacent? Augustus Patavinus.
Namque simul penitus scrutantur Numina Cyrrhæ
Argivasque docent verba Latina Deas.
Est vafer, et facilis peracuto dente renidens Antonius Lælius Rom.
Lælius, austero toxica corde gerens.
Huic quamvis libeat verbis petulantibus uti,
Est tamen ingenio mitis et arte potens.
Quique supercilii rigidi Lunensis, ab annis Thomas Petrasancta.
Assuetus teneris scindere cuncta Tomos,
Inde sibi metuens, vigili sic cuncta lucerna
Lustrat, ut a nullis unguibus ictus eat,
Pindarus auritas sylvas testudine mulcet,
Dulcisonaque trahit concava saxa fide.
At modo quis Thamyræ cytharam non nescit amatque,
Aurea cui nitido pectore vena fluit. Evangelista Faustus Matalena Romanus.
Fluctibus immerget se se ante Lycaonis arctos
Æquoreis, Phœbi currus ad ima ruet,
Quam tua Fauste cadat nitidi candoris avena,
Cui levat Ismeni fluminis unda sitim.
Castilionum annumerem quos inter? Martis acerbi, Baldas. Castilionus Mantuan.
Num Phœbi, an Veneris te rear esse decus?
Miles in arma ferox, peramata in Virgine mitis,
Hinc molles elegos, hinc fera bella cane.
Et tu nomen habes ab nectare mollis Hymetti Mellinus
Melline, Aonidum culmen et urbis Amor.
Pene mihi exciderant animo tua carmina Blossi, Blosius
Cui nova Acidaliæ vincula nectit amor.
Utque Cupidineos confundens pulvere currus,
Semper anhelantes verbere tundis equos.
At modo ne tantum priscorum insultet honori Dejanira.
Inter doctiloquos Lesbia sola Viros,

Inclyta Pisæo, et præstanti sanguine creta,
Fœminei splendor Deianira chori,
Prompta venit nostris non indignata choreis,
Virgineos facili plaudere fronte pedes,
Imparibus cedit præsens cui versibus ætas,
Quamque novam Sappho Tibridis ora colit.

Severus Sacerdos. Dum gravidæ nubes fugient Aquilonis ab ortu,
Dum madidas referet turbidus Auster aquas,
Sidera percutiet fulgor, titulusque Severi,
Pandulphi pandens inclyta gesta ducis.

Bapt. Casalius Rom. Suggerit assidue nomen tibi grande Casali
Melpomene æternæ posteritatis opus.

Achilles Phileros Bono. Dulcis Apollineo demulcens pectore chordas
Aonius Phileros agmina tanta premit.

Valerianus Pierius. Pimpinellus Romanus. Tu quoque seu Flacci, seu per nemora alta Properti
Incedis, tibi habes Valeriane locum.

Phil. Beroaldus Junior Bonon. Frondibus Aoniis te Pimpinelle decorum
Vidimus, et meritis laurea serta comis.

Dum recinent volucres, tundent dum littora fluctus,
Implumes fœtus dum feret unda maris,
Huic aderis semper mollis Beroalde trophæo,
Blanda Venusinæ cui favet aura Lyræ.

Marius Volaterranus. Est Marius versu, pergrato et scommate notus,
Cui virides colles ruraque amœna placent.
Sæpius inde novem vocat ad vineta Sorores
Munifica impendens citria poma manu ;
Promittitque rosas, violas, vaccinia, et alba
Lilia, cum primo vere tepescet humus.

Capella. His scelus est, magnum non asseruisse Capellam,
Roris Apollinei cui rigat ora liquor.

Amiterninus. Non te Amiterne sinam, dubias sub nocte silenti
Per tenebras nullo lumine ferre gradum.
Nam tu Pegasidum juvenes deducis ad undas,
Quos fovet ingenti Martia Roma sinu.

Lippus. Lippus adest caro natali sidere mancus
Lumine, sed docto carmen ab ore movens.
Delius huic lucis dedit hæc solatia ademptæ,
Ne misera ex omni sors sua parte foret.
Nam subito revocat blanda in certamina divas,
Dum movet Ausoniam dulcius arte chelym.

Jo. Ant. Marostica. Cyrrhæas latebras, et amœna Marosticus antra
Visit, et huic Erato prævia signa tulit.
Inde miser dominæ tactus dulcedine amandi
Demulsit placidis ferrea corda modis.

Laur. Vallatus Rom. Illum tu blandis æquas Vallate Camœnis,
Ingenio, inventu, carmine, judicio ;

Quem penes arguto scribendi Epigrammata sensu
Laus fuit, et gratos tingere felle sales.
His te cui Charites adsunt, Agatine, choreis
Insere et aurata carmina funde lyra.
Phileticum haud Lucam sileo, qui nomen ab ipsa — M. Ant. Elatanus Medicus.
Luce tenens, tenebras dispulit ingenii.
Est et Flaminius nimium sibi durus et atrox, — M. Ant. Flaminius.
Cujus avena potest scribere quidquid avet.
Unica spes genti et languentum maxima cura
Scipio, qui Choa est clarus ab arte Senex. — Scipio Lancellottus Medicus Rom.
Hunc quamvis Arvina premat, vigil intus oberrat
Spiritus, et sacro pectore multa fovet.
Noscit sic montes, sylvas, maria, oppida, et amnes — Donatus Poli.
Polius, ac solidis viderit illa oculis.
Te si, Colloti, O musarum candide Alumne, — Angelus Colotius.
Prætream, Vates invidiosus ero;
Urbis delitiæ, dictant cui verba lepores,
Lacteus a dulci cui fluit ore liquor;
Felix exactæ est sic Carteromachus artis — Scipio Carteromachus, Pistor.
Ut nihil adscribi, diminuive queat.
Euterpen trahit hic sociasque e Phocidos ora,
Romuleique jubet littus amare soli.
Sospite Parrhasio, Romana Academia, opacis — Joan. Parrhasius.
Occultum in tenebris nil sinit esse diu.
Hunc circum urbanus latrando livor oberrat,
Et fessa externam voce reposcit opem.
Ille velut Danaes turri munitus in alta,
Ridenti imbelles despicit ore minas.
Vocibus ut placidis, placido et modulamine, Siren — Joannes Aloysius Vopiscus, Neapol.
Fallaci nautas mersit et arte rates,
Sic modo, Parthenope erudiit quem docta, Vopisci
Decipitur blandis cauta puella modis.
Idem Cardonis magni dum fortia in armis
Gesta canit, grandi fertur, in astra sono,
Cecropiæque imos linguæ Latiæque recessus
Scrutatus, nymphis munera rara tulit.
Ut volucrum Regina supervolat æthera, et alti — Mariangelus ab Aquila.
Immotum lumen solis in orbe tenet,
Sic illa genitus clara Mariangelus urbe,
Alite quæ a Jovia nobile nomen habet,
Felici ingenio solers speculatur in antro
Corycio, unde refert carminis omne genus.
Quantum Ramatio tellus Fulginia, tantum
Arcade grandisono Narnia terra nitet.
Imperium prisci donec tenuere Quirites — Suctenius Teutonicus.
Dum stetit Augusto maxima Roma-Duce,

Vix Latiæ Linguæ Scythicas penetravit ad oras
Nomen et illius fama sinistra fuit.
At modo quæ latos glacialis Vistula campos
Abluit, et gelidum per mare findit iter,
Suchthenium ingenio præstanti misit ad Urbem,
Qui modo lege sui carminis urget avos.
Explicat ardores, et amicæ ventilat ignes,
Præbeat ut victas dura puella manus.

Gaspar Ursinus, Theutonicus.

Alta supervolitans Ursinus tecta Quirini
Fertur Parrhasii Gaspar ab axe poli
Barbariem incultam patriis de finibus arcet,
Ducit et Ausonias in nova Templa Deas.
Æmulus huic, concors patria, Juvenilibus annis
Silvanus numeris certa et arte pari.
Auspice Germanas hoc jam fluxere per oras
Attica Romano conflua mella favo.
Hunc puer Idalia doctum cum matre Cupido
Mirantur vatem dum sua furta canit.
Præcipiti quoties œstro nova carmina dictat
Pierio toties dignus honore frui.

Piso Pannonius.

Pannonia a forti celebris jam milite tantum
Extitit; at binis vatibus aucta modo est.
Nam Latium Piso sitibundo ita gutture rorem
Hausit, ut Ausoniis carmine certet avis.
Nec minor est Jano, patrium qui primus ad Istrum
Duxit laurigeras ex Helicone Deas.

Andreas Fulvius Sacer.

Fulvius a septem descripsit montibus Urbem,
Reddit et antiquis nomina prisca locis,

Syllanus Spoletinus.

Fulminea est adeo lingua Syllanus, ut illi
Aonium facili murmure flumen eat.

Ant. Tibaldeus.

Flava Tibaldeum placidis sic Flavia ocellis
Incitat, occultis præcipitatque dolis,
Aptior ut nullus malesani pectoris ignes
Explicet, et lepida comptior arte sales.
Urbs Patavi foret orba suo ne semper alumno,
Cujus opus tantum blanda Columba fuit,

Lucas Bonfilius Patavinus.

Illius Elysiis fato revocatus ab umbris
Spiritus, in lucem nunc redivivus agit.
Pectora nam tribuit facilis Bonfilius illi,
Nec minor ingenio, nec minor arte valet.

Camillus Paleottus, Bononien.

Nec mea Calliope Paleotum fessa silebit,
Cui fons irrorat pectora Castalius.
Læta fluentisono remeabat ab æquore Cypris,
Incipit, et tanto carmine conflat opus.

Phæd. Volaterranus. Fabius Vigil.

Quis Phædrum ignorat, Vigilisque poemata magni?
Maxima Romani lumina gymnasii.

Sacceus invicti celebrat nunc gesta Triulti — Spoletinus.
Invictasque Aquilas magnanimumque senem. — Cæsar Saceus.
Fortunate senex, quis te furor impius egit? — Franciscus. Cetrarius.
Cur geris in patrios arma nefanda lares?
Phœbus ad externas peregrinaque regna sorores
Ducturus Cyrrhæ quæ juga summa colunt,
Incola barbaries fieret ne collis amati
Fœda timens, cœptum distulit auctor iter.
Atque agilem viridis cetram de stipite Lauri
Fabricat, hoc circum cui breve carmen erat.
Miles erit Phœbi, et musarum miles, honestum
Quisquis barbarico culmen ab hoste teget.
Turba pavet, tantæque timens discrimina molis.
Pensitat atque humeris non leve credit onus.
Tum subito juvenes inter promptissimus omnes
Exilit, intrepida sumit et arma manu.
Tollitur applausu Sociorum clamor, et illi
Ab Cetra impositum nomen inesse volunt.
Dexter in omne genus scripti Cetrarius, inde est;
Nec focile agnosces, aptior unde fluat.
Infantem quæ cura regat, quis cultus habendo — Michael Venturus Fulginas.
Sit puero, et juveni qualia, quidve seni,
Optimus ut queat hic Civis sine fraude vocari,
Jureque cui res sit publica danda viro,
Tempora qui placidæ pacis sine fraude gubernet,
Nec timeat mortem, cum fera bella premunt,
Fulginas Venturus agit, præceptaque in unum
Colligit, et culto carmine promit opus.
Janus, et expertus Macer est depellere morbos, — Joannes a Macerata, Medic.
Pieridum tenero cultor ab ungue chori,
Fulvia quem fallax medicis subtraxit ab Aris,
Jussit et Idalii vulnera amare Dei.
Hausisti Cruciger sacros Heliconis honores: — Nicolaus Crucifer, Sacerdos.
Hinc venit ad calamos prompta Thalia tuos,
Et cantat Leges, sanctique edicta Senatus,
Ac duce te insolitas audet adire vias.
Exprimit affectus animi sic carmine veros
Postumus, ut Lector cuncta videre putet; — Postumus Pisaurensis.
Cum libet ad lacrimas ridentis lumina amicæ
Flectit, et ad risum cum gemit, ora movet.
Marce Aganippeos latices qui e fonte Caballus — Marcus Caballus, Anconitanus.
Eruit, ille tibi nomina sacra dedit.
Inde tuis charites numeris hærere videntur
Numen et Idalium, Pegasidumque chori.
At modo Bombasi quo non vaga fama refulget? — Bombasius.
Cui reserant Musæ Phocidos antra novem.

Marcellus Palonius, Rom.

Litoris Adriaci nuper deleta per agros
Perque Ravennatis pinguia culta soli,
Gentis Aquitanæ turmas, et gentis Iberæ
Agmina, ad infernos agmina pulsa lacus,
Marcellus cecinit primævo in flore juventæ,
Præliaque intrepido carmine sæva gerit;
Romuleæ gentis longe indignatus, et idem
Auctorem per tot sæcula nocte premi,
Iliades magni genus armipotentis, ut urbem
Fatalem æternum struxit in orbe caput,
Et tandem ut patrium merito jam possidet astrum
Utque ipsum indigetem Martia Roma colit
Concitus Aonio reserat Palonius œstro
Unica Romuleæ spesque decusque togæ.

Dardanus Parmensis.

Hinc mihi se offert Parmensi missus ab urbe
Dardanus Aoniis pectora lotus aquis.
Hic canit Ausonias quoties irrumpat in oras
Barbarus, et quanto fulmine bella fremant.
Idem sollicitos elegis solatur amores,
Atque gemit dominæ tristior ante fores;
Qua Padus ingentes Vesuli de vertice pinus
Volvit et occultis exerit ora vadis,
Idem contractis Epigrammata condere verbis
Gaudet, et argutos promere ab ore sales;
Cui dum Cæsareas percurrit carmine laudes
Continuit rapidas Renus et Ister aquas.
Hunc merito Cæsar Lauri dignatus honore est,
Huicque Palatini Militis Arma dedit.
Monstra quid Hesperiis portendant urbibus, acri
Ingenio et quidquid exta resecta notent,

Joannes Vitalis Panormensis.

Jane, Panormeæ telluris gloria, narras,
Cui vix in vultu prima juventa nitet;
Tuque etiam ingenio scandis super ardua primus
Sydera, Olympiacas ausus adire domos.
Afflatusque animis æternis concinis hymnos
Ætherei reserans claustra verenda Jovis.
Vergilii hic manes semper sub nocte silenti
Evocat, et musis cogit adesse suis.

Andreus Maro Brixiens

Te Maro non ausim, prisco cui Musa Maroni
Æmula dat Latio nomina nota foro,
Immemor obscuras inter liquisse tenebras,
Et sinere ignavo delituisse situ.
Exuis humanos extemplo e pectore sensus,
Fatidicique furens induis ora Dei;
Pulcher inaurata quoties testudine Jopas
Personat, et placido murmure fila movet.

Hauriretque Helicona prius, Dircesque fluenta,
Desereret cœptum quam tuus ardor opus.
Liviani audentis narrat fera bella Modestus, Franc. Modestus Ariminensis.
Quotque hominum dederit millia multa neci;
Inter ut arma illi mens imperterrita mansit;
Hujus opus Seres, Antipodesque legent.
Ille opifex rerum cœli qui lapsus ab Arce Camillus Quernus, Archipoeta Leon. X.
Filius æterni maximus ille Jovis,
Orbe pererrato, cum quid bene gesserat olim,
Describi insolito carmine vellet opus,
Musarum infantem subtraxit ab ubere sacro,
Aonio assuetum fonte levare sitim;
Nomen et imponens peramatæ a stipite frondis
Dixit, Quernus eris, tu mea gesta canes.
Inde sacrosancto celebrat sic omnia versu
Divinum ut cuncti numen inesse putent.
At quibus e doctis domus est ignota Coryti? Jo. Coricius.
Thespiadum curæ est cui bona ne pereant:
Vatibus hic Sacris Mœcenas splendidus, illi,
Si foret Augustus, tempora avara nocent.
At tua, quod potis es, sunt Phœbi tecta Sacellum,
Cumque novem Musis illa frequentat Amor.
Verticis Aonii musarum in culmine templum
Desertum stabat, jam sine honore locus:
Annua pœnituit Phœbum pia Sacra Sororum
Jamdudum amisso flamine nulla fore;
Quæsitumque diu juvenem renovare quotannis
Mystica sacra jubet Flaminiumque vocat.
Inde Elegos, blandosque sales, seu fortia bella,
Pangit, habet Veneres, nec decor ullus abest.
Invidit Vati Spartanus Rallius Umbro
Te gravibus recinens pulchra Licina modis,
Et patria Eurotas licet hunc instruxerit arte,
Te tamen Ausonio carmine ad Astra tulit.
Delie ni vires nosset sibi conscia virtus, Petrus Delius.
Ipse tuas laudes haud timide exequerer.
Sed quoniam præstat molem evitasse pericli,
Quam grave curvato poplite fundere onus,
Cum tua Romulidum volitet vaga fama per urbem,
Ne male cœpta canam sit voluisse satis.
A patria, a musis, Phœboque urbique Quiritum Ulixes Farensis.
Ac reus a populi publicus ore ferar,
Ni tua multiplici studio præstantia Ulisse
Pectora sacratis Vatibus annumerem.
Notitia in tenebris nulla est adeo abdita rerum
Ingenio fuerit quin bene culta tuo;

Omnia nam septem reserasti arcana sororum ;
Libera quarum Artes noscere corda decet.
Nec tibi deficiunt (bisseptem tempora lustri
Cum superes) vires corporis atque animi.

Aurelius Clarerius Lupus, Spoletinus.

Clareli ingenua effigies frontisque serenæ
Blandus honos Musas ad sua castra vocat.
Illius ex hilari genium dignoscere vultu
Et mentem, et sensus, cordaque aperta licet.
Nullæ unquam poterunt fraudes se inferre Camœnis,
Quas tibi lascivo murmure dictat amor.
Hoc duce Nympha olim Venerisque peristera custos
Fit volucris, volucri quæ vehit axe Deam.
Per Sylvas quoties nemorosis saltibus errat,
Calliope æternum sola ministrat opus,
Armaque grandiloquo resonantia carmine Phœbus
Ingerit, et gravibus verba sonora modis.
Felleque mordaci brevibus sententia dictis
Non caret, hostili cum vomit ore sales.
Atque Atriæ hic nostri doctissima pectora secli
Non silet, armati nec fera bella ducis.

Petrus Pactius.

Pactius Ethruscæ modo plurima gloria Gentis
Petrus adest, clivo maximus Aonio,
Nobilitas quem clara fovet Geniusque Charisque,
Et prudens fraudum nescia simplicitas.
Fortunamque super generosa mente vagaturr,
Illius haud unquam territus insidiis.
Non rapit in præceps tete ambitiosa Cupido
Intra fortunam vivere docte tuam.
Ingerit huic mirum nil sors inopina, novumque
Omnia qui immoto pectore adire potest.
Candida sublimem te vexit ad æthera virtus
Felicem reddens assimilemque Deis.

Honoratus Fascitellus.

De grege quis posset, posset quis credere inerti
Quem mons præpingui rure Casinus alit,
Solus Honoratus vigilanti mente Sacerdos
Aonidum cantus post sua vota colit ?
Fascitella domus priscorum e fascibus orta,
Quos veteri imperio stirps generosa tulit,
Edidit infantem, nascenti Æneia nutrix
Affuit, excepit, composuitque caput,
Uberaque admovit pleno turgentia succo :
Auctori arrisit muneris ore puer ;
Intrepidaque manu pressit, suxitque papillas ;
Lacte redundanti cessit anhela sitis ;
Musarumque ipsum altrici commendat, ut inter
Pierides Clarii disceret acta Dei.

Excepere Deæ unanimes, et mystica Phœbi
Sacra docent patriis restituuntque focis.
Cecropiæ hinc cæcas latebras arcanaque linguæ
Anfractusque omnes multiplicesque dolos,
Et quocumque olim veterum invidiosa propago
Liquit in obscuris semisepulta locis,
Paulatim explorans fulgenti luce recessus
Discutit, et nitido tramite monstrat iter.
Nam brevibus longas ambages legibus aufert,
Et parvo immensum codice stringit opus.
Sentibus evulsis nudo jam calle per amplos
Ire licet montes Pieridumque nemus.
Hoc duce Parnassi pubes petet Itala culmen,
Altaque securo conteret arva pede.
Daphni tibi sydus nascenti afflavit Apollo, Barthol. Daphnis, Exinus.
Ingessitque libens numina et artis opem.
Hinc elegos promptosque sales cultissime pangis,
Nec desit numeris dorica lingua tuis.
Te quoque Romulidum et cultæ spes altera linguæ Sanga.
Intexam chartis candide Sanga meis.
Vos, animæ, æterni quos ingens nominis ardor
Sollicitat noctu sollicitatque die,
Quas stimulis agitant laudum præconia, quasque hæc
Pœnitet haud vatum celsa trophea sequi,
Laurea deponat vobis modo serta capillus;
Surgite in amplexus, jam Deus alter adest.
Namque Caledonio Paceus ab Axe Sacerdos
Cortynam ingreditur ad pia Templa ferens,
Cortynam, qua rite litat tibi, Delphice, quando
Attica Romulidum ac inclyta sacra colit.
Mulsius antiquum nitido candore nitorem Francisc. Moltius. Mutinen.
Possidet, et prisca simplicitate viget,
Sincerusque fluit, nec fuco nobile adumbrat
Carmen, sed casto pectore sacra colit,
Hunc quoniam illius cantu oblectantur amœno
Cypris, et aurato gratia blanda sinu,
Semper dulcisonos ut lamentetur amores
Perpetuis flammis improbus urit Amor.
Fortunate bonis animi felicibus aucte
Præsagi merite nomen ab ingenio.
Gratulor, ingeminat tibi quod malefida dolores
Julia, quæ auricomi nomina solis habet.
Namque nisi ex alto sic dissimularet amores,
Non foret a cantu tam bene nota tuo.
Quis melius doctum te Alexandrine Catullum Alexandrinus.
Jam promptis numeris te insinuare potest?

Centelli Fratres.

Euge quibus Daphnem lamentis, aut quibus olim
Formosum indoluit Cynthius Æbalidem,
Ac veluti jecur æternum sub vulture mœrens
Deflcat Japeti viscera hiulca satus,
Qualibus aut lacrymis Ceycem in gurgite vasto
Submersum flerit tam misera Alcyone,
Candide lector, aves si noscere, si vacat, euge
Da mœstis aures vocibus Euryali,
Dum queritur fastus iratæ Juliæ, et artes
Illecebras, fraudes, jurgia, furta, dolos.
Calliope huic dextram tribuit dea sponte pupillam,
Threicio vati mamma sinistra data est.
Centelles gemini fratres stirps inclyta, aviti
Post habita Siculi nobilitate soli,
Illecti pariter linguæ dulcedine ad urbem
Migrarunt, Clarii bina trophea Dei;
Quorum pectoribus sic mutuus ardor inhæret,
Alter ut alterius pectore corda ferat;
Concordesque animo Phœbei gramina campi,
Antraque sollicito trivit uterque pede.
Hos inter natu major viridante capillum
Lauro Hyeron cinctus tempora nixa gerit;
Heroumque canit laudes ingentiaque acta,
Acta quibus justo murmure plectra movet;
Melliferæ inventum segetis, dulcemque liquorem,
Ut trahit e molli canna palustris humo,
Et quis arundinibus cultus, quæ tempora messis
Dulcia quin etiam saccara ut orbis habet,
Franciscus minor enodat Centello propago,
Et leges strinxit juraque certa dedit.
Non adeo in specubus latitanti horrentis Eremi,
Damnatus voti dum bona sacra novas,

Stephanus.

Illorum ut careant ritu, Stephane alme, Quirites
Obscœnæ nulli sacra adeunda pede.

Antonius Nerlius.

Hos quoque qui ad Tanaim penetrat genus usque nivale
Insequitur dextris Nerlius alitibus;
Non te divitiæ, fastus, præcepsque juventa
Elevat, ingenium, nobilitasve premit,
Otia quin Elegosque colas, Phœbique recessus,
Carminaque arguto tingere felle juvet.

Franciscus Calvus

Præmia, Calve, tuis quæ digna laboribus umquam,
Tam bene pro meritis lingua latina dabit?
Tu peregre errasti sublata volumina quærens
Quantum Europæo tingitur Oceano.
Namque Caledonii te dives terra Britanni
Novit, et auratis dives Iberus aquis;

Galliaque et latis Germania frigida campis,
Pannoniosque secans turgidus Ister agros.
Quidquid Barbarici Martis furor impius olim
Abstulit, ad patriæ limina grata refers.
Ecce iterum antiquum te pervigilante nitorem,
Roma tenet, candor pristinus ille redit.
Madalius placido immitem dum murmure amicam — Jo. Bapt. Medalius, Thuscus.
Deflet, et assiduo murmure mœstus hiat,
Multifido Aonii silvas in vertice montis
Plantat, et errantes mulcet Hamadryadas.
Quin etiam interdum mordax resonante susurro
Ridet, et argutos ingerit ore sales.
Si tua non fictos Erato descripsit amores, — Hieronymus Angerianus, Neapol.
Miror quod nondum es, Angeriane, cinis.
Annua Pierides celebrant Phœbeia Nymphæ,
Solemnemque notant munera rara diem,
Quo miser Admeti pecudes armentaque Pastor, — Albineus Parmensis.
Desierit tandem tristia vota sequi;
Succinctæque sinus niveo et circumdatæ amictu
Gratantur reducem lata per arva Deum:
Dumque vagæ huc illuc cursant per florida Tempe,
Texentem puerum mollia serta vident.
Dulcia certatim dant oscula, lacte perungunt
Albenti, Albineo nomen et inde fluit.
Collis et Aonii secreta per omnia ducunt,
Instillantque sacri numina cuncta loci.
Haud igitur mirum est, si quidquid concipit alto
Ingenio, æquali carmine, et arte refert.
Oceano in magno veluti stat saxea moles
Immota, assiduis fluctibus icta maris,
Sic caput objectat fortunæ interritus acri
Confisus Diis Clœlius auspicibus; — Clœlius.
Desinit illa unquam ut valido intorquere lacerto
Spicula, in hunc solum spicula cuncta ferens;
Sic animo invictus constanti pectore semper
Imperturbata vulnera mente subit;
Solaturque suas Phœbeo murmure curas,
Murmure cui Latii plaudit avena chori.
Castalii fontis nisi Bevazanius undas — August. Bevazan.
Hausisset solitus pellere ab ore sitim,
Non adeo felix hederæ super alta corymbis
Parnassi ornatus montis adisset iter.
Æternos scripsit cultus Lampridius hymnos, — Bened. Lampridius.
Terreni laudes concinuitque Jovis.
Carmina Romano tantum placuere Tonanti,
His nulla ut nostri temporis æqua putet.

Petrus Zanchus. Si vetus obstupuit, præsens itidem obstupet ætas
Excultum carmen, culte Tibulle, tuum :
Haud mirum hoc doctæ genitricis ab ubere sacro
Hausisti, et castos parvulus ante Lares.
Inde tibi genioque tuo peramica fuere
Sæcula, et Augusti numina grata Ducis.
At modo bisdenos florenti ætate decembres
Vix numerans quanto pectore Zanchus ovat !
Phocenses pariter Musæ Latiique Camœnæ
Concordes una hunc sponte tulere sinu.
Certatim accurrunt charites, numerosaque dictant
Carmina, juncturas, pondera, verba, sonos,
Ponderibus rerum mentem hic bene pascit et aures
Selectis verbis mulcet et exhilarat.

Binus. Bine tui ingenii vires, quibus omnia amussim
Pangere vel genio nil renuente potes,
Si modo ab hortorum cultu divellere musas,
Ferrea quas semper ducere rastra piget,
Atque alio illarum mentem divertere et aures
Quo se humili extollant sidera ad alta solo,
Jamque tuis velles humeris injungere munus
Grande aliquod, quantus quantus in urbe fores !

Tanquillus Molossus. Dum celebris Vates circumfert pompa, Molosse,
Ipse indicta feris horrida bella cane ;
Queis cecidere apri cervorumque agmina longa,
Et damæ imbelles, capreolumque genus,
Cum Leo venandi Palieti lustra Caninum
Oppidulum lassus mœnia parva subit
Illic ubi hospitio exceptum Pharnesius heros
Convivam nulla non fovet arte Jovem.

Crotus Thespiadum erudiit prima incunabula nutrix
Euphemes, natus cui, Crote, solus erat,
Unde genus, nomenque trahens ab origine avita
Altera Musarum est maxima cura Crotus.
Batte melos dulci genitrix te Amerina liquore
Imbuit, et primis imbuit uberibus.
Quam bene mellifluo susceptum nectar ab ore
Diffundis semper Martia gesta canens !
Quæ tuus antiquæ pro mœnibus ille Ravennæ,
Et quæ pro laribus, docte Catulle, tuis,
Marcus honos patriæ, stirpisque Columnicæ, et almæ
Italiæ contra Gallica signa dedit.
Grandiloquis gerit ille modis celebranda per orbem
Prælia, tuque pari pectore bella refers.
Digna tuis Heros numeris facit omnia, tuque
Factis digna suis carmina semper habes.

Ad Vatum cœtus propera blandissime Cursi, Cursius
Ne taceas clausas tristior ante fores;
Nam data carceribus citius si signa quadrigæ
Contingant, frustra vocibus astra petes.
Suntque alii celebres, quos ingens gloria tollit,
Et quorum passim carmina Roma legit.
Horum si quis avet cognoscere nomina amussim
Protinus Aureli templa superba petat.
Illic marmorea pendent suspensa columna,
Atque etiam hæc Coryti picta tabella docet.
Illos novit Arabs, illos novere Sabæi,
Et nigri Ethiopes, arvaque adusta gelu.
Vaticinor, dis grata cohors, felicius ævum
Pectora fatidico murmure Phœbus agit;
Venturus novus Augustus, venturus et alter
Mœcenas, divum candida progenies.
Aurea Principibus novaque illis sæcula fient,
Sæcula, queis ætas ferrea victa cadet;
Pacificæ grave Martis opus tunc cedet olivæ;
Romano cedent arma cruenta foro.
Pinguis humus passim nullis cultoribus, ultro
Et Cererem, tuaque munera, Bacche, dabit.
Arva pede incerto pessundare sancta profanos
Non sinet, arva sacris caste adeunda choris.
Tunc virides lauri sudabunt roscida mella,
Flumina perpetuo nectare lenta fluent;
Altricemque novus quando instaurabitur orbis,
Tellurem repetent numina prisca Deum.
Felices animæ, quibus illa in tempora carmen
Singula sub proprio pondere verba cadent.
His ego, si potero meritum subscribere nomen,
Forsitan Arsilli fama perennis erit;
Et mea tunc totum felix Pirmylla per orbem
Vivet in exitium nata puella meum.
Ast ego non tantum mihi nunc temerarius augur
Polliceor, nec me tam ferus ardor agit,
Corvus ut his ausim crocitare per arva Caystri
Cycneumque rudi fingere voce melos.

FINIS FRANCISCI ARSILLI POEMATIS.

APPENDIX.

No. XLIII. p. 4.

Rymer. Fœdera, tom. vi. par. i. p. 96.

Litera Leonis Papæ ad Regem Angliæ.

Charissimo in Christo Filio nostro Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Intelleximus ex Literis *Majestatis tuæ* eam ægre molesteque tulisse Nos Venerabilem Fratrem et *Archiepiscopum Sancti Andreæ* in Regno Scotiæ, nostrum et hujus Sanctæ Apostolicæ Sedis Nuntium, cum Potestate Legati de Latere constituisse.

Qua in re etsi cognoscere potuerit Nos rationem imprimis habuisse Dignitatis et Voluntatis Tuæ, quoniam ipsum *Archiepiscopum* ad *Tuæ Majestati* satisfaciendum ante omnia obligavimus, Isque id Nobis aperte se facturum recepit; tamen ea etiam consideratio Te in eam sententiam adducere potuit, ut considerares Nos nihil, quod Te offenderet, facere et statuere voluisse.

Quod ex omnibus Christianis Regibus et Principibus Tu Unus profecto es quem in Domino unice atque summopere diligimus, et in quo præter cæteros pro animi nostri affectu et propensione confidimus, cujusque Petitionibus et Postulatis, aut etiam tacitæ Voluntati et Desiderio, quantum cum Deo potuimus, omnibus semper in rebus satisfacere concupivimus; cujus nostræ erga Te mentis Ipse optimus et locupletissimus es Testis; sed de his hactenus.

Quod autem *ad Archiepiscopum* attinet, ea statuimus quæ Tibi grata essent futura, quæque Te velle cognoscebamus, quemadmodum a Venerabili Fratre *Episcopo Wigorniensi*, Oratore apud nos tuo latius intelliges.

Datum *Romæ* apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die vicesimo secundo Aprilis; Millesimo quingentesimo decimo quinto, Pontificatus nostri Anno tertio.

P. Bembus.

Dor.

Carissimo in Christo Filio nostro Henrico Angliæ Regi Illustri.

No. XLIV. p. 5.

Sadolet. Ep. Pont. No. 36.

Regi Francorum.

Charissime. Etsi obitu claræ memoriæ Ludovici, tui nuper Prædecessoris, audito, non mediocrem animi dolorem concepimus, quod magnum Regem, & nobis, ac Sedi Apostolicæ, præsertim extremis his temporibus, amicissimum, judicabamus amisisse; tamen, cum esset ad nos perlatum Majestatem tuam continuo, ut quidem decebat, summa omnium lætitia, & voluntate ad regale solium evectam fuisse, nova gratulatione mitigavimus dolorem. Itaque commoti nostra erga te paterna benevolentia & charitate, quam etiam, cum tu esses in minoribus, susceptam, magnis & mutuis inter nos officiis nos aucturos speramus, has ad tuam Majestatem litteras direximus, nuncias cum nostræ ex tua amplitudine susceptæ lætitiæ, tum singularis erga te studii, & amoris. Nos te, charissime fili, semper judicavimus cum cæteris virtutibus omnibus, quæ magno Principi conveniant, ornatum, tum præcipua quadam præditum erga summum Deum pietate, in illius sanctam Fidem, & Romanam ac universalem Ecclesiam religione & observantia; cujus quidem rei egregiam alias laudem, nunc maximum ab ipso Deo præmium es consecutus, cum ejus recens in te tantum beneficium possis agnoscere. Eo enim auctore, & largitore, Reges & Principes nationum constituuntur, quos tam præclaro munere devinctos, ad referendam Deo gratiam, & illius sanctissimam propagandam fidem, omnis et diurna, & nocturna cura debet excitare. Hac igitur de te spe, & opinione imbuti, gratias agimus primum Deo, deinde tuæ Majestati gratulamur, omni affectu & amore hanc dignitatem tuam complectentes, quam non solum optamus, sed etiam speramus toti Christianæ Reipublicæ fore salutarem; nobis vero, qui te in nostræ visceribus charitatis gerimus, ac Sedi Apostolicæ, quæ in te filio suo primogenito acquiescit, jucundam etiam, & honorificam. Illud certe Majestatem tuam pro nostra affectione paterna breviter admonendam putamus, ut consideratis secum diligentius superiorum temporum & rerum eventibus, nullam actionem velit putare, nisi quæ cum Deo, ac pietate, & cum Christianæ Fidei commodo conjuncta sit, dignam Christianissimi Regis aut virtute, aut nomine: cum cætera, quæ ab hoc fine, consilia aberrant, & plena semper sint ingratæ sollicitudinis, & eventus plerumque non habeant secundos. Quamquam hæc tu, Deo inspirante, tua prudentia diligentius cogitabis. Nos nostri erga te amoris fiducia parem nobis tuam voluntatem repromittentes, hac primo in re abs te cupimus nobis satisfieri, ut de Ecclesiæ Narbonensi (quemadmodum nos destinavimus, & sicut ad claræ memoriæ Prædecessorem tuum scripseramus) velit Majestas tua libenter assentiri, ut dilecto filio nostro Julio Cardinali de Medicis provideamus; cum præsertim Prædecessor tuus recompensam Ecclesiæ Albiensis ei pollicitus, Vaurensem

obtulisset, dictusque Cardinalis neutram sit assecutus, et utramque illarum cedere in tuam gratiam sit paratus. Cujus quidem Cardinalis tum virtus, et integritas, tum erga tuam Majestatem, & ipsius statum observantia & affectio, digna est quæ hanc suam erga se cognoscat liberalitatem : nobis quidem, qui eum & pro suis summis virtutibus, & pro consanguinitate ipsa vehementer amamus, Majestas tua faciet rem gratissimam, cui perpetuam gratiam debebimus. Die xxi. *Jan.* MDXV. Anno secundo.

No. XLV. p. 39.

Ex relat. Anon. ap. Parid. de Grassis de ingressu Summi Pont. Leonis X. Florentiam, p. 9.

Entrò la Santità di Leone X. dalla Porta a S. Gaggio la quale trovò ornata di un bello e vago arco fatto a similitudine di quelli delli antichi Romani ; dipoi se ne venne a S. Felice in Piazza, dove trovò il secondo Arco dove era l'imagine di Lorenzo suo Padre con un verso, che diceva : *Hic est Filius meus dilectus ;* il che da S. S. veduto e letto, fu visto alquanto lagrimare ; dipoi addirizzatosi su per via Maggio arrivò al Ponte a S. Trinita, il quale trovò ornato di due bellissime macchine : una era all' entrare del Ponte in forma di arco, nella sommità della quale era scritto, *Leoni X. laborum victori*, e l'altra era di là dal Ponte di verso S. Trinita, e quest' era un' altissima Guglia. Passato il Ponte arrivò a S. Trinita, e dipoi sul canto, dove si abboccano le due strade, una detta Parione, e l'altra Porta Rossa : quì vi era fatto un' altra Macchina in forma di un tondo Tempio, avanti al quale un Vestibolo in forma di Luna, nel fregio del quale erano lettere, che in sostanza significavano esser questa Città in protezione di due Leoni, e due Giovanni felicissimamente posarsi, intendendo per l'uno il celeste Batista, e per l'altro il terrestre de' Medici : dipoi addirizzandosi su per Porta Rossa, arrivato in Mercato Nuovo, quivi trovò un' altissima Colonna molto ben lavorata, dipoi per Vaccherecia arrivò in Piazza de' Signori, dove sotto gli archi della Loggia, che de' Tedeschi si chiama, era fatta una grandissima Statua di Ercole colla Clava in sulla spalla, dipoi torcendo verso il Leone, che è sul canto della Ringhiera, quivi trovò un altro arco bellissimo, il quale era diviso in quattro, e per il suo mezzo faceva due strade, posato su otto bianchissime Colonne scannellate, nella sommità del quale era scritto : *Leoni X. P. Max. propter merita* ; e così passando dal Sale, e da i Gondi arrivò al Palazzo del Potestà, dove era dirimpetto a Badia fatto un superbissimo arco, e allato alla Porta di detta Badia, ve n'era fatta a similitudine di quella un' altra finta ; e questo per non essere la detta Porta a dirittura nel giusto mezzo della via del Palagio a tale che la falsa dalla vera non si distingueva, e sopra quest' arco fu scritto : *Leoni X. Pont. Max. Fidei Cultori ;* e seguendo la strada dal Canto de' Pazzi, e venendo da' Fondamenti quivi sul canto d'onde prima

si scuopre la Cupola trovò un altro arco bellissimo, il quale sembrava tutto di rosseggiante Porfido, e per la sua mirabile struttura fu tenuto il più bello di tutti gli altri, nella sommità del quale era scritto: *Spes ejus in Domino, Leo X. Pont. Max.* e girando dietro a essi Fondamenti pervenne in sulla Piazza di S. Gio. dove la faccia di S. Maria del Fiore era tutta rifatta da terra fino alla cima del tetto, e mostrava con bellissima invenzione essere tutta di pallidi marmi, che per loro stessi denotassino per lunghezza del tempo, e per le continove piogge essersi dalla lor natural bianchezza nel colore dell' orientali perle trasformati.

La Chiesa dentro fu molto sontuosamente ornata, e parata, e fatto un palco dentro in Chiesa, alto da tre cubiti, e largo dodici, il quale cominciava dalla Porta principale, e andava a dirittura su per il mezzo della Chiesa fino all' Altar Maggiore, su per il quale camminando il Pontefice, con quelli che erano seco, la sua benedizione al Popolo che in sul basso pavimento della Chiesa era largamente donava, e così per quello si condusse all' Altar Maggiore, dove fatte le debite solenni cerimonie S. S. si cavò il Regno di testa, e fu dato a quello de' quattro Prelati, che di sopra dicemmo, il quale non lo aveva, e dipoi si cavò di dosso li paramenti, e rimase in bianchissimo Roccetto, sopra il quale si messe la Mozzetta di velluto rosso con il Berrettino in testa del medesimo, nel quale abito fece il resto della Via per infino al suo alloggiamento, e così uscendo di Chiesa, e passando dal Canto alla Paglia arrivò al Canto de' Carnesecchi dove era fatto un vago, e bellissimo Arco con 10 Ninfe, che cantavano, e trall' altre in un quadrato era dipinto un Leone, che colla propria lingua curava le piaghe di un ferito corpo, con un motto, che diceva: *Omne dulce in ore Leonis.*

Dipoi arrivato in sulla nuova Piazza di S. M. Novella, nel mezzo della quale era fatto un bello e grandissimo Cavallo, a similitudine di quei due, che sono in Roma a Monte Cavallo: Dipoi si transferrì in Via della Scala, e alla Sala, detta del Papa, dove era preparato il suo alloggiamento. Era con bella invenzione fatta una bella macchina all' entrare di detta Strada, e all' entrata di detta Sala un' altra, sebbene l'intenzione dell' Artefice, che quivi lavorò, era, che tal lavoro fosse continovata dall' entrata della strada per infino alla Porta della Sala; ma dalla brevità del tempo impedito, non potette condurre a perfezione se non le dette due parti principali.

No. XLVI. P. 39.

Parid. de Grassis, de Ingressu Leon. X. Florentiam, p. 1.

Cum per diversa loca Agri Florentini Pontifex solatianter spatiatus esset, et denique in Villa, quæ de Marignolle permansisset, tandem die S. Andreæ inde venit ad Monasterium Suburbanum Monialium, dictum

S. Gagii, ubi Corpus Christi repositum fuerat, pervenit (*sic*) ubi Cardinales in Cappis rubeis vestiti eum expectaverunt, et inde sola Stola super Albam paratus recedens descendit ad aliud Monialium Monasterium. Sic enim rogatus a Populo fuerat, ut ibi caperet paramenta, prout sanctæ memoriæ Eugenium (IV.) fecisse dicebant, et sic fecit; nam ibi Pluviale pretiosum novum induit, et ad urbem pervenit sequentibus Cardinalibus, ubi in Porta de more Crucem sibi a Cardinali de Medicis oblatam osculatus est sede ejus ad terram demissa, sic volente ipso, et ibidem incepit Thesaurarius Papæ pecunias in Populo dispergere, quamquam paucas, ut dixerunt. Ego autem ordinaveram, ut tria millia ducatorum dispergerentur in hoc Florentiæ ingressu, sicut sanctæ memoriæ Julius (II.) in ingressu Bononiæ.

De aliquibus quæsitis super Ingressu Papæ in Florentiam.

Ceterum antequam Pontifex ingrederetur Civitatem quæsivi a Sua Sanctitate, super quibus volebam resolvi, sicut est. In qua Ecclesia extra Portam velit induere paramenta, an S. Gagio, vel in Monticellio, et dixit quod in utroque volebat respective indueri propter consolationem Monialium, et propter suam commoditatem; et de hora ingressus dixit, quod de mane, quia sciebat propter ceremonias, et propter turbas, et longas vias esset in nocte vix hospitatus. An placeat habere CC. torcias ante Sacramentum, et fuit contentus; de Baldachino portando non voluit quod aliquis illud ferret, nisi Cives ordine ipsorum, dummodo Priores cum Vexillifero Justitiæ prima vice illud ferant, prout factum fuit: De Cubiculariis, et Scutiferis noviter creatis per Collegia, quæsivi quid vellet, et an ante, et supra antiquos ponerem, et dixit, quod ex istis, ille que erat, antequam assumeretur ad Papatum, præcederet, deinde sequerentur noviter creati, et ultimo loco irent, qui venissent tempore Paschali. De Datario, qui non haberet locum, an placeat facere illum Subdiaconum supernumerarium, etiam cum habitu, et loco; et placuit. An Thesaurarius, qui non est solitus portare Rochetum, pro illa die induat, et cum illo indutus absque Capello projiciat pecunias in Populo. Et an placeat, quod Umbella nova fiat, quia antiqua fuit demissa per oblivionem Romæ, et facta est una Umbella nova, similiter de Capellis ad minus duobus, pluribusve, idest in totum tribus papalibus, quæ antea ferantur, et factum est ita. An placeat, quod Sarcinæ ad minus quinquaginta antecedant pompam, et voluit CC. antecedant, cum omni ornatu, et ordine. De equis nobilibus, quot antecederent, et placuit quod centum optime ornati irent, quod nullæ bombardæ sonarent in ingressu propter stuporem dictorum equorum, et aliorum, ut nullum læderent, et factum est sic. An placeat, quod darem Civibus, et Magistratui ordinem pompæ, quem ipsi servare deberent, et placuit, dummodo nulla vexilla ferentur, sicut in Civitate Ecclesiæ, quia hoc relinquerem arbitrio eorum. An parari facerem aliquam collationem in Ecclesia altera, ubi Papa reciperet paramenta, pro ipso Papa, et Cardinalibus, et statuit, quod super hoc consulerentur Cardinales, et satisfaceret eis. Item quia Vexillifer Justitiæ, ut mihi dictum fuit, non intendebat cedere Cardinalibus, nec eis transeuntibus assurgere, an placeret, quod hi in

hoc casu a me ipso admonerentur, ut suum errorem cognoscerent, et in hoc Papa misit ad Vexilliferum, qui tres Cives ad Papam destinavit, ut referrent suæ Sanctitati majoritatem, et auctoritatem Dominii Florentini, et Papa eos ad me remisit, qui fuerunt Jacobus Salviatus Cognatus Papæ, Robertus Acciaiolus, et Lanfredinus de Lanfredinis. qui cum multa mihi dixissent, præsertim, quod ipsi volebant suum Vexilleferum cum Dominis esse æquales Cardinalibus, ego subridens vanitatem hujusmodi, jussi ut remanerent in Palatio suo. quia non solum non æquales ituri essent Cardinalibus, sed nonnisi ut scutiferi eorum, idest pedites ante frenum Pontificis, quod cum mihi credere non vellent, adierunt Papam, et cum nisu exposuerunt censuram meam, quasi ego vanitatem exposuissem eis. Pontifex autem meum judicium approbando dixit, aut non venirent in isto ingressu, aut si venirent, pedito incederent, et Baldachinum portarent, super quo facta est magna collocutio inter ipsos, et tandem acquieverunt in hoc verbo, licet ipsi Vexillifer, et Priores Domini, qui ante venerant ad Portam Civitatis ascenderunt certum pegma, sive taxillum, et ibi sedentes nulli Cardinali exeunti obviam Pontifici assurrexerunt, nec minus Caputium e capite deposuerunt, quod cum ego videssem, statui, quod nullus Cardinalis transiens elevaret oculos ad palcum, sive taxillum illud, ne contingeret eos videri, aut audire, et sic Vexillifer, et Priores remanserunt in sua vanitate, præter id quod dixi Papæ factum, et Papa misit ad eos ut omnino Cardinalibus assurgerent, et caput denudarent, quod vix acceperunt, tamen acceptarunt; et fecerunt insuper ordinari, quod Vexillifer nullus Claves Civitatis offerret Papæ sicut alii Magistratus consueverunt, et hoc quia ipsi Florentini Portam ad terram dejecerunt, et patefecerunt in totum. Quo autem ad sacram Processionem ordinavi, quod omnes de Clero Civitatis quantumcumque exempti venirent sub pœnis pecuniariis per me impositis, exceptis Monialibus, licet etiam Papa dedit Monialibus volentibus venire, et videre licentiam veniendi ad loca honesta, ita ut viderent, sed non viderentur, prout multa Collegia Monialium Claustralium venerunt, et aliquæ omnino abstinuerunt, multi etiam Religiosorum Conventus se excusare voluerunt, ne venire cogerentur, sed omnino venerunt, et comparuerunt, non tamen per vias ambulaverunt in processionibus illis, sed feci quod Vicarius Archiepiscopi assignavit singulis Regulis locum suum, in quo unaquæque Regula suum Altare quam festivissime erigeret, et ibidem stantes cantarent, dum equitatus Papalis transiret a principio usque ad finem, quod placuit Papæ, et Cardinalibus, ac etiam Civibus universis; et si qua contentio erat inter aliquos, ut sæpe solet, Vicarius eas concordaret, et factum est de facili. Item ordinavi, quod ante triduum semper campanæ sonarent. Item, quod omnis Clerus indesinenter oraret pro serenitate Cœli, et pro iter agentibus, usquequo Papa reversus fuerit in Urbem. Feci quod cc. Torciæ portarentur ante Sacramentum per Clericos seculares et sub pœnis consignarent illas Sacristæ Matricis Ecclesiæ. Feci quod soli Canonici Matricis Ecclesiæ portarent Baldachinum Sacramenti per vices, et non alii. Feci, quod Cardinalis de Medicis Diaconus esset in Porta cappatus, ut offerret Crucem Papæ osculandam. Item ante valvas Ecclesiæ

S. Reparatæ idem Cardinalis affuit cum Thuribulo, et Aspersorio, et super Altari cantavit versiculos et Orationem, et Archidiaconus incensato Pontifice inchoavit *Te Deum laudamus*, &c. Duo Baldachina fuerunt, unum album ex Damasco cum floribus aureis intertextis pro Sacramento, aliud autem aureum, id est ex panno aureo super Papam cum perticis auratis. Juvenes autem c. pedites in ornatu nobilissimo cum baculis auratis, et totidem equestres similiter exornati præter centum Cives equites, et Doctores, ac nobiles, qui omnes erant equestres in Ecclesia S. Reparatæ, sive S. Mariæ de Flore. Erat in Porta Ecclesiæ usque ad tribunam elevatus Pons, quasi duas cannas, et largus tres, sicut est in Ecclesia S. Johannis Lateranensis, quando fit Coronatio novi Pontificis, et hoc factum est propter populi multitudinem, quæ fuit innumerabilis ; arcus erant XII. pulcherrimi, et ditissimi, æqualibus distantiis elevati, et super istis erant cantilenæ diversæ, quas Papa libenter audire videbatur, et inter arcum et arcum, erant variæ structuræ similes illis, quæ videntur in Urbe Roma, videlicet Obeliscus, sicut in Vaticano, Columna sicut in Campo Martio, et hujusmodi usque ad Sanctam Mariam Novellam, ubi Papa prima nocte quievit, qui locus etiam magnifice exornatus est, et in ejus Campo erat Equus auratus magnus, sicut ante ædes Lateranenses. Ordinavi quod omnes carcerati liberarentur, sed non omnes liberati sunt, tamen multi, et quod omnes qui ex quacumque funeratione lugubres essent, luctum deponerent. Cardinales fuerunt tres Cappis rubeis, qui numero fuerunt XX. et Prælati in mantellis longis cum latis Capuccis, Papa autem fuit cum Pluviali pretioso amplo, et Thiara pretiosa, quam cum aliquandiu portasset, et gravaretur, deposuit, et illam Thiaram simplicem in via resumpsit, et sic usque ad Ecclesiam S. Reparatæ delatus ista, Perafrenariis suis subcollocantibus, etiam Juvenibus Florentinis ad hoc præparatis, et similiter aliis, qui Baldachinum vicissim ferrent, et deputavi XXX. Cives Florentinos, qui per spatia viarum custodirent, ne ordo per me deputatus Processionis alteraretur, et super his omnibus præfeci Dominum Julianum Prothonotarium de Tornabuonis qui ferulam gestaret, et faceret, sicut Gubernator Urbis Romæ, Processionem servari, prout fecit, et bene successerunt omnia. Ordo autem Processionis talis fuit, videlicet, Cursores, Equites, Sarcinæ Papæ, CC. Valisarii, et Familiæ Cardinalium, Nobiles Florentini Equites, Officiales Cancellariæ, et Cameræ Valisarii Papæ, et Scutiferi Papæ, Equifalerati XX. et Scutiferi Papæ quatuor cum Capellis, Procuratores Ordinum, et Principum, Cubicularii antiqui fuerunt in primo loco, tum illi, qui emerunt (*sic*) ultimo illi, qui venerunt, Accoliti, Clerici Cameræ, Auditores cum Magistro Palatii, Barones, Oratores, Principes. Inter Oratores fuit dissensio, quia unus Orator Hispaniæ voluit esse post primum Franciæ, cujus tunc erant tres, et sic voluit habere sub se duos Franciæ, sed illi non voluerunt, asserentes hanc disciplinam ab Oratore Hispaniæ alias datam fuisse, cum essent tres Oratores Hispaniæ, et voluerunt esse simul juncti, nec aliquo modo cedere Oratori Regis Angliæ, qui voluit esse post primum, et supra duos Hispanos ; sed quia Hispani tunc non voluerunt, propterea nunc legem, quam tulit, patiatur, sic cessit, et recessit, nec nun-

quam voluit amplius comparere; deinde Magistratus Florentinus omnes pedites, Guardia Papæ pedestres cum Capitano Equestri solo, Laurentius Medices cum quinquaginta pedestribus suis, Macerii Papæ sex tantum, alii discurrerunt. Hostiarii. Magister unus Ceremoniarum, Subdiaconi duo, Datarius supernumerarius a sinistris in habitu Subdiaconali, Clerus Cathedralis cum luminaribus ante Sacramentum, Clericus Cameræ, Capellæ cum lanterna, Corpus Christi sub Baldachino, quod Canonici portarunt, Cardinales omnes, idest Diaconi Presbiteri et duo Diaconi assistentes, Juvenes centum pedites; ego Episcopus Pisaurensis Magister Ceremoniarum, et assistentes; Papa sub Baldachino, quod Vexillifer, et Priores Domini portarunt per vices, et priores dicti semper pedites nudo capite antecesserunt, duo Cubicularii non caputiati cum Auditore Rotæ de Mitra, Medici duo cum Secretario, Thesaurarius, Dispensator pecuniarum in Populo, Macerius unus cum Umbella, assistentes Prælati, et alii Prælati, et Togati, et ultimo Milites Equestres, Guardia Papæ; et iste fuit ordo procedendi a Porta ad Ecclesiam S. Reparatæ, in qua via fuerunt per me ordinati cives, qui per spatia, ut dixi, custodirent, ne qua fieret pressura, aut scandalum, aut mora, ut solet quandoque a Juvenibus Mulierum inspectoribus. Pontifex primo accepit Regnum in capite, quod cum gravaretur in media via illo deposito, accepit leve Regnum, et delectabatur cum in quolibet arcu triumphali cantaretur aliquid in suam laudem, et firmabat gressum, ut omnia audiret, et intelligeret. In Ecclesia S. Reparatæ fuit suggestus altus ligneus, ut dixi; a porta usque ad Altare elevatus fuit, sicut in S. Johanne Lateranensi in die Coronationis, super quem suggestum soli nos Papam facientes ascendimus. Populus autem remansit inferius hinc inde per Ecclesiam; ibi Papa diutius solito oravit, et tandem Cardinale de Medicis Diaconos, qui erat Archiepiscopus Florentinus in Cappa sua rubea cantante versiculos, et orationem, Papa benedixit cum indulgentia plenaria, et ibi exuit Pluviale, et accepit Stolam super rochetum, et delatus est in Monasterium S. M. Novellæ, ubi non est Ecclesiam ingressus, sed recta in ædes ingressus est, populo indesinenter in vitam et laudem Pontificis, et Domus suæ exclamante, et in nocte bombardis sine fine crepitantibus, quia ego in die sic ordinavi propter equos nostros, et multitudinem mularum timidarum, ne propter siliceas stratas in viis aliqui caderent.

No. XLVII. P. 43.

Exempl. in Biblioth. Vatican.

Oratio habita Bononiæ coram Leone X. Pont. Max. in frequenti Cardinalium Concilio, ipso Rege Christianissimo presente, a Clarissimo et Illustri viro Antonio Prato magno Galliæ Cancellario. Tertio Idus Decembris MDXV.

Si quisquam hominum B. P. justa aliquando de causa injunctum sibi dicendi munus respuerit, aut in alium quemvis hominem aptiorem

magisque exercitatum rejecerit, nemo certe inficiabitur æquissimo jure uni mihi idem licuisse, si modo hinc curarum negociorumque molem, qua in dies magis et magis obruor, illinc virium tenuitatem, reique pondus diligenter examinet. Nam quis quæso tantam dicendi vim, fiduciam, facultatemque præsumpserit, qui ubi Majestatis tuæ B. Pater radios fulgoresque senserit, Reverendissimosque istos Patres firmissimas Christianæ Reipublicæ columnas cardinesque inspexerit, non ei statim præ metu singultantia interruptaque verba excidant? lingua timore balbutiat? genua formidine titubent? cor palpitet? capilli rigeant? vultus palleat? pluribusque locis hiulcam et nimis fatiscentem orationem abrumpat? Nedum ego, cui ne horam quidem a forensibus negociis, aulicisque tumultibus et curis respirare licet citra nominis et famæ periculum in tam celebri Patrum, eruditorumque virorum consessu atque ordine, et in tam eminenti totius Reipublicæ Christianæ theatro hoc dicendi munus tractavero, nisi obvias nobis ulnas, mitemque et facilem vultum B. P. ostenderis, frontem exporrigeris, ablegataque procul omni severitate, facilitatis comitatisque radio nos aspexeris, inprimisque benignam tuam illam auram, et humanitatis zephyrem nobis arridens, lætusque spiraveris, qui non tuæ tamen S. paternitati, sed toti etiam genti et familiæ Medicum (ut pleræque aliæ virtutes) peculiaris semper fuit. Nam præter hoc, quod familia tua propria quodam et gentilicio jure virtutes omnes, bonasque disciplinas indefesso semper studio amplexata sit, quod rem ipsam literariam non minus quam omnes literatos juverit, quod privatorum omnium et amicorum causas ex fide semper et jure tutata sit, quod eos a vi et injuria defenderit; maximis etiam in Remp. Florentinam meritis principem locum fere semper in ea civitate meruit, summos semper honores, maximosque magistratus adepta est, in quibus administrandis tam et pie semper, tanquam et modeste, et prudenter se gessit, ut quamdiu sub ductu, auspiciisque Medicæ domus Florentina res fuit, semper floruit; in diesque uberiora sui et ampliora incrementa senserit, jamque et nunc et in posterum in eam civitatem ex ista vestra felici domo majora in dies augmenta proventura sperantur: quæ fortissimus Leo de tribu Medicum ad Pontificatum divinitus assumptus es; qui naviculam Petri variis bellorum fluctibus procellisque diu multumque agitatam; laceram fere et magno fortunæ ventorumque ludibrio expositam, e naufragio (cui temporum malignitate pene proxima fuerat) per syrtes et scopulos primum eximeres; deinde in tutissimum portum tanquam peritissimus nauclerus, reduceres. Et tali certe Leone Christiana Resp. tum egebat, qui pro tempore rerumque varietate et conditione, varias quoque ipse personas indueret, ut si forte a mari tempestas orta nuncietur, quæ Petri cymbam in brevia vel scopulos vi ventorum impellat, tum Leo nauclerus factus et una manu clavum, altera remum tenens, a tempestate et periculo eam liberam tutamque asserat; si vero a terra metus et discrimen ingruerint, utpote lupis, ferisque bestiis Dominicum gregem infestantibus, tum Leo Leonis persona retenta, lupos dentibus unguibusque laniet, et rugitu territos procul ab ovibus arceat; quod si fæda scabie aut tabe (quod abominor) gregem infici, aut alio quovis genere mali vexari contigeret, tum Leo

pastoris personam induat, qui dispersas primum, palantesque oviculas sedulo colligat; collectas aspiciat; quo morbidas et mala viciorum contagione pollutas curet, curatas lætissimis herbis et salutari pabulo reficiat; refectas plenasque in septa reducat, ut tandem ex Dei optimi Maximi, ejusque pastoris vigilantissimi voto fiat unum ovile et unus pastor. Id quod tam abunde B. P. hi tui sanctissimi mores, hoc tuum divinum ingenium, hæ virtutes, hæ disciplinæ, hæc denique pietatis et religionis plenissima instituta, felici nostro seculo præstiterant, ut his motus Invictissimus Princeps noster Franciscus nihil unquam posthac aut charius, aut antiquius duxerit, quam per legatos, oratores, nuncios, privatasque et familiares epistolas qualem in te B. P. observantiam, pietatemque semper habuerit, modis omnibus significaret et ostenderet. Qua quidem in re præcessorum Regum et majorum vestigia secutum nemo non videt, qui ubi primum divino cœlitusque misso chrysmate delibuti fuerant, nihil antiquius justiusque duxere, quam Pontifici maximo, et Apostolicæ sedi aliqua in re gratificari, et nomen ejus autoritatemque ampliorem augustioremque facere, quantoque pietatem illi suam pluribus nominibus testatam reliquissent, tanto sibi totique regno melius feliciusque consuluisse crederent; adeo certe Galliarum Principes et Reges in hanc Sanctissimam Sedem prompti semper affecti benevolique fuere, ut nisi multis in eam obsequiis beneficiisque collatis regnandi initia fecissent, non se satis antiqua et vetere Christianissimi appellatione dignos esse putarent, quorum si exempla et uberrima et amplissima repetere incipiam, et tibi B. P. non mediocre tedium, et mihi ipsi quoq. non parum impedimentum afferam. Ideo ne diutius tuam istam Beatitudinem teneam, et in recensendis Francorum Regum in Apostolicam sedem meritis diem totum absumam, hoc unum tantum profiteri audeam, nullos unquam Imperatores, nullos Reges, nullos denique Christianos Principes tantum pro Catholica Fide asserenda, pro Christi nomine defendendo, pro Apostolica sede aut in dignitate retinenda, aut in antiquum venerationis majestatisque statum restituenda laborasse, quantum olim Franci Reges pro ingenita sua in Romanam sedem et summos pontifices observantia et devotione fecerunt. Quibus et peculiare et pene semper hereditarium fuerit se se acerrimos et assiduos Apostolicæ sedis defensores et indefessos propugnatores prestare, adeo ut Illustria Francorum Regum pro summis Pontificibus edita facinora, celebres victorias et parta totiens ex hostibus trophæa non solum Gallia, sed universus orbis et admiretur et prædicet. Non velim B. P. vosque Reverendiss. viri putetis Principes Gallos eo jam vecordiæ, eo negligentiæ et oblivionis decidisse, ut spretis majorum suorum vestigiis ab hac Sacrosancta et Apostolica sede animum mentemque abalienaverint, aut devotionis fideique vela verterint; quin potius eos in fide et reverentia a majoribus accepta perstare semper existimetis, eoque animo, ea mente, eaque in hanc Sanctissimam Sedem observantia in qua semel nati sint morituros, talesque esse de quibus vel in difficilibus arduisque rebus vestris omnia spondere, pollicerique positis, idque nunc maxime dum apud eos rerum potitur Franciscus hic Rex Christianissimus, et huic sacrosanctæ Apostolicæ Sedi devotissimus, cujus fidem observantiamque vel hoc

solo argumento facile colligere licet, quod licet non pauca postquam ardua alpium juga cum exercitu superavit a multis ei palam passimque dicerentur, quæ animum ejus vel quantumvis mitem facilemque offendere, et a Sanctissima Majestate tua alienum facere potuissent, tamen cum abest ne quid inde mutaverit, ut in fide etiam ac devotione constantior factus malevolos ipsos, clandestinosque et pestilentes susurratores procul a se rejecerit, atque ut illam singularem observantiam et devotionem quam ergo tuam istam Beatitudinem Christianissimus Rex semper inviolatam, intemeratamque continet Sanctissimæ tuæ Majestati coram et presens exhiberet, nulla sumptuum mole, nulla viarum difficultate, nulla periculorum magnitudine territus, per rupes et saxa, per valles et præcipitia, nemora, saltus, flumina, per æstus et ignes, perque infensissimas et confertissimas Helvetiorum Phalanges ad te B. P. advenit, ut quam cæteri Reges et Christiani principes alieno ore et per procuratores filialem obedientiam exhibere soliti sunt, eam ipsam Leoni, Franciscus, Patri, Primogenitus filius, summo Pontifici, Rex maximus; Reip. Christianæ moderatori et principi, Christianissimus Princeps coram et citra alterius operam catus supplexque exhibeat, atque ut eam provinciam quam primum expleat re in primis verissimum Christi Dei Optimi Maximi in terris Vicarium Sacrosanctum et majestatis plenum Christianissimus Rex agnoscit. Invictissimum Populi Christiani ducem profitetur. Vigilantissimum Dominici gregis pastorem prædicat. Intrepidum fluctuantis naviculæ Petri rectorem observat. Indulgentissimum totius humani patrem reveretur. Divinum hominem obviis manibus, apertis brachiis, et devotissimo animo, veneratur. Tibique et simul Apostolicæ Sedi devovet ac dedicat quicquid opibus, facultatibusque potest, quicquid viribus pollet, Fortunas omnes, copias, classes, exercitus, universum Regnum, Ducatus, ac semetipsum promptissimo animo, et constantissima fide offert, et ante Sanctitatis tuæ deosculatos pedes deponit. His ergo omnibus tuo jure utere; pro tuo arbitrio dispone. Utere inquam B. P. in quancumque catholicam expeditionem firmissimo Christianissimi Regis exercitu; utere Gallicis victricibus copiis, utere Francorum signis, et simul excipe, fortissime Leo, fortissimum Franciscum; Indulgentissime Pater, obsequentissimum filium; qui tuus e religione, tuus jure, tuus more majorum, tuus consuetudine, tuus fide, tuus voluntate, et quem non minus re et opere, quam verbis et oratione promptum semper paratum expeditumque invenies, nec minus brachio quam lingua pugnacem omni ævo experieris. Excipe etiam B. P. Gallos omnes devotissimos filios tuos; qui ea mente animas et corpora Sanctitati Tuæ commendant, quo te animo hoc est promptissimo et lætissimo, in pastorem accipiunt; quicquid habent aut virium aut facultatis ante scabellum pedum tuorum promptissime deponunt. Dixi.

No. XLVIII. p. 51.

Di Giuliano de' Medici.

SONETTO.

In morte di Serafino d'Aquila.

PERCHE hai Serafin, Morte, offeso tanto ?
" Che al Cielo e me fur sue virtù moleste."
A te perchè ? " Che un dì potea con queste
" Farsi immortale, e tormi il regno e' l vanto."
Al ciel perchè ? " Rubò del regno santo
" E portò in terra il harmonia celeste."
Perchè il feristi con subita peste ?
" Che non potesse svolgermi col canto."
Dunque è ribel di Dio? " Non ; perchè ha ora
" Li Dei placati, e tanto piace e vale,
Che chi quaggiù l'odìo, là su l'honora."
Tu hor che fai ? " L'error piango e 'l mio male.
" Non ho possuto far ch' in terra mora,
" E in ciel, no 'l credendo io, fatto è immortale."

No. XLIX. p. 72.

Rymer. Fœdera, tom. vi. par. i. p. 135.

Papa ad Regem, pro Subsidio contra Hostes Ecclesiæ.

CHARISSIME in Christo Fili noster, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Non veremur ne *Majestas* tua nostram, quam de ea capimus fiduciam, in optimam partem non accipiat ejusdem Fidei et maximi amoris quo illam semper prosecuti sumus :

Et quia existimamus pristinum illum suum animum Sedi Apostolicæ durissimis in rebus subveniendi perstare in eadem voluntate, auctamque potius ejus animi magnitudinem fructu tantæ gloriæ quantam ex similibus actionibus alias consecuta est quam diminutam esse ;

Nos quidem certe, quamquam maximis nostris et ejusdem Sanctæ Sedis angustiis difficultatibusque pressi ad hunc diem usque, nihil Tibi oneris imponere, nullam *Majestati tuæ* inferre molestiam sustinuimus, non de tua voluntate, pietate erga nos et eandem Sedem benevolentia dubitantes, sed quod in Te certissimum rerum nostrarum perfugium usque ad extremam necessitatem voluimus esse illibatum atque intactum

Nunc vero cuperemus te cernere oculis, quibus rapinis et depopulationibus, quanto furore et scelere perditorum et nefariorum Hominum Status Ecclesiasticus hujusque simul Sanctæ Sedis Dignitas vexetur, laceretur, diripiatur, cum nihil Latronum avaritiæ libidini crudelitati obstet; non pudor a stupris nefariis, non Religio a Sacris et Locis et Rebus violandis, non misericordia a cædibus Eos coherceat, quæ Nos ut reprimeremus exhausimus jam omnia fere et hujus Sanctæ Sedis et eorum qui communem Rem Ecclesiasticam ita afflictam dolent subsidia, ne quid de nostra Dignitate decederemus, ne sceleratis Hostibus facilem cursum suæ improbitatis faceremus.

Sed cum, si volumus salvam Ecclesiasticam esse Rempublicam majore conatu et viribus nobis opus sit, unique, inter Reges Christianos Principes, *tuæ Majestati* præcipue confidamus, petimus a te et hortamur *Majestatem tuam* in Domino, summoque affectu requirimus, ut, quod alias consuevisti, tuique præstantissimi Animi est proprium, subvenire in tantis angustiis, difficultatibus, indignitatibus, huic Sanctæ Apostolicæ Sedi communi Matri Fidelium cunctorum tua cura, prudentia, opibus, facultatibusque quamprimum velis.

Quem autem in modum et qua potissimum ratione videatur expedire et *tua Majestas* pro sua prudentia cogitabit, et Dilectus Filius *Nicolaus Scomber* Ordinis Prædicatorum noster Familiaris, istuc hac præcipue de causa missus, cum eadem communicabit; cui eam nostro Nomine alloquenti *Majestas tua* fidem summam adhibendo ita secum reputabit, neque hoc majus erga Nos beneficium ab ea proficisci posse neque ipsius laudi et nomini magis honorificum fore quicquam, quam si ad suam peculiarem Virtutem et Gloriam se converterit, præstare Sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam ab Insidiis et Latrociniis Impiorum Salvam atque Tutam.

Dat. *Romæ* apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die vicesimo Junii millesimo quingentesimo decimo septimo, Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

JA. SADOLETUS.

Carissimo in Christo Filio nostro Henrico Regi Angliæ.

No. L. p. 75.

Leoni, Vita di Fr. Maria Duca d'Urbino.

COMMISSIONE à voi Capitano Suares, et Oratio Florido di quanto in nome mio harrete à procedere, e far intendere all' Illustrissimo Signor Lorenzo de' Medici.

E prima. Essendo che non poca laude si conceda à ciascuno Prencipe, che per qual causa si vogli farci Guerra, quando si sforza che con meno sangue, e danno del Paese, che possibile sia, si ponga fine alla sua intentione; e tanto più quello, che pure si persuade doverne

restare patrone. Nel qual concetto persuadendomi, che 'l prefato Signor Lorenzo sia, ingannato forse più presto dalla fama, che dalla conscienza; ho pensato cosa all' uno, et all' altro di noi convenientissima. Perche se tanto lui desidera questo Stato, come la passata e presente Guerra mi dimostra, gli sia carissimo trovare modo, che con prestezza. senza più grave peso di questi popoli, mostrando il valor suo, e delle sue genti à satisfarsi. E però per tal rispetto a voi Capitano Suares, et Oratio, commetto, che espeditamente lo dobbiate chiamare à combattere in luogo qual voglia à IIII. mila per IIII. mila; o III. mila; o II. mila; o mille; o cinquecento; o cento; o venti, o quattro, et il minore numero che gli piaccia, purchè ciascuno di noi ci intravenghi, e che siamo a piede con arme da Fanti e piede, come vanno alla Guerra. Et in ultimo se vuole ambedui noi soli con arme, che con prestezza trovar si possa, più mi fia caro; e dove, o per la prigione, o per la morte di uno di noi il vincitore con più satisfattione d'animo darà fine al suo disìo, et al languire di molti.

Giudico dunque che per il valore di sua Signoria, e di molti che gli sono appresso, che fanno la medesima professione di honore, queste ragionevoli offerte gli saranno carissime; però al vostro ritorno mi riportarete à qual più esso si risolva, acciò possa dal canto mio espeditamente provedermi. Mando il termine di tre giorni per la risoluta disposta aggiongendo ancora al combattere del numero grosso piacendogli fare combattere CCC. Cavalli Leggieri con altritanti delli suoi pure alla leggiera accappati dalle Campagnie, cioè che ogni Capitano ne elegga tanto numero della compagnia propria e non d'altrove, ch' arriva alla somma delli CCC. con Lancia, Spada, Pugnale, e Mazza. E quando le sopradette conditioni non gli piacessero (il che non credo) vi ricordarete offerire, combattendo con detti CCC. Cavalli, e con tutte le nostre Fanterie, et altritanti delli suoi Fanti, di vantaggio gli darò cinquecento, e mille Fanti più, armati però tutti secondo il costume della Guerra trà Fanti à piedi. Et il presente memoriale in mano di Sua Signoria lasciate.

No. LI. p. 76.

Ex Orig. in Archiv. Reipub. Florent.

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, et domino D. Julio Diaconi Cardinali de Medicis S. Romane Ecclesiæ Vice Cancellario observandissimo.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater, et Domine D. plurimum observandissime. Lo exhibitore presente sarà el nostro M. Jacopo Silvestri, quale farà intendere a V. S. R. el desiderio mio, et quanto mi occorra, che in summa è, che quella se degni consentire, che l'nostro Prete Francesco da Civitella habbia un certo beneficiolo posto in fra le nostre possessioni sopra L'Olmo a Capello, come particularmente dal prefato

M. Jacopo essa intenderà. Il perchè prego V. S. R. gli piaccia non solamente prestarci in ciò el suo consenso, ma ancora pigliarne per amor mio cura particulare, perchè in vero la fede, et servitù sua verso di me ricerca molto più, et se bene el beneficio predecto è di pocho momento, lo estimo nondimeno quanto fussi de valuta per ogni rispecto, et però quanto più efficacemente io posso, la supplico me ne facci gratia, ascrivendolo al cumulo degl' altri obblighi, ho cum quella infinitamente.

Per commissione del nostro Illustrissimo Signore Duca, in questo momento mi parto alla volta di Cortona per conferire cum la nostra compagnia, dove sua Excellentia mi ha ordinato, che a Dio piaccia per tutto darci victoria, quale col suo benigno ajuto s'haverà indubitatamente, se ciascuno farà el debito suo. Prego V. S. R. se degni di core ricomendarmi alla Santità di Nostre Signore e alla Excellentia Madonna Alfonsina, et a V. R. S. quanto più posso humilmente mi raccommando, quam Deus, &c.

Florentiæ XI. Junii MDXVII.

E. V. R. Servitor et filius,

JOANNES JO. MEDICIS.

No. LII. P. 82.

Rymer. Fœdera, tom. vi. par. 1. p. 134.

CARISSIME in Christo Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Cum comperiissemus Dilectos Filios nostros, *Bendinellum tituli Sanctæ Mariæ trans Tiberim Presbiterum, et Alfonsum Sancti Theodori Diaconum, Cardinales* in vitam nostram conspirasse, deque nobis dolo malo occidendis tractavisse, hodie detinere eos jussimus, detentosque in Arce nostra Sancti Angeli asservari, dum autentici processus super eo scelere juste ac legitime formari conficique possent;

Id volumus *Majestati tuæ* notum his nostris Literis facere; ut sciat qua de causa ad Detentionem istam devenerimus: cui etiam processus ipsos transmitti curabimus, cum primum erunt confecti; quemadmodum cum Venerabili Fratre *Episcopo Wigorniensi*, Oratore apud nos tuo, loquuti sumus.

Datum *Romæ* apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die decimo nono Maii, millesimo quingentesimo decimo septimo, Pontificatus nostri Anno quinto.

BEMBUS.

Carissimo in Christo Filio nostro Henrico Angliæ Regi Illustri.

No. LIII. p. 86.

Rymer. Fœdera, tom. vi. par. 1. p. 141.

Cardinalis de Medicis Litera super Privatione Hadriani.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater et Domine mi Colendissime humilimas Commendationes.

Quanti semper, præ cæteris, fecerit Serenissimam *Anglorum Regis* Majestatem *Sanctissimus Dominus noster*, quamque cupiat ut mutua inter Se benevolentia et is amor, quo *prædictus Rex* universam Familiam nostram semper est prosequutus, non conservetur modo, verum etiam indies augeatur, multis et illis non obscuris argumentis hactenus cognoscere licuit, quorum *Reverendissima Dominatio vestra* bona in parte conscia egregiam *Majestati suæ* Fidem facere poterit.

Quoniam vero in amovendo ex Collegio nostro *Domino Hadriano olim Cardinali* aliquanto serius quam fortasse *sua Majestas* voluisset Res peracta fuit, si quis forte minus recte sentiens interpretetur noluisse *Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum*, *Serenissimo Regi* Morem gerere, Is tota prorsus veri aberrat via, neque vero unquam *Sanctissimus Dominus noster* alterius mentis fuit, sed magni momenti negotium non erat nisi mature et ut Juris forma postulat conducendum est.

Igitur hodierno Consistorio *Dominus Hadrianus nuper Cardinalis* a Sacratissimorum Patrum gremio sevulsus, et ob sua tam mala merita jure Exauctoratus, in quem quia non nisi legitime Processum fuit, idcirco nullus quamlibet malignus æstimator poterit objicere *Hadrianum* aut *Sanctissimi Domini nostri*, suapte natura clementissimi, odio aut *Serenissimi Regis vestri* extimulatione, sed propriis suis meritis pœnas dedisse.

Ipsius vero Ecclesiæ Provisio differetur, donec *Majestas sua* id quod *Reverendissima Dominatio vestra* optime novit *Sanctissimo Domino nostro* significaverit.

Hæc fuit, *Reverendissime Domine*, hujus tam necessariæ quam prudentis cunctationis causa ; quam, etsi puto Reverendum Patrem Dominum *Episcopum Wigorniensem*, qui majoreve cum prudentia an gratia et dexteritate pro *Serenissimo Rege* in Urbe Oratorem agit, plenius significaturum, Oratam tamen velim *Reverendissimam Dominationem vestram*, dignetur etiam ipsa *Sanctissimi Domini nostri* et meo Nomine *Serenissimo Regi*, apud quem plurimum et Gratia et Auctoritate pollet, declarare ; Et insuper nihil esse in quo *Sanctissimus Dominus* Ipsi satisfacere non sit paratus ; Domum vero nostram esse ita *Majestati suæ* addictam, ut non minus de Nobis quam de suis Subditis disponere possit.

Benevaleat *Dominatio vestra Reverendissima*, cui Me humilime commendo et offero.

Romæ in Palatio Apostolico, quinto Julii, Millesimo quingentesimo decimo octavo.

Reverendissimæ Dominationis vestra

Humilimus Servitor,

Ju. Vicecancel.

No. LIV. p. 89.

Rymer. Fœdera, tom. vi. par. 1. p. 134.

Pro Cardinali Sancti Georgii, de intercedendo.

Sacra Regia Majestas, post humillimas Commendationes.

Pridie, pro ea fide, observantia, et devotione, qua Sublimitatem vestram semper prosecuti sumus, proque ea Pietate atque animi magnitudine qua eandem excellere ac pollere non ignoramus, scripsimus *Celsitudini vestræ* Patruum nostrum Reverendissimum Dominum *Cardinalem Sancti Georgii*, Sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ ac Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Camerarium, fuisse Detentum in Palatio a sua Beatitudine, neque causam ullam tantæ rei explicare potuimus, cum eodem momento quo detentus fuit, scribere coacti fuerimus.

Nunc autem ne, quod postea successerit, præteriisse videamur, causam esse intelligimus quod quædam verba, quæ coram ipso *Cardinalis Senensis*, uti juvenis nec in loquendo satis pensi habens, adversus Pontificem protulerat, non illico Sanctitati suæ, uti debeat, renuntianda curaverit.

Quod certe, quando ita sit, non possumus nisi erratum et peccatum esse, et dicere et fateri ; unum tamen nobis persuademus et pro indubitato affirmare et asserere posse non dubitamus, Ipsum non ex malitia et Animi voluntate, sed ex inconsideratione et quadam potius negligentia peccasse ac prolapsum esse.

Quid nempe minus verisimile est, quidve minus credi debet ? quam quod Cardinalis jam Senex, et opibus gratia et auctoritate non infimus, neque etiam humanarum rerum expers et imperitus, eum Pontificem lædere ac provocare voluerit, qui secum in Cardinalatu conjunctissime et amantissime vixerat, et in Pontificatu tanta secum lenitate, benignitate et liberalitate usus fuerat, ut nihil ab eo desideraverit quod non prius impetrasse quam petiisse videri potuerit ; quid inquam minus credibile, quam quod hunc Pontificem, tam de se tamve de universo Christiano orbe Benemeritum lædere voluerit ?

Is Cardinalis, qui olim junior et multis quoque incommodis affectus, Alexandri Tempora et Julii Secundi difficultatem ac morositatem patientissime innocentissime et summa cum animi æquitate transegit ?

Quoquo modo res se habeat, eum neque excusamus neque etiam condemnamus ; sed cum nihil sit quod imprimis de divina pietate et gratia deinde de clementia et mansuetudine *Sanctissimi Domini nostri* sperare posse non videamus, rogamus Serenitatem vestram ut etiam ipsam, pro Regia bonitate, proque invicta animi magnitudine, præfatum Patruum nostrum apud *Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum* commendatum habere dignetur.

Nam, ut omittamus quam proprium et peculiare sit bonorum Regum magnorumque Principum esse pietatem clementiamque exercere, utque etiam taceamus quanta Beneficiorum magnitudine Reverendissimum præfatum *Dominum Cardinalem* et nos ipsos *Majestas vestra* sit

devinctura, licet minimos et inutiles Servos, non tamen præteribimus commemorare Sublimitatem vestram et apud Homines perpetuam laudem, et apud Omnipotentem Deum gratiam magni meriti, ex conservatione et incolumitate hujus Hominis, per errorem magis quam per voluntatem lapsi, sibi vendicaturam esse.

Quod tanto speramus facilius futurum esse, quanto res est in manibus illius Pontificis, cujus bonitatis, clementiæ, misericordiæ et mansuetudinis neminem hactenus expertum esse aut vidimus aut audivimus; Quæ fælicissima sit, et cui iterum et humillime nos commendamus.

Romæ, quinto Junii Millesimo quingentesimo decimo septimo.

Serenitatis vestræ
Humillimi Servitores,
Cæs. Archiepiscopus Pisanus Patriarcha Alex.
Octavianus Episcopus Viterbiensis.
Galeacius Vicecomes de Reario.
Franciscus Sfortia Vicecomes de Reario.

No. LV. p. 104.

Rime Sacre di Lorenzo de' Medici, p. 48. *Ed. Fir.* 1680.

ORAZIONE.

Magno Dio, per la cui constante legge,
E sotto el cui perpetuo governo,
Questo Universo si conserva, e regge,
Del tutto Creator, che dallo eterno
Punto comandi corra el tempo labile,
Come rota farìa sù fisso perno.
Quieto sempre, e giammai non mutabile,
Fai e muti ogni cosa, e tutto muove
Da te fermo Motore infatigabile.
Ne fuor di te alcuna causa truove,
Che rimuova a formar questa materia,
Avida sempre d'aver forme nuove.
Non indigenzia, sol di bontà vera
La forma forma questa fluente opra,
Bontà, che sanza invidia o malizia era.
Questa bontà sol per amor s'adopra
In far le cose a guisa di modello,
Simile allo edificio ch' è di sopra.
Bellissimo Architetto el Mondo bello,
Fingendo prima nella eterna mente
Fatt' ai questo all' imagine di quello.
Ciascuna parte perfetta esistente
Nel grado suo, alto Signor, comandi,
Che assolva el tutto ancor perfettamente.

Tu gli elementi a' propri luoghi mandi,
Legandoli con tal proporzione,
Che l'un dall' altro non disgiungi, o spandi.
Tra' l foco e'l ghiaccio fai cognazione,
Così temperi insieme il molle e 'l duro,
Da te fatti contrari anno unione.
Così non fugge più leggiero e puro
El foco in alto, nè giù el peso affonda
La terra in basso sotto 'l centro oscuro.
Per la tua providenzia fai, s' infonda
L'anima in mezzo del gran corpo, donde
Conviene in tutti e membri si diffonda.
Ciò che si muove, non si muove altronde
In sì bello animale ; e tre nature
Quest' anima gentile in sè nasconde.
Le due più degne più gentili e pure,
Da sè movendo, due gran cerchi fanno,
In se medesme ritornando pure ;
E 'ntorno alla profonda mente vanno.
L'altra và dritta mossa dall' amore
Di far gli effetti, che da lei vita anno.
E come muove se questo Motore
Movendo el Cielo, il suo moto simiglia,
Come le membra in mezzo al petto el core.
Da tè primo Fatto la vita piglia
Ogn' animale ancor di minor vita,
Benchè più vil ; questa è pur tua famiglia.
A questi dà la tua bontà infinita
Curri leggier di puro fuoco adorni,
Quando la Terra e'l Ciel gli chiama in vita.
E dipoi adempiuti e mortal giorni,
La tua benigna legge allor concede,
Che il curro ciascun monti, et a tè torni.
Concedi, o Padre, l'alta e sacra sede
Monti la mente, e vegga el vivo fonte,
Fonte ver bene, onde ogni ben procede.
Mostra la luce vera alla mia fronte,
E poichè conosciuto e 'l tuo bel Sole,
Dell' Alma ferma in lui le luci pronte.
Fuga le nebbie, e la terrestre mole
Leva da mè, e splendi in la tua luce ;
Tu se' quel sommo ben, che ciascun vuole.
A tè dolce riposo si conduce,
E tè come suo fin, vede ogni pio ;
Tu se' principio, portatore, e duce,
La vita, e 'l termin, Tu sol Magno Dio.

HYMN

Of Lorenzo de' Medici.

GREAT God, by whose determined laws
All nature moves ! unceasing cause,
Whose power the universe controls !
Who from the central point decreed
That time his rapid flight should speed,
As round th' eternal circle rolls !

At rest Thyself, yet active still,
Thou mak'st and changest at Thy will ;
Unmoved alone, Thou movest all ;
Whilst matter, eager to assume
New forms, from Thee awaits its doom,
And hastens at Thy powerful call.

Firm on the ductile mass imprest
Whate'er Thy wisdom deems the best
Thou fashion'st with unbounded love ;
Whilst all the wondering eye surveys
Unfolds to reason's clearer gaze
The nobler Archetype above.

Revolved in Thy eternal mind,
Whate'er Thy providence design'd
Its *primal* fashion there assumed ;
Till all in just dependence shewn,
All future change to Thee foreknown,
The whole in full perfection bloom'd.

Then first Thy mightier chain was bound
The struggling elements around,
Till each assumed its destined stand :
Thy power their contraries controll'd,
And moist and dry, and heat and cold,
Were harmonized at Thy command.

Nor scales the fire th' empyreal height,
Nor sinks the earth's incumbent weight
Beneath the central darkness deep ;
But temper'd in proportions true,
Each binding each in order due
They learn their destin'd bounds to keep.

Diffused through all the mighty whole,
Thy goodness pours the living soul
That actuates each remoter part :
Thy energy with ceaseless force
Impels the still returning course,
As 'midst the limbs the heaving heart.

From Thee, great Author, all that lives
Its stated boon of life receives,
Ere long again restored to Thee ;
Each insect too minute to name,
Yet owns a portion of thy flame,
Part of Thy numerous family.

Resplendent cars of fiery glow
From realms of light to earth below
Thy animated offspring bear ;
And when this mortal trial ends,
Again the glorious car attends
To wing them to their native sphere.

Grant then, my God, that raised sublime,
My soul the arduous heights may climb,
And gaze upon the fount of light ;
Nor ever from the place where shines
That cloudless sun which ne'er declines,
Remove again its raptured sight.

Purge thou, my God, my visual ray ;
Banish these earthly mists away,
Great centre towards which all things tend !
In Thee alone, Eternal Mind !
The good their final refuge find,
Of all, Creator, Guide, and End.

No. LVI. p. 109.

Lutheri Opera, tom. i. p. 1.

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, Illustrissimo Domino, Domino Alberto, Magdeburg. ac Moguntinen. Ecclesiarum Archiepiscopo Primati, Marchioni Brandeburg. &c. Domino suo et Pastori in Christo, Venerabiliter metuendo ac gratiosissimo.

Gratiam Dei, et quicquid potest et est.

Parce mihi, Reverendissime in Christo Pater, Princeps illustrissime, quod ego, fex hominum, tantum habeo temeritatis, ut ad culmen tuæ sublimitatis ausus fuerim cogitare Epistolam ; testis est mihi Dominus Jesus, quod meæ parvitatis et turpitudinis mihi conscius, diu jam distuli, quod nunc perfricta fronte perficio, permotus quam maxime officio fidelitatis meæ, quam T. Reverendissimæ Pat. in Christo debere me agnosco ; dignetur itaque tua interim Celsitudo oculum ad pulverem unum intendere, et votum meum pro tua pontificali clementia intelligere.

Circumferuntur Indulgentiæ papales, sub tuo præclarissimo titulo, ad fabricam S. Petri, in quibus non adeo accuso Prædicatorum excla-

mationes, quas non audivi, sed doleo falsissimas intelligentias populi ex illis conceptas, quas vulgo undique jactant, videlicet, quod credunt infœlices animæ, si literas Indulgentiarum redemerint, se securas esse de salute sua. Item, quod Animæ de Purgatorio statim evolent ubi contributionem in cistam conjecerint. Deinde, tantas esse has gratias, ut nullum sit adeo magnum peccatum, etiam (ut aiunt) si per impossible quis Matrem Dei violasset, quin possit solvi. Item, quod homo per istas indulgentias liber sit ab omni pœna et culpa.

O Deus optime! sic erudiuntur Animæ, tuis curis, optime Pater, commissæ, ad mortem, et fit atque crescit durissima ratio tibi reddenda super omnibus istis. Id circo tacere hæc amplius non potui, non enim fit homo per ullum munus Episcopi securus de salute, cum nec per gratiam Dei infusam fiat securus, sed semper in timore et tremore jubet nos operari salutem nostram Apostolus. Et justus, inquit Petrus, vix salvabitur. Denique tam arcta est via, quæ ducit ad vitam, ut Dominus per Prophetas Amos et Zachariam, salvandos appellet torres raptos de incendio, et ubique Dominus difficultatem salutis denunciat.

Cur ergo per illas falsas veniarum fabulas et promissiones, prædicatores earum faciunt populum securum et sine timore? cum Indulgentiæ prorsus nihil boni conferant Animabus ad salutem aut sanctitatem, sed tantummodo pœnam externam, olim canonice imponi solitam, auferant.

Denique, opera pietatis et charitatis sunt in infinitum meliora indulgentiis, et tamen hæc non tanta pompa nec tanto studio prædicant, imo propter Venias prædicandas illa tacent, cum tamen omnium Episcoporum hoc sit officium primum et solum, ut populus Evangelium discat, et charitatem Christi, nusquam enim præcipit Christus Indulgentias prædicari. Quantus ergo horror est, quantum periculum, Episcopi, si tacito Evangelio, non nisi strepitus indulgentiarum permittat in populum suum spargi, et has plus curet quam Evangelium? nonne dicet illis Christus, Colantes culicem, et glutientes camelum.

Accedit ad hoc, Reverendissime Pater in Domino, quod in Instructione illa commissariorum, sub T. Reverendissimæ P. nomine edita, dicitur (utique sine T. P. Reverendissimæ et scientia et consensu) unam principalium gratiarum esse donum illud Dei inæstimabile, quo reconciletur homo Deo, et omnes pœnæ deleantur Purgatorii. Item, quod non sit necessaria contritio his, qui Animas vel Confessionalia redimunt.

Sed quid faciam, optime Præsul et illustrissime Princeps, nisi quod per Dominum Jesum Christum T. Reverendissimam P. orem, quatenus oculum paternæ curæ dignetur admittere, et eundem Libellum penitus tollere, et prædicatoribus veniarum imponere aliam prædicandi formam, ne forte aliquis tandem exurgat, qui editis Libellis, et illos, et Libellum illum confutet, ac vituperium summum Illustrissimæ Tuæ Sublimitatis, quod ego vehementer quidem fieri abhorreo, et tamen futurum timeo, nisi cito succurratur.

Hæc meæ parvitatis fidelia officia, rogo, tua illustrissima gratia dignetur accipere, animo principali, et episcopali, id est, clementissimo,

sicut ego ea exhibeo corde fidelissimo, et T. P. Reverendissimæ deditissimo, quando et ego pars ovilis tui sum. Dominus Jesus custodiat T. Reverendissiman P. in æternum, Amen.

Ex Wittemberga, in Vigilia omnium Sanctorum,
Anno MDXVII.

Si T. Reverendissimæ P. placet, poterit has meas Disputationes videre, ut intelligat, quam dubia res sit Indulgentiarum opinio, quam illi ut certissimam seminant.

T. Reverendissimæ P.

MARTINUS LUTHERUS.

No. LVII. P. 112.

Lutheri Op. tom. i. p. 65.

Beatissimo Patri Leoni Decimo, Pont. Max. F. Martinus Lutherus Augustinianus, æternam salutem.

AUDITUM audivi de me pessimum, Beatissime Pater, quo intelligo, quosdam amicos fecisse nomen meum gravissime coram te et tuis fœtere, ut quia autoritatem et potestatem clavium et Summi Pontificis minuere molitus sim. Inde Hæreticus Apostata, perfidus et sexcentis nominibus, imo ignominiis accusor. Horrent aures et stupent oculi. Sed unicum stat fiduciæ præsidium, innocens et quieta conscientia. Nec nova audio ; talibus enim insignibus et in nostra Regione me ornaverunt, homines isti honestissimi et veraces, id est, pessime sibi conscii, qui sua portenta mihi conantur imponere, et mea ignominia, suas ignominias glorificare. Sed rem ipsam, Beatissime Pater, digneris audire ex me infante et inculto.

Cœpit apud nos diebus proximis prædicari Jubileus ille Indulgentiarum Apostolicarum, profecitque adeo, ut præcones illius, sub tui nominis terrore, omnia sibi licere putantes, impiissima hæreticaque palam auderent docere, in gravissimum scandalum et ludibrium Ecclesiasticæ potestatis, ac si Decretales de abusionibus quæstorum nihil ad eos pertinerent. Nec contenti, quod liberrimis verbis hæc sua venena diffunderent, insuper Libellos ediderunt, et in vulgum sparserunt. In quibus, ut taceam insatiabilem et inauditam avaritiam, quam singuli pene apices olent crassissime, eadem illa impia et hæretica statuerunt, et ita statuerunt, ut Confessores juramento adigerent, quo hæc ipsa fidelissime instantissimeque populo inculcarent.

Vero dico, nec est, quo se abscondant a calore hoc. Extant Libelli, nec possunt negare. Agebantur tum illa prospere, et exugebantur populi falsis spebus, et ut Propheta ait, Carnem desuper ossibus eorum tollebant. Ipsi vero pinguissime et suavissime interim pascebantur.

Unum erat, quo scandala sedabant, scilicet, terror nominis tui, ignis comminatio et Hæretici nominis opprobrium. Hæc enim incredibile

est quam propensi sint intentare, quandoque etiam sit, in meris opiniosisque nugis suis contradictionem senserint. Si tamen hoc est scandala sedare, ac non potius mera tyrannide, schismata et seditiones tandem suscitare.

Verum nihilominus crebrescebant Fabulæ per tabernas de avaritia sacerdotum, detractionesque clavium, summique Pontificis, ut testis est vox totius hujus terræ. Ego sane (ut fateor) pro zelo Christi, sicuti mihi videbar, aut si ita placet, pro juvenili calore urebar, nec tamen meum esse videbam, in iis quicquam statuere aut facere. Proinde monui privatim aliquot magnates Ecclesiarum. Hic ab aliis acceptabar, aliis ridiculum, aliis aliud videbar ; prævalebat enim nominis tui terror et censurarum intentatio. Tandem, cum nihil possem aliud, visum est, saltem, leniuscule illis reluctari, id est, eorum dogmata in dubium et disputationem vocare. Itaque Schedulam disputatoriam edidi, invitans tantum doctiores, si qui vellent mecum disceptare, sicut manifestum esse etiam adversariis oportet, ex Præfatione ejusdem disceptationis.

Ecce, hoc est incendium, quo totum Mundum quæruntur conflagrari, forte quod indignantur me unum, autoritate tua Apostolica Magistrum Theologiæ, jus habere in publica Schola disputandi, pro more omnium Universitarum et totius Ecclesiæ, non modo de indulgentiis, verum etiam de potestate, remissione, Indulgentiis divinis, incomparabiliter majoribus rebus. Nec tamen multum moveor, quod hanc mihi facultatem invideant, a tua B. potestate concessam, qui eis favere cogor invitus, multo majora, scilicet, quod Aristotelis somnia, in medias res Theologiæ miscent, atque de divina Majestate meras nugas disputant, contra et citra facultatem eis datam.

Porro, quod nam fatum urgeat has solas meas Disputationes præ cæteris, non solum eis, sed omnium Magistrorum, ut in omnem terram pene exierint, mihi ipsi miraculum est. Apud nostros et propter nostros tantum sunt editæ, et sic editæ, ut mihi incredibile sit, eas ab omnibus intelligi; Disputationes enim sunt, non doctrinæ, non dogmata, obscurius pro more, et ægnimaticωs positæ. Alioqui si prævidere potuissem, certe id pro mea parte curassem, ut essent intellectu faciliores.

Nunc quid faciam ? Revocare non possum, et miram mihi invidiam ex ea invulgatione video conflari ; invitus venio in publicum, periculosissimumque ac varium hominum judicium præsertim ego indoctus, stupidus ingenio, vacuus eruditione, deinde nostro florentissimo seculo, quod pro sua in literis et ingeniis fœlicitate etiam Ciceronem cogere possit ad angulum lucis et publici, alioqui non ignavum sectatorem; sed cogit necessitas, me anserem strepere inter olores.

Itaque quo et ipsos adversarios mitigem, et desideria multorum expleam, emitto ecce meas nugas, declaratorias mearum Disputationum; emitto autem, quo tutior sim, sub tui nominis præsidio, et tuæ protectionis umbra, Beatissime Pater, in quibus intelligent omnes, qui volent, quam pure simpliciterque Ecclesiasticam potestatem et reverentiam clavium quæsierim et coluerim, simulque quam inique et false me tot nominibus adversarii fœdaverint. Si enim talis essem, qualem illi me videri cupiunt, ac non potius omnia disputandi facultate, recte a me

tractata fuissent, non potuisset fieri, ut Illustr. Princeps Fridericus Saxoniæ Dux, Elector Imperii, &c. hanc pestem in sua permitteret Universitate, cum sit Catholicæ et Apostolicæ veritatis unus facile amantissimus, nec tolerabilis fuissem viris nostri studii acerrimis et studiosissimis. Verum actum ego, quando illi suavissimi homines non verentur mecum et Principem et Universitatem pari ignominia conficere palam.

Quare, Beatissime Pater, prostratum me pedibus tuæ B. offero cum omnibus quæ sum et habeo. Vivifica, occide, voca, revoca, approba, reproba, ut placuerit; vocem tuam, vocem Christi, in te præsidentis et loquentis agnoscam. Si mortem merui, mori non recusabo. Domini enim est terra, et plenitudo ejus, qui est benedictus in secula, Amen, qui et te servet in æternum, Amen. Die S. Trinitatis, Anno MDXVIII.

No. LVIII. P. 114.

Lutheri Op. tom. i. p. 160.

Epistola Imperatoris Maximiliani Augusti: missa ex conventu Augustiniano, Anno MDXVIII. *De controversiis Lutheri, ad Leonem X. Pontificem Romanum.*

Beatissime Pater, Domine Reverendissime, Accepimus non adeo multos ante dies, quendam Fratrem Augustinianum, Martinum Lutherum, nonnullas Conclusiones in materia Indulgentiarum, scholastico more discutiendas, disseminasse, nec non in Concionibus suis et ea de re, et de vi Apostolicarum Excommunicationum plurima docuisse, in quibus damnosa et hæretica pleraque videantur; atque ea nunc per Magistrum Sacri vestri Palatii notata esse. Quæ res nobis eo magis displicuit, quo pertinacius dictus frater, ut edocti sumus, doctrinæ suæ inhærere, atque complures errorum suorum Defensores et Patrones, etiam potentes, consequutus esse dicitur.

Verum, cum suspectæ adsertiones, et periculosa dogmata a nemine melius, rectius et verius dijudicari queant, quam a Beatitudine vestra, quæ sola, ut potest, ita debet, vanarum quæstionum, sophisticarum rationum, et verbosarum contentionum autores compescere, quibus pestilentiores Christianæ pietati nulli contigerunt, huc tantum spectantes, ut quod ipsi didicerunt, id solum habeatur in precio, quod præsentis seculi, et eruditorum consensus, et pie antea in Christo defunctorum candida et solida doctrina comprobat.

Extat pervetustum Pontificii Senatus Decretum, de constituendis Doctoribus, in quo de sophistica nusquam unquam quicquam cautum est, nisi quod ista in Decretis vocantur in dubium, utrum fas sit, ea discere nec ne, atque horum studium a multis et magnis autoribus improbatur. Cur igitur, quod Pontificum autoritas jussit, negligitur, et de quo dubitatum, imo improbatum est, id solum recipitur, necesse

est interdum hallucinari, somniare et cæcutire Magistros istos, quibus debetur, quod non solum hactenus Doctores ab Ecclesia recepti solidiores non lecti, sed plerique depravati sunt, atque mutili redditi.

Tacemus iis Autoribus pullulasse longe plures, quam unquam damnatas fuisse hæreses. Tacemus Reuchlinianam infamationem, et nunc præsentem hanc periculosissimam de Indulgentiis atque censuris Apostolicis disceptationem, his perniciosis Autoribus in mundum emanasse: Quibus nisi Beatitudinis vestræ et Reverendissimorum Patrum autoritas legem finemque imposuerit, brevi non solum imperitæ imponent multitudini, sed et Principum virorum sibi auram et favorem in mutuam perniciem comparabunt. Quibus, si conniventibus oculis campus apertus atque liber dimittatur, futurum est, ut quod omnium maxime in votis habent, ut pro optimis et sanctissimis Doctoribus istorum nenias præ oculis habere cogatur totus mundus.

Hæc pro singulari nostra in sedem Apostolicam reverentia Beatitudini vestræ significavimus, ut sinceritas Christiana, hujusmodi temerariis Disputationibus et captiosis Argumentis, non lædatur et scandalizetur. Nos enim quidquid super his sancte statuerit in Imperio nostro, ad laudem et honorem Dei omnipotentis, et Christi fidelium salutem, ab omnibus observari faciemus. Datum in civitate nostra imperiali Augusta, die quinta mensis Augusti, Anno MDXVIII. Regnorum nostrorum, Romani tricesimo tertio, Hungariæ vero vicesimo nono.

No. LIX. P. 114.

Lutheri Op. tom. i. p. 161.

Leo Papa X. Dilecto nostro Filio Thomæ, Tituli S. Sixti, Presbytero Cardinali nostro, et Apostolicæ Sedis de latere Legato.

Dilecte fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Postquam ad aures nostras pervenerat, quendam Martinum Lutherum, Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini Professorem, in reprobum sensum versum, nonnulla hæreticè, et ab eo, quod sancta Romana tenet Ecclesia, diversa asseverare, et super hoc Conclusiones, nec non famosos Libellos temeritate propria, et erecta cervice, laxatis obedientiæ frenis, inconsulta Romana Ecclesia, fidei Magistra, in diversis Germaniæ partibus publicare ausum fuisse, Nos temeritatem suam paterne corrigere volentes, Venerabili Fratri nostro Hieronymo Episcopo Asculano, Curiæ causarum Cameræ Apostolicæ generali auditori, commisimus, ut ipsum Lutherum ad comparendum personaliter coram eo, et se super præmissis examinandum, et qualiter de fide sentiret respondendum, sub certis pœnis moneret, Ipseque Hieronymus auditor, contra dictum Martinum Lutherum monitorium hujusmodi, ut accepimus, decrevit.

Nuper autem ad notitiam nostram devenit, quod dictus Martinus benignitate nostra abusus, et audacior effectus, mala malis addendo, et

pertinaciter in hæresi persistendo, nonnullas alias Conclusiones ac famosos libellos similiter publicavit, in quibus nonnulla alia hæretica et erronea continentur, quod quidem mentem nostram non modicum perturbavit.

Quare, prout pastorali nostro incumbit officio, in præmissis occurrere, et ne pestis hujusmodi adeo invaleat, ut simplicium animos inficiat, providere volentes, circumspectioni tuæ, (de qua tum ob singularem doctrinam et rerum experientiam, tum ob in nos, et hanc sanctam Sedem, cujus honorabile membrum existis, sinceram devotionem plurimum in Domino confidimus) per præsentes mandamus, ut eisdem præsentibus receptis, absque ulla mora, quoniam res apud nos, tum ex fama, tum ex facti permanentia, notoria et inexcusabilis est, dictum Lutherum hæreticum per prædictum auditorem jam declaratum ad personaliter coram te comparendum, invocato ad hoc tam clarissimi in Christo filii nostri Maximiliani Romanorum Imperatoris Electi, quam reliquorum Germaniæ Principum, Communitatum Universitatum et Potentatuum, tam Ecclesiasticorum, quam secularium, brachio, cogas atque compellas, et eo in potestate tua redacto, eum sub fideli custodia retineas, donec à nobis aliud habueris in mandatis, ut coram nobis et Sede Apostolica sistatur. Ac quod si coram te, sponte ad petendam de hujusmodi temeritate veniam, venerit, et ad cor reversus pœnitentiæ signa ostenderit. Tibi eum ad unitatem sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ, quæ nunquam claudit gremium redeunti, benigne recipiendi concedimus facultatem.

Si vero in pertinacia sua perseverans et brachium seculare contemnens, in potestatem tuam non venerit, Tibi in omnibus Germaniæ partibus eum ac omnes ipsius adhærentes et sequaces, etiam per edicta publica, ad instar illorum, qui olim in Albo prætorio scribebantur, pro hæreticis, excommunicatis, anathematizatis, et maledictis publicandi, et ab omnibus Christi fidelibus, tanquam tales evitari faciendi, concedimus similiter facultatem.

Et ut celerius et facilius morbus hujusmodi exterminetur, universos et singulos Prælatos, et alias Ecclesiasticas personas, tam seculares quam quorumvis Ordinum, etiam mendicantium regulares, nec non Duces, Marchiones, Comites, Barones ac quascunque Communitates, Universitates et Potentatus (præfato Maximiliano electo Imperatore excepto) autoritate nostra etiam sub Excommunicationis latæ sententiæ, et aliis infra dicendis pœnis moneas, et requiras, ut sicut reputari cupiunt, et haberi fideles, dictum Martinum, et ejus adhærentes et sequaces capiant, et ad manus tuas transmittant.

Quod si, quod absit, quod nobis persuadere non possumus, prædicti Principes, Communitates, Universitates, et Potentatus, aut aliquis eorum, Martinum, aut adherentes et sequaces prædictos quomodolibet receptaverint, seu eidem Luthero auxilium, consilium, vel favorem publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, ex quavis causa quomodolibet dederint, eorundem Principum, Communitatum, Universitatum, et potentatuum, ac cujuslibet eorum civitates, oppida, terras et loca, nec non civitates, oppida, terras, et loca ad quæ prædictum Martinum declinare contigerit, donec dictus Martinus ibidem permanserit, et per triduum post, ecclesiastico subjicimus interdicto.

Mandantes nihilominus omnibus et singulis Principibus, Communitatibus, Universitatibus et Potentatibus prædictis, ultra præfatas pœnas, quo ad ecclesiasticos et regulares prædictos sub privationis Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, et aliorum Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, nec non inhabilitatis ad ea in posterum obtinenda, privatione quoque Feudorum. Quo vero ad Laicos, dempto prædicto Imperatore, infamiæ, et inhabilitatis ad omnes actus legitimos Ecclesiasticæ sepulturæ, privationis quoque Feudorum, à nobis et sede Apostolica, vel quibusvis aliis etiam secularibus obtentorum pœnis, eo ipso incurrendis, quatenus mandata requisitionis et hortationes tuas sine exceptione, contradictione et replicatione aliqua ilico exequantur, et à consilio, auxilio, favore, et receptatione prædictis omnino abstineant.

Obedientibus vero Indulgentiam etiam plenariam, seu retributionem aliquam, aut gratiam arbitrio tuo concedendi, tenore præsentium tibi tribuimus facultatem. Non obstantibus, exemptionibus, privilegiis, et indultis, juramento, confirmatione Apostolica, vel quavis firmitate alia, roboratis, quibusvis Ecclesiasticis seu cujusvis Ordinis et mendicantium regularibus, Ecclesiis, Monasteriis sive locis, aut personis etiam secularibus, quomodolibet concessis, etiam si in eis caveretur expresse, quod excommunicari, suspendi, interdici nullo modo possint, cum irritantis decreti appositione, quibus eorum tenores, ac si de verbo ad verbum præsentibus insererentur, pro expressis habentes, ad effectum præsentium specialiter et expresse derogamus, et derogatum esse volumus, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, Die XXIII. Augusti, Anno MDXVIII. Pontificatus nostri anno sexto.

JACOBUS SADOLETUS.

No. LX. p. 115.

Lutheri Op. tom. i. p. 160.

Leo Papa X. Dilecto Filio Nobili viro Friderico, Duci Saxoniæ, Sacri Romani Imperii Principi Electori, S.

DILECTE Fili, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Cum memoria recolimus nobilissimam Familiam tuam, teque ipsum caput et ornamentum familiæ, ad cæteras laudes proprias generis vestri hanc primam et potissimam esse voluisse, ut per vos Dei fides ac religio, et hujus sanctæ Sedis honor ac dignitas, quemadmodum quidem decet et fas est, salva atque illibata manerent, non possumus existimare errantem quempiam à fide, vel adversus eam potius oblatrantem, tuæ nobilitatis favore aut gratia fretum, superbiæ et iniquitati suæ frena tam audacter laxare.

Cum vero audimus, et ad nos undique defertur, quendam iniquitatis filium, Fratrem Martinum Lutherum, ordinis Eremitarum, S. Augus-

tini congregationis Alemanniæ, immemorem habitus, professionisque suæ, quæ in humilitate et obedientia consistit, prævaricantem, in Ecclesia Dei jactare se, tanquam tuæ nobilitatis præsidio munitus, nullius autoritatem reprehensionemque vereatur. Etsi cognoscimus falsum hoc esse, tamen eidem nobilitati tuæ scribendum duximus, hortantes eam in Domino, ut pro nomine et dignitate boni catholicique Principis, qualis tu es, retinere splendorem optimæ famæ generis tui immaculatum ab hac calumnia velis. Neque solum culpam evitare, quod facis, nulla enim adhuc in te nostro judicio culpa est, sed etiam suspicionem fugere hujus culpæ, quam tibi illius temeritas inferre conatur.

Et quoniam ex doctissimorum ac religiosissimorum hominum relatione, ac præsertim dilecti filii Magistri sacri Palatii nostri, nobis constat, multa, dictum fratrem Martinum Lutherum, impia et hæretica, audere asserere, et publice affirmare; Nos et eum citari ad respondendum jussimus, et dilecto filio nostro Thomæ, tituli S. Sixti Presbytero Cardinali nostro, et hujus sanctæ Sedis de latere Legato, homini omnis Theologiæ Philosophiæque consultissimo, quid eum agere oporteat, commissimus.

Cum autem hæc res Dei Catholicæque fide sinceritatem omnino concernat, sitque proprium officium Sedis Apostolicæ, fidei magistræ cognoscere, qui recte sentiant aut perperam; hortamur denuo nobilitatem tuam, et in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ mandamus, ut et Dei, et nostri, et sui honoris causa, dare operam et efficere velit, ut is Martinus Lutherus in potestatem et judicium hujus sanctæ Sedis, sicut a te Legatus prædictus requisiverit, deducatur. Quod erit fidei catholicæ gratum et salutare munus, tuæ nobilitati, ob pietatis et religionis cultum, in primis honorificum. Siquidem ad honorem nominis tui et animæ salutem in primis pertinet, ne præsens et futurum seculum ullo tempore commemorare possit, hæresin perniciosissimam in Ecclesia Dei, favore domus tuæ nobilissimæ, fuisse exortam, cui te periculo occurrere tua sapientia decet.

Quod si forte aliquid tibi de eo in bonam partem persuasum est, re apud Sedem Apostolicam discussa, et veritate indigata, aut is, si erit innocens, cum bona nostra gratia remittetur; aut si pravæ mentis inventus fuerit, mens tua ab omni errore liberabitur. Nos et paterno affectu, et ex pastorali officio, neque innocentiæ pœnam ullam proponimus, et pœnitenti clementiæ nostræ gremium largiter aperiemus. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, Die XXIII. Augusti, Anno M.D.XVIII. Pontificatus nostri anno sexto.

JACOBUS SADOLETUS.

No. LXI. p. 115.

Lutheri Op. tom. i. p. 162.

Epistola Academiæ Witembergensis ad Leonem X. Romanum Pontificem, Testimonium præbens de integritate D. Martini Lutheri, et excusans eum, quare Romam proficisci non possit.

Non temeritati neque impudentiæ nobis vertet, Beatissime Pater, suavissima illa tua et vere pastoralis Clementia quod Sanctitatem tuam hisce nostris Literis adire præsumpsimus, Pietas ipsa et veritas vice nostræ verecundiæ abunde (speramus) nobis conciliabit patientissimam tuam, et passim omnibus munifice expositam benevolentiam.

Frater quidam, Martinus Lutherus, Artium et sacræ Theologiæ Professor, nostri studii fidele gratumque membrum, (ut vocant) nobis suppiex factus, fiducia nostræ intercessionis, Literas ad Beatitudinem tuam postulavit, quibus testimonium perhiberemus et doctrinæ et famæ ejus, quam a quibusdam iniquius damnari et accusari queritur.

Denique et nunc autoritate Beatitudinis tuæ, per Commissionem propter disputatas aliquot apud nos Propositiones de Indulgentiis, citatus, et personaliter comparere in Urbe jussus est. Quia vero et corporis valetudo, et itineris periculum, non patiuntur eum facere quod deberet et vellet, hæc res supra vires suas esse videtur: Idcirco nos ejus et necessitati et petitioni compassi, negare non voluimus id, quo sibi opus esse credit, testimonium nostrum.

Quare, Beatissime Pater, humiliter et obnixe oramus, devoti deditique filii Sanctitatis tuæ, ut hunc Virum cum credere dignetur, cujus apud nos opinio usque adhuc nullius perversi et quod a sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ sensu aberret, dogmatis labe respersa aut contaminata sit. Nisi quod ritu et facultate disputandi liberius forte quædam posuerit (nihil asserendo) quam ferre potuerint quidam adversarii sui. Nam nec nos ipsi tales unquam videri voluimus, qui pertinaciter adversus catholicum Dogma quidquam sapere statuerent. Parati per omnia, tuis et sanctæ Ecclesiæ voluntatibus parere in Christo Jesu Domino Deo nostro, qui et sanctitatem tuam nobis faciat propiciam et exorabilem, et gratia sua hic præveniat, et illic gloria æterna subsequatur, Amen. Datum Wittembergæ xxv. Septemb. Anno mdxviii.

Tuæ Sanctitatis devoti deditique Filii, Rector, Magistri, et Doctores Academiæ Wittembergensis.

No. LXII. p. 116.

Lutheri Op. tom. i. p. 163.

Martinus Lutherus Philippo Melancth. S.

Nihil novi aut miri hic agitur, nisi quod mei nominis rumore Civitas plena est, et omnes cupiunt videre hominem tanti incendii Herostratum.

Tu age virum, sicut agis, et adolescentes recta doce. Ego pro vobis et illis vado immolari, si Domino placet. Malo perire, et quod unum mihi gravissimum est, etiam vestra conversatione dulcissima carere in æternum, quam ut revocem bene dicta, et studiis optimis perdendis occasio fiam, apud hos, ut insipientissimos, ita acerrimos literarum et studiorum hostes.

Italia est in Ægypti tenebras palpabiles projecta, adeo ignorant omnes Christum, et ea quæ Christi sunt. Hos tamen Dominos et Magistros habemus fidei et morum. Sic impletur ira Dei super nos, quæ dicit: Dabo pueros Principes eorum, et effœminati dominabuntur eis. Vale, mi Phillippe, et Dei iram castis precibus averte. Augustæ feria secunda post Dionysii, Anno M.D.XVIII.

F. Martinus Lutherus.

No. LXIII. p. 120.

Lutheri Op. tom. i. p. 169.

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri et Domino Thomæ, Tituli S. Sixti, Presbytero Cardinali, sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ per Germaniam de latere Legato, &c. In Christo metuendo et colendo, Salutem et omnem subjectionem sui.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater. Iterum Venio, sed per literas; dignetur Reverendissima Paternitas tua me clementissimè audire.

Egit mecum Reverendus, mihique dulcissimus, Pater meus in Christo, Vicarius noster Johannes Stupicius, ut humiliter sentirem, et opinioni propriæ cederem, et censum meum submitterem, commendavitque ac exuberantissimè persuasit Paternitatem tuam Reverendissimam mihi esse gratiosissimam. Ea res, et nuncius pariter me mirum in modum exhilararunt, Est enim homo hic talis et tantus in oculis meis, ut nullus sit in mundo cui libentius audirem et obsequerer. Nec minus egit dulcissimus frater meus, Magister Venceslaus Lincus, qui ab ineunte ætate pari mecum studio adolevit. Breviter, non potuit Reverendissima Paternitas tua fortius et dulcius me movere, quam his duobus Viris mediatoribus, quorum uterque in solidum me habet in manu sua. Tanta est tua simul humanitas et prudentia, qua video tuam Reverendissimam Paternitatem non mea, sed me quærere, cum potuisset sola potestate in me dominari. Itaque jam timor meus sensim transit, imo mutatus est, in singularem erga Reverendissimam Paternitatem tuam amorem, et veram filialemque reverentiam.

Nunc, Reverendissime in Christo Pater, fateor, sicut et alias fassus sum, me fuisse certè nimis (ut dicunt) indiscretum, acrem et irreverentem in nomen summi Pontificis. Et licet acerrime fuerim in hanc irreverentiam provocatus, tamen meum fuisse nunc intelligo, modestias, humilius et reverentius hanc materiam tractare, et non ita respondere stulto, ut ei similis efficerer, de quo sincerissime doleo, et veniam peto, et per omnia Pulpita in vulgus promulgabo, sicut et

sæpius jam feci, Daboque deinceps operam, ut alius sim, et aliter loquar, Deo miserente. Imò promptissimus sum, atque facillimè promitto, me posthac materiam de Indulgentiis non tractare, atque his finitis quiescere, modo illis quoque modus imponatur, aut sermonis aut silentii, qui me in hanc Tragœdiam suscitaverunt.

Cæterum, mi Reverendissime in Christo, ac jam dulcissime Pater, quantum ad sententiæ veritatem pertinet, libentissime omnia revocarem, tam tuo, quam Vicarii mei jussu et consilio, si ullo modo conscientia mea permitteret. Ego enim scio, nullius præcepto, nullius consilio, nullius gratia, me tantum debere permittere, ut aliquid contra conscientiam dicam, aut faciam. Deinde narrationes divi Thomæ et aliorum tantæ non sunt, ut mihi in hac Quæstione satisfaciant, cum dedita opera contra eas disputarim, ut optime perlectas et percognitas, visæ enim sunt non satis firmo niti fundamento. Hoc autem unum superest, ut meliori superer ratione, quæ est: Si vocem sponsæ audire merear, hanc enim, certum est, vocem sponsi audire.

Ideoque omni humilitate supplico, Reverendissima Paternitas tua dignetur ad Sanctissimum Domĭnum nostrum Leonem X. istam causam referre, ut per ecclesiam hæc dubia determinata, ad justam vel revocationem vel credulitatem possit compelli. Nihil enim aliud cupio, quam Ecclesiam audire et sequi. Nam mea super dubiis et indeterminatis Revocatio quid faciat, ignoro, nisi quod merito mihi objici posse timeo, me, nec quid asseruerim, nec quid revocarim, scire. Suscĭpiat Reverendissima Paternitas tua hanc humilitatis et parvitatis meæ supplicationem, ut in filii vicem clementer commendatum me habere dignetur. Datum pridie Lucæ Evangelistæ. Anno MDXVIII.

Reverendissimæ tuæ Paternitatis

Deditus filius

F. Martinus Lutherus Augustinianus.

No. LXIV. p. 120.

Lutheri Op. tom. i. p. 170.

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri et Domino, Thomæ Tituli S. Sixti Presbytero Cardinali, Sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ per Germaniam de lutere Legato, &c. In Christo metuendo et colendo, F. Martinus Lutherus Salutem et seipsum.

Vidit Reverendissima paternitas tua, Reverendissime in Christo Pater, vidit, inquam, et satis cognovit meam obedientiam, qua per tantum iter, ac per tot pericula, imbecillis corpore, et pauperrimus sumptu, huc me contuli: et ad mandatum Sanctissimi Domini nostri Leonis X. coram Reverendissima Paternitate tua comparui, et me obtuli. Præterea edito libello Resolutionum, me et omnia mea sub pedibus suæ Sanctitatis projeci, expectans accepturusque quidquid sive damnanti

sive approbanti visum fuerit. Et plane nihil me omisisse mihi conscius sum, quod ad deditum obedientemque Ecclesiæ filium pertinere possit.

Quare frustra hic tempus terere nolo, neque possum, quia et sumptus deficit et Patribus his Carmelitis satis superque fuerim et sim onerosus, maxime cum Reverendissima Paternitas tua mihi viva voce mandarit, ut si nollem revocare, non redirem in conspectum Reverendissimæ Pat. tuæ. Revocare quid et quantum valeam, prioribus literis signavi.

Itaque nunc abeo, et alio me loco provisurus migro. Et quanquam mihi consultum est, ab his etiam, qui vel majores me movere possunt, ut à Reverend. Paternitate tua, imò à Sanctissimo Domino nostro Leone X. male informato, ad melius informandum (scio enim quod Principi nostro Illustrissimo, gratum facturum appellando magis quam revocando) appellem. Tamen quantum in me fuisset, non appellassem, Primum, quod mihi non videatur necessaria Appellatio vel commissio ad partes Cum ego, ut dixi, omnia in judicium Ecclesiæ retulerim, et non nisi sententiam ejus expectem. Quid enim ultra facere debeo, aut facere possum ? Neque enim me reo aut responsore opus est, qui non quid ego dixi, sed quid Ecclesia dictura sit, attendo, nec Adversarius contendere, sed Discipulus audire volo.

Deinde, quod mihi pene persuasum est, hanc causam Reverendissimæ Paternitati tuæ esse molestam, et Appellationem gratissimam, Ideoque sicut non mereor, ita nec timere habeo censuras. Et si ego Dei gratia talis sim, ut censuras longe minus timeam, quam errores et malam in fide opinionem, sciens, quod censura non nocet, imò prodest, si sana fides et veritatis sensus mecum fuerit.

Quare per Christi viscera, et insignem tuam mihi exhibitam Clementiam, rogo, dignetur hanc meam obedientiam hujusque præstitam et completam, gratiose agnoscere, et sanctissimo Domino nostro Papæ benigniter commendatam facere. Atque hanc meam abitionem et Appellationem, pro mea necessitate et amicorum autoritate paratam, boni consulere. Nam eorum vox et ratio mihi insuperabilis est hæc : Quid tu revocabis ? Nunquid tua Revocatione nobis legem fidei statues ? ' Damnet Ecclesia prius, si quid damnandum est, et ejus tu judicium sequere, non illa tuum sequatur judicium, atque ita victus cedo.

Valeat itaque Reverendissima Paternitas tua, in Christo, mihi observantissimo, Ex Carmelo Augustensi, die S. Lucæ Evang. Anno M.D.XVIII.

Reverendissimæ Paternitatis tuæ
Deditus filius,
MARTINUS LUTHERUS AUGUSTINIANUS.

No. LXV. p. 121.

Lutheri Op. tom. i. p. 173.

Epistola Thomæ Cajetani tituli S. Sixti. Presbyteri Cardinalis, ad D. Fridericum, Saxoniæ Ducem, Sacri Imperii Electorem, &c. De Lutheri causa, post discessum ejusdem Lutheri ex Augusto, Anno MDXVIII.

Illustrissime et Excellentissime Princeps. Venit Frater Martinus cum literis Excellentiæ vestræ, et antequam nos adiret, voluit se munire salvo conductu, quem ab illis Dominis, Cæsareæ Majestatis Consiliariis, vestræ Illustrissimæ Dominationis intuitu et favore impetravit. Non tamen sine scitu meo. Noluerunt enim hi Domini quidquam illi concedere, nisi me permittente. Quibus respondi, Facerent quidquid eis placeret, dummodo nomen meum non misceretur. Et hic cœpi mirari; nam si Excellentia vestra in me confidebat, non erat opus salvo conductu; si non confidebat, non erat mittendus ad me, ut Patrem.

Adiit deinde nos Frater Martinus, primum excusans se super impetratione salvi conductus propter inimicitias, &c. Deinde dicens, se venisse, ut nos audiret, et veritatem à nobis agnitam profiteretur. Nos hominem libentissimè ac humanissimè excepimus, paterneque complexi sumus. Dixi ante omnia, quod secundum solidam Scripturam sacram et sacros Canones interrogandus esset, et quod si se cognosceret, et de cætero caveret, possemusque securè dormire, ne reverteretur ad vomitum, omnia componerem, sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ Leonis X. autoritate.

Ostendi deinde, monuique paterne, Disputationes et Sermones ejus esse contra Apostolicam doctrinam, maxime super Indulgentiis, citavique Extravagantem Clementis VI. apertè contra ipsum stantem, tam super causa, quam effectu Indulgentiarum. Adduxi præterea antiquam et communem Romanæ Ecclesiæ consuetudinem, ac interpretationem super alio etiam Articulo de fide Sacramentorum aperui; admonuique opinionem ejus non esse sanam, sed manifestè dissentire à sacra Scriptura et recta Ecclesiæ doctrina, quæ illi omninò repugnat. Is ad Extravagantem claram et apertam dixit nescio quid relatione indignum, et petiit diem ad deliberandum, rediturumque se affirmavit. Ego illum hortatus, ut se cognosceret, dimisi.

Rediitque postridie, una cum Patre Vicario generali congregationis Observantium, multisque stipatus. Et cum expectarem, ut se verè agnosceret, cœpit coram Notario, quem secum duxerat, protestari. Ego id subridens, iterum humanissime hominem hortatus sum, ut relicto hujuscemodi inani consilio, ad cor et sanitatem rediret, durum esse illi contra stimulum calcitrare. Addidit deinceps, in Scriptis se velle mihi respondere, et causam suam agere, me anteriore die satis digladiatum verbis cum illo fuisse. Ego audaciam hominis miratus dixi, Fili, neque tecum digladiatus sum, neque digladiari volo. Tantum paratus sum, intuitu Illustrissimi Ducis Friderici, te paternè ac benignè (non disputandi contendendive gratia) audire, ac pro veritate monere ac

docere, conciliare etiam (si voles) sanctissimo Domino nostro Papæ Leoni X. et Romanæ Ecclesiæ.

Rogavit me tum is, Vicarius ejus, ut illum in Scriptis audire vellem. Dixi me libentissimè auscultaturum et facturum omnia paternè non tamen judicialiter. Itaque abiit, reversusque postea tertio est, et longam Scripto exhibuit phylacteriam, in qua fatue admodum respondet ad constitutionem Extravagantis Papæ, nec parcit etiam suæ Sanctitati, quam dicit abuti autoritatibus sacræ Scripturæ. Ad illud vero de fide Sacramentorum implet papyrum locis sacræ Scripturæ omnino impertinentibus et perperam intellectis.

Ego postquam ostendi non ita esse intelligendum, quod in illa Extravagante et sacris literis scriptum est, iterum atque iterum Fratrem Martinum ut filium monui et obtestatus sum, nollet plus sapere, quam oporteret, nec nova dogmata in Ecclesiam intrudere, sed seipsum cognoscere, et salvare animam suam.

Venit ad me deinde Pater Vicarius congregationis, cum quo præsente, Magnifico Domino Urbano Oratore Montisferrati, et uno Magistro Theologiæ dicti Ordinis multasque horas tractavimus de negocio hoc, ut tolleretur scandalum, salva reverentia Apostolicæ Sedis, et sine ulla nota Fratris Martini. Venit postea solus ille Theologiæ Magister socius Fratris Martini, qui probavit et collaudavit tractatum.

Jactis his fundamentis, cum bene sperarem omnia, profectus est hinc idem Vicarius, insalutato hospite; ac me omnino inscio subsequutus est deinde Frater Martinus et Socii ejus, mihique omnino, imo sibi, perbelle illuserunt. Accepi interea Fratris Martini literas, quibus petiit fucatam veniam. Non idcò verò revocat maledicta et scandala, quæ catholicæ Ecclesiæ incussit.

Ego, Illustrissime Princeps, fraudulentum Fratris Martini et sequacium consilium, non solum admiratus sum, verum etiam prorsus perhorrui et obstupui. Cum enim de bona illius valetudine maxime sperarem, maxime sum frustratus. Non video tamen cujus fiducia hæc agat.

In causa verò tria affirmaverim. Primo, dicta Fratris Martini in Conclusionibus suis disputative esse posita. In sermonibus tamen ab eo scriptis, affirmative et assertive esse posita, et confirmata in vulgari germanico, ut ajunt. Ea autem sunt partim contra doctrinam Apostolicæ Sedis partim vero damnabilia. Et credat mihi Illustrissima Dominatio vestra, qui vera dico et loquor ex certa scientia, non ex opinionibus.

Secundo Illustrissimam illam vestram Dominationem hortor et rogo, consulat honori et conscientiæ suæ, vel mittendo Fratrem Martinum ad Urbem, vel ejiciendo extra terras suas, postquam non vult paterna via errorem suum cognoscere et cum universali Ecclesia bene sentire.

Postremo, illud sciat Illustrissima Dominatio vestra, nequaquam hoc tam grave et pestilens negocium posse diu hærere. Nam Romæ prosequentur Causam, quando ego lavi manus meas, et ad sanctissimum Dominum, Dominum nostrum hujuscemodi fraudes scripsi. Bene et feliciter valeat Excellentia vestra cui me intime commendo. Ex Augusta Vindelicorum, 25 die Octobris. Anno 1518.

Iterum atque iterum rogo, ut Dominatio vestra Illustrissima non permittat se decipi a dicentibus, Nihil mali continent Fratris Martini Lutheri dicta; Nec ponat maculam in gloriam Majorum suorum, et suam, propter unum Fraterculum, ut toties promissit. Ego loquor puram veritatem, et servabo Jesu Christi regulam: A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos. Hæc pauca manu propria.

E. V. et Illustriss. D.
ad obsequia,
THOMAS, S. SIXTI CARDINALIS,
Legatus Apostolicæ Sedis.

No. LXVI. p. 121.

Lutheri Op. tom. i. p. 173.

Illustrissimi Principis D. Friderici, Ducis Saxoniæ Romani Imperii Electoris, Responsio ad literas D. Thomæ, Tituli S. Sixti Cardinalis, præcedentes.

REVERENDISSIME in Christo Pater Singulariter nobis dilectissime Domine, et Amice; Vestræ Charitatis literas die 25 Octobr. Augustæ datas, die 19 Novemb. per tabellarium non peculiarem, sed fortuitum, redditas, accepimus, ad D. Martinum Lutherum Augustinianum pertinentes, quas undecunque cum toto earum argumento percepimus atque intelleximus.

Quoniam ergo dictus Martinus coram pietate vestra apud Augustam comparuit, sicut cum charitate vestra colloquuti Augustæ pollicebamur, nostræ satisfecimus promissioni. Præterea, persuaseramus nobis, vestram pietatem, audito Martino, secundum vestræ Reverentiæ promissionem multiplicem, eum paterne et benevole dimissuram fuisse, neque quamvis nondum cognita causa et sufficienter discussa, ut Martinus refert, coacturam ad revocationem et palinodiam. Sunt enim plurimi eruditorum, in nostris principatibus et terris, et alibi in Universitatibus studiorum, à quibus hactenus et in hodiernum usque diem constanter et irrefragabiliter certiores fieri non potuimus, Martini doctrinam impiam, non Christianam, et hæreticam esse; exceptis nonnullis, quorum rei privatæ et utilitati pecuniariæ eruditio ejus non profuit, qui ut propriæ commoditati consulerent, Martino sese adversarios opposuerunt, suo tamen proposito contra Martinum nondum probato. Nam si aliquo constanti fundamento et ratione intelligeremus, D. Martini Lutheri doctrinam impiam et instabilem esse, Dei omnipotentis auxilio et gratia, ipsimet ita nos doceremus, ut nulla indigeremus exhortatione atque admonitione. Noster enim animus, nostra voluntas, nostra mens, in hoc tota est, ut ad Christiani Principis officium sit paratissima, et qui Deo adjutore, et honori et conscientiæ suæ cupiat consultum.

Quapropter modis omnibus speravimus, non futurum, ut in hoc rerum statu, hac afficeremur comminatione, scilicet Rom. curiam id

causæ prosequuturam, et Reverentiam vestram manus lavisse, vel ut à nobis postularetur, ut Martinum Lutherum sive Romam mitterimus, sive ex nostris Regionibus expelleremus : Non tamen ob alia, quam quod Martinus Lutherus criminis hæreseos nondum convictus est. Pelleretur enim incommodo nostræ Universitatis, sicut in hanc diem notum est, Christianæ, et multos bonos et doctos et studiosos homines habentis.

Neque omisimus D. Martino vestræ charitatis literas exhibere, ad quas nobis secundum tenorem exempli, his nostris literis inclusi, respondit.

Cum itaque D. Martinus sese offerat ad aliquarum Universitatum judicium, et in locis tutis disputationem, et cognita causa permissurum se obedienter, ut doceatur et simul ducatur, arbitramur eum merito admittendum, aut saltem ei ostendendos in Scriptis errores, Id quod et nos petimus, ut sciamus, quamobrem tamen hæreticus esse debeat, et habeamus quod sequamur et faciamus. Neque enim nos ita (nondum convictum) pro hæretico reputandum et scribendum sentimus. Denique non libenter permitteremus, nos in errores pertrahi, neque ut inobedientes à Sancta Sede Apostolica inveniri.

Hoc vestram charitatem (quam Deo omnipotenti diu feliciter conservandam commendamus) celare noluimus. Datum Aldenburg, die 8 Decembris, Anno 1518.

No. LXVII. p. 122.

Lutheri Op. tom. i. p. 177.

Nova Decretalis Leonis X. Pontificis Maximi: de Indulgentiis, Anno MDXVIII. *condita.*

IN NOMINE DOMINI. AMEN.

Universis et singulis præsens Transumptum seu publicum Instrumentum inspecturis, pateat, et evidenter sit notum, Quod anno à Nativitate ejusdem Domini, millesimo, quingentesimo decimo octavo, inditione sexta, die vero decima tertia mensis Decembris, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini nostri, Domini Leonis, divina providentia Papæ decimi, anno sexto. Ego Petrus Antonius Berrus Parmensis, publicus Apostolica autoritate Notarius, ac in Romano Archivio descriptus, constitutus in Lintz oppido, Archiducatus Austriæ, in Camera Reverendissimi in Christo Patris et Domini, Domini Thomæ Tituli S. Sixti S. R. E. Presbyteri Cardinalis, ad Cæsaream Majestatem, &c. Sedis Apostolicæ de latere Legati, sita in Monasterio Fratrum Conventualium S. Francisci, oppidi prædicti ad infrascripta per Reverendissimum Dominum, Dominum Cardinalem, Legatum ibidem personaliter constitutum requisitus, ut exemplum seu Transumptum literarum Apostolicarum, de quibus infra fit mentio, et quarum tenor subinseritur, in forma authentica conficerem, easque transumerem, et earundem veram copiam sive Transumptum facerem,

et cum originalibus mihi Notario infra scripto per præfatum Reverendissimum Dominum Legatum præsentatis et traditis collationarem, et facta collatione Transumptum, sive copiam hujusmodi in publicam formam redigerem, Quarum literarum Apostolicarum post Reverendissimi Domini, Domini Cardinalis Legati, earundem insinuationis exordium infra scriptum, tenor subsequitur, et est talis :

Thomas miseratione divina, Tituli S. Sixti, sacræ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Presbyter Cardinalis, ad Cæsaream Majestatem, &c. Apostolicæ Sedis de latere Legatus, Universis et singulis Dominis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, cæterisque locorum Ordinariis, Salutem in Domino sincereque dilectionis affectum, et præsentibus fidem indubiam adhibere. Sanctissimus in Christo Pater et Dominus noster, Dominus Leo, divina providentia Papa decimus, suas nobis transmisit literas, cum vera Bulla plumbea cum Cordulis ex Canopo, more Romanæ Curiæ bullatas, sanas siquidem et integras, non vitiatas non cancellatas, nec in aliqua sui parte suspectas, sed omni prorsus vitio ac suspicione carentes, Tenorem qui sequitur, de verbo ad verbum continentes.

Leo Episcopus : Servus Servorum Dei, Dilecto filio Thomæ tituli S. Sixti, ad charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Maximilianum in Imperatorem electum, nostro et Sedis Apostolicæ Legato, Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Cum postquam Circumspectio tua Germaniam applicuerat, ad aures nostra pervenisset, quod nonnulli Religiosi, etiam ad evangelisandum verbum Dei deputati, super Indulgentiis, a nobis et Romanis Pontificibus prædecessoribus nostris, ab immemorabili tempore citra concedi solitis, publice prædicando, multorum cordibus imprimerent errores, idque nobis intelligere nimis grave et molestum esset, Aliis nostris Literis eidem Circumspectioni tuæ, de qua propter ejus singularem doctrinam, et in rebus agendis experientiam specialem, in Domino fiduciam obtinemus, commisimus, ut autoritate nostra approbatione digna approbares, Ea vero, quæ minus recte dicta essent, etiam per eos, qui Rom. Ecclesiæ doctrinam se sequi paratos asserent, reprobare et damnare curares.

Et ne de cætero quisquam ignorantiam doctrinæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ circa hujusmodi Indulgentias, et illarum efficaciam allegare, aut ignorantiæ hujusmodi prætextu se excusare, aut protestatione conficta se juvare, sed ut ipsi de notorio mendacio ut culpabiles convinci, et merito damnari possint, per præsentis tibi significandum duximus, Romanam Ecclesiam, quam reliquæ tanquam Matrem sequi tenentur, tradidisse, Romanum Pontificem, Petri Clavigeri successorem, et Jesu Christi in terris Vicarium, potestate clavium, quarum est aperire tollendo illius in Christi fidelibus impedimenta, culpam scilicet et pœnam pro actualibus peccatis debitam, Culpam quidem mediante Sacramento pœnitentiæ, pœnam vero temporalem pro actualibus peccatis secundum divinam justiciam debitam, mediante ecclesiastica Indulgentia, posse pro rationalibus causis concedere eisdem Christi fidelibus, qui charitate jungente, membra sunt Christi, sive in hac vita sint, sive in Purgatorio, Indulgentias ex superabundantia meritorum Christi et Sanctorum, ac tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis Apostolica autoritate Indulgentiam

concedendo, thesaurum meritorum Jesu Christi et Sanctorum dispensare, per modum absolutionis Indulgentiam ipsam conferre, Vel per modum suffragii illam transferre consuevisse. Ac propterea omnes tam vivos quam defunctos, qui veraciter omnes Indulgentias hujusmodi consecuti fuerint, à tanta temporali pœna, secundum divinam justiciam pro peccatis suis actualibus debita liberari, quanta concessæ et acquisitæ Indulgentiæ æquivalet. Et ita ab omnibus teneri et prædicari debere sub excommunicationis latæ sententiæ pœna, à qua illam incurrentes ab alio, quam à Romano Pontifice, nisi in mortis articulo, nequeant absolutionis beneficium obtinere, autoritate Apostolica, earundem tenore præsentium decernimus.

Et ne quispiam de præmissis valeat ignorantiam allegare, Circumspectioni tuæ mandamus, Quatenus universos et singulos Germaniæ Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, et alios locorum Ordinarios, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, et sub suspensionis à divinis pœna, moneas, eisque districte præcipiendo mandes, ut præsentes literas, sive earum Transumptum, infra tempus per Circumspectionem tuam eis præfigendum, in eorum Ecclesiis, dum inibi populi multitudo ad divina convenerit, publicare, et circa Indulgentias prædictas supradicta sub simili excommunicationis latæ sententiæ pœna tenere et prædicare debeant, Et nullus contra ea quovis modo directe vel indirecte venire præsumat. Tibi nihilominus contra præsumentes et inobedientes procedendi, illosque debitis pœnis, quibus tibi videbitur, puniendi plenam et liberam etiam per præsentes concedimus facultatem, in contrarium non obstantibus quibuscunque.

Et quia difficile foret easdem præsentes literas ad singula quæque loca, in quibus expediens fuerit, deferre, Volumus, et dicta autoritate decernimus, illarum transumptis manu publici Notarii inde rogati, subscriptis, et sigillo alicujus Prælati seu Personæ in dignitate Ecclesiastica constitutæ munitis, vel Curiæ Ecclesiasticæ, ea prorsus in judicio et extra, ac alias ubilibet fides adhibeatur, quæ præsentibus adhiberetur, si fuissent exhibitæ vel ostensæ. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ, Millesimo, quingentesimo, decimo octavo, quinto Idus Novembris. Pontificatus nostri anno sexto.

BEMBUS.

No. LXVIII. p. 122.

Lutheri Op. tom. i. p. 179.

Appellatio F. Martini Lutheri: a Papa ad Concilium, &c.

IN NOMINE DOMINI. AMEN.

ANNO à Nativitate ejusdem, MDXVIII. inditione VI. die vero Solis, XXVIII. mensis Novembris Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini nostri, Domini Leonis divina providentia Papæ X. anno VI. In mea Notarii publici testiumque infra Scriptorum ad hoc specialiter vocatorum et rogatorum, præsentia, Constitut. R. Pater D. Martinus

Lutherus Augustinian. Wittembergen. sacræ Theol. Magister, ac ibidem Lector ordinarius Theologiæ, principalis, ac' principaliter pro seipso, citra tamen quorumcunque Procuratorum suorum quomodolibet hactenus per eum constitutorum revocationem, habens et tenens suis in manibus quandam Provocationis et Appellationis papyri schedulam, animo et intentione provocandi et appellandi, Apostolosque petendi, dicens, narrans, provocans et appellans, certis et legitimis de causis, in eadem schedula contentis et compræhensis, ad Concilium proxime et immediate futurum, saltem in Spiritu sancto legitime congregatum, aliis vero congregationibus, factionibus et concionibus privatis penitus seclusis, protestans aliaque faciens, prout in dicta Appellationis schedula plenius continetur, habetur et describitur, Cujus tenor sequitur, et est talis:

Cum Appellationis remedium in subsidium et relevamen oppressorum a Jurium conditoribus sit adinventum, et non solum ab illatis, verum etiam ab inferendis, et inferri comminatis, gravaminibus et injuriis, Jura appellare permittant; adeo, quod inferior de non appellando ad superiorem statuere non possit, et manus superiorum claudere; sed cum satis sit in professo, sacrosanctum Concilium in Spiritu sancto legitime congregatum, sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam repræsentans, sit in causis fidem concernentibus supra Papam; evenit, quod nec Papa in causis hujusmodi, ne ab eo ad Concilium appelletur, statuere possit, tanquam id agens, quod ad officium suum non spectet ullo modo, Sitque Appellatio ipsa defensio quædam, quæ jure divino, naturali, et humano cuique competit, neque per Principem auferri possit.

Idcirco ego Frater Martinus Lutherus, Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini Wittembergens. sacræ Theologiæ Magister indignus, ejusdemque ibidem Lector Ordinarius principalis, principaliter et pro me ipso, coram vobis Notario publico tanquam publica et authentica persona, ac testibus hic præsentibus animo et intentione provocandi et appellandi, Apostolosque petendi, et accipiendi, præmissa tamen expressa hac et solemni protestatione, Quod contra unam sanctam et Catholicam et Apostolicam Ecclesiam, quam totius orbis esse magistram, et obtinere principatum non ambigo, sanctæque Sedis Apostolicæ autoritatem, ac sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ bene consulti potestatem, nihil dicere intendo, Si quid autem ex lubrico forsan linguæ, sed adversariorum potius irritamento, minus recte, et non ea, qua debeat, reverentia dictum fuerit, paratissimus sum illud emendare.

Sed quoniam is, qui vicem Dei in terris gerit, quem Papam dicimus, cum sit homo, similis nobis, ex hominibus assumptus, et ipse (ut Apostolus dicit) circumdatus infirmitate, potens errare, peccare, mentiri, vanus fieri, nec sit exceptus ab illa Prophetæ generali sententia: Omnis homo mendax. Nec S. Petrus, primus et sanctissimus omnium Pontificum, ab hac infirmitate liber fuit, quin noxia simulatione contra veritatem Evangelii incederet, Ita, ut rigida quidem, sed sanctissima reprehensione Apostoli Pauli opus habuerit corrigi, ut ad Galatas scribitur. Quo nobilissimo exemplo per Spiritum sanctum in Ecclesia monstrato, et in literis sacratissimis relicto, fideles Christi erudimur,

et certi sumus. Quod si summus Pontifex eadem Petri, vel simili infirmitate lapsus, quid præceperit vel decreverit, quod contra divina militet mandata, non solum obediendum ei non esse, verum etiam cum Apostolo Paulo in faciem ei resisti posse, imo debere, ac velut per inferiora membra infirmitati capitis, pia totius corporis solicitudine succurri. Et in hujus exempli præsentem ac perpetuam memoriam, non sine singulari Dei consilio factum esse, non obscure intelligitur, ut non solum S. Petrus, sed etiam salutaris ejus reprehensor Paulus, sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ juxta et simul patrocinarentur, et præ essent, ne scilicet solum literis, sed sensibili quoque monumento hujus summe necessarii ac saluberrimi exempli, assidue moneremur, tam ipsa capita, quam nos membra. Quod si qua potentium vi armatus, tantum prævaluerit, ut resisti ei non possit, unum certe illud prædictum Appellationis remedium reliquum est, quo oppressi releventur.

Ad quod et ego Frater Martinus Lutherus prædictus, modo et animo prædictis confugiens, dico et propono. Quod cum diebus superioribus Indulgentiæ a quibusdam Commissariis (ut asserebant) Apostolicis indiscretissime prædicarentur, in regione nostra Saxoniæ, adeo ut ad exugendas populi pecunias inciperent, absurda, hæretica, blasphema quædam prædicare, in seductionem animarum fidelium, et summum ludibrium Ecclesiasticæ potestatis, præsertim de potestate Papæ in Purgatorium, ut continet eorum libellus, qui summaria institutio vocatur, cum tamen certum sit ex Abusionibus, Papam non habere prorsum ullam potestatem in Purgatorium. Deinde una totius Ecclesiæ sententia, omniumque Doctorum consensu, Indulgentiæ sint nihil, nisi remissiones satisfactionis pœnitentialis a suo Judice impositæ, ut est clarus textus, *Quod autem.* Satisfactio autem pœnitentialis ab Ecclesiastico Judice imposita, aliud non sit, quam opera jejunii, orationis, eleemosynæ, &c. Ideoque clavibus Ecclesiæ remitti non possit, quod eisdem non fuerit impositum. Item quod certum est ex distinct. XXXV. c. Qualis, quod in Purgatorio non solum pœna, sed et culpa remittitur. Culpam autem Ecclesia remittere non potest, sicut nec gratiam conferre.

Istis autoritatibus nixus, cum disputandi more fuissem reluctatus impuris et insulsis illorum dogmatibus, cœperunt illi, lucri studio furentes, Primum publicis declamationibus ad populum declarare me hæreticum temeritate impudentissima; deinde apud Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Leonem X. per quendam Dominum Marium de Perusiis, Procuratorem Fiscalem accusare, tanquam hæresi suspectum. Et per eundem Dominum tandem impetrantes Commissionem citandi mei in personas Reverendissimorum Dominorum et Patrum, Hieron. de Genu. Episcop. Asculani, causarum Cameræ auditoris et Sylvestri Prieria. Palatii Magistri, per eosdem me citari curarunt ad urbem, aut personaliter comparendum.

Cumque ego nec Wittembergæ tutus ab insidiis, tantum iter perficere non possem, nec Romæ tuto consistere, et pauperculus et imbecillis corpore; deinde Judices præfati mihi multis causis fuissent suspecti, præsertim quod R. P. Sylvester adversarius mihi fuerit, et dialogum contra me jam ediderat, et in sacris literis minus eruditus,

quam ista causa ferre possit, Dominus autem Hiero. in Jurib. quoque plus quam Theologia doctus, merito timebatur Sylvestrinæ Theologiæ concessurus, et extra modum suæ professionis hanc rem habere, solicitavi per Illustriss. Principem D. Fridericum Ducem Saxoniæ, sacri Rom. Imperii Archimareschallum, Landgravium Thuringiæ, Marchionem Misniæ ut causa ad partes committeretur, non suspectis, sed honestis et bonis viris.

Tunc illi crassa quadam et insulsa astutia instructi, apud sanctissimum Dominum Leonem, &c. egerunt, ut causa in seipsos, hoc est in personam R. Domini Thomæ, S. Sixti Cardinalis, tunc in Germania Sedis Apostolicæ Legati, transferretur, ut qui de Ordine Prædicatorum et Thomisticæ factionis, i.e. adversariæ vel primari, facile speraretur, contra meæ ipsis definitur, aut, ut verisimile est, certe ut hujus facie Judicis absterritus recusarem comparere, et contumaciam incurrerem. Ego tamen veritate Dei fretus ad Augustam multo labore et magnis periculis veniens, humaniter quidem a præfato R. Domino Thoma S. Sixti Card &c. susceptus sum. Qui cum posthabita protestatione mea et obligatione, qua vel publice vel privatim me responsurum obtuli, coram Notario et testibus denique præsentibus quatuor insignibus viris, Cæsareæ Majestatis Senatoribus, simulque subjicerem me meaque dicta sanctæ Sedi Apostolicæ, et judicio quatuor Illustrium Universitatum, Basiliensi, Friburgensi, Lovaniensi, tandem et studiorum Parenti, nobilissimæ Parisiensi, me simpliciter ad revocationem urgeret, nec vellet ostendere mihi errores meos, et quibus rationibus, vel autoritatibus error a me intelligi posset, nimio scilicet suæ factionis fratribus affectus, et iniquitatis faciem assumens, tandem nisi revocarem, abjectis precibus et votis discindi, et informationis petitionibus, minas diras ac crudelissimas vigore cujusdam Apostolici Brevis intentavit, ac ne redirem in faciem suam, imperavit.

Quibus gravaminibus læsus, tunc ab ejus iniqua et violenta præsumptione et prætensa sibi Commissione, appellavi ad Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Leonem X. melius informandum, prout in schedula hujusmodi Appellationis plenius continetur. Nunc vero etiam ista Appellatione (ut dixi) contempta, cum usque hodie cupiam, non nisi ut ostendantur mihi errores mei, quicunque tandem id possit præstare, de quo denuo legitime protestor, paratissimusque sum revocare, si quid male dixisse fuero edoctus. Deinde totam disputationem meam subjecerim Summo Pontifici, ita ut nec ego amplius aliquid in ipsa facere habeam, quam expectare sententiam, quam et usque hodie expecto.

Nihilominus tamen, ut audio, et idem Reverendissimus Dominus Thomas S. Sixti Cardinalis, scribit ad Illustrissimum Principem D. Fridericum, &c. in Romana Curia procedi contra me, et autoritate ejusdem sanctissimi Domini nostri, &c. Judices prætensos causam prosequi in damnationem meam, non attendentes meam fidelem et superabundantem obedientiam, qua tanta difficultate comparui Augustæ, nec curantes oblationem meam honestissimam, qua me ad responsionem publicam et privatam obtuli, denique contemnentes ovem Christi petentem humiliter doceri veritatem, et reduci ab errore; sed simpli-

citer nec audita, nec reddita ratione, mera autem tyrannide et plenitudine potestatis urgere ad Revocationem sententiæ, quam ex conscientia verissimam judico, et ad abnegandam fidem Christi et veram apertissimæ Scripturæ intelligentiam (quantum mea capit conscientia) seducere volentes, cum potestas Papæ non contra nec supra, sed pro et infra Scripturæ et veritatis majestatem sit, nec potestatem Papa acceperit oves perdendi, in Luporum fauces projiciendi, et in errores errorumque Magistros tradendi, sed ad veritatem (sicut Pastorem et Episcopum, Vicarium Christi decet) revocandi. Ex quibus me læsum, gravatumque sentiens, cum tali violentia videam futurum esse, ut nullus etiam ipsum Christum audeat confiteri, nec Scripturas sacras in Ecclesia sua propria profiteri, atque ita me quoque a vera, sana, Christianaque fide et intelligentia, in vanas et mendaces hominum opiniones violenter protrudi, et in seductorias populi Christiani fabulas urgeri.

Id circo a præfato Sanctissimo Domino nostro Leone non recte consulto, supraque dictis prætensis Commissione et Judicibus, et eorum citatione ac processu, et omnibus inde secutis et secuturis, et quolibet ipsorum, ac a quibusvis excommunicatione, suspensione et interdicti sententiis censuris, pœnis et mulctis, atque aliis quibuscunque denunciationibus et declarationibus (ut prætendunt) hæresis et apostasiæ per eos vel alterum eorum quomodolibet attentatis, factis et molitis, attentandis, faciendis et moliendis, ipsarumque nullitate (suis honore et reverentia semper salvis) tanquam iniquis et injustis mere tyrannicis et violentis, Nec non a quolibet futuro gravamine, quod mihi ex eo venire poterit, tam pro me, quam pro omnibus et singulis mihi adhærentibus, et adhærere volentibus, ad futurum Concilium legitime, ac in loco tuto, ad quem ego, vel Procurator per me deputandus, libere adire potero vel poterit, Et ad illum, vel ad illos, ad quem, seu quos de jure, privilegio, consuetudine, vel alias mihi provocare et appellare licet, provoco et appello in iis Scriptis, Apostolosque primo, secundo, tertio, instanter, instantius, et instantissime mihi dari peto. Si quis sit, qui mihi dare hos voluerit et potuerit, et præsertim a vobis Domino Notario, testimoniales, Et protestor de prosequendo hanc meam Appellationem per viam nullitatis, abusus, iniquitatis vel injusticiæ, et alias, prout melius potero, optione mihi reservata, addendi, minuendi, corrigendi, et in melius reformandi, omnique alio juris beneficio, mihi, ac mihi adhærentibus et adhærere volentibus semper salvo.

Qua quidem schedula coram me et testibus infra scriptis ut præmittitur, interposita protestatus fuit, et protestabatur expresse se, per se vel Procuratorem, non posse ad eum accedere, a quo extitit appellatum, tum propter metum plurimorum, sibi, et vitæ suæ insidiantium, ac ejus, a quo appellavit, tum propter viarum discrimina. Ideoque petiit sibi a me, Notario Publico, cum debita instantia Apostolos tales, quales sibi de jure deberentur dari atque concedi. Cui quidem petenti dedi Apostolos tales, quales sibi debentur, vel saltem testimoniales præsenti Instrumento publico ex tunc exarandos. Super quibus omnibus et singulis petiit a me Notario infra scripto unum vel plura

confici atque fieri publicum vel publica Instrumentum vel Instrumenta.

Acta sunt hæc Wittembergæ, Brandenburgensis Diocœsis, sub anno, inditione, die, mense, et Pontificatu, quibus supra. Regnante Divo Maximiliano Romanorum Imperatore, hora tertiarum, vel quasi, in Capella corporis Christi, in Parochiali ibidem cemiterio situata. Præsentibus ibidem Christophoro Beehr, sacris Apostolica et imperiali autoritate vicecomite Constantien. Et Hieronymo Papiss. Curiensis Diocœsis Clerico, testibus ad præmissa vocatis rogatisque pariter et requisitis.

No. LXIX. p. 167.

Trissino, Italia liberata da' Gotthi, lib. xvi.

Anchor vi voljω dir, quel che mi disse
Un amicω di diω, ch' ɛra prωfeta,
Di alcuni Papi, che verranω al mωndω
E queste fur le sue parole ɛspesse
La sɛde in cui sɛdete, il maggiωr Piɛrω.
Usurpata sarà da tai pastωri
Che fian vergogna eterna al christanesmω
Ch' avarizia, luxuria, ɛ Tyrannia
Faran ne' petti lωr l'ultima pruova,
Et haran tutti e lωr pensiɛri intɛnti
Ad aggrandire i suoi bastardi, ɛ darli
Ducadi, ɛ signωrie, terre, ɛ paesi,
E cωnciɛdere anchωr sɛnza vergogna
Prelature ɛ capɛlli a i lωr cynedi,
E a i prωpinqui de la lωr bagascie ;
E vender vescωvadi, ɛ benefici,
Ωffici, ɛ privilegi, ɛ dignitadi,
E sωllevar li infami, ɛ per denari
Rωmpere, ɛ dispensar tutte le lɛggi
Divine, ɛ buone, ɛ non servar mai fede
E tra veneni ɛ tradimenti, ɛt altre
Male arti lωr menar tutta la vita ;
E seminar tra i principi Christiani
Tanti scadωli ɛ risse, ɛ tante guerre
Che faran grandi i Saraceni ɛ i Turchi,
E tutti li avversari de la fede ;
Ma la lωr vita scelereta ɛ lorda
Fia conωsciuta al fin dal mωndω errante
Ωnde cωrregera tuttω 'l gωvernω
De i mal guidati popωli di Christω.

No. LXX. p. 182.

Mangeti, Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa, tom. ii. p. 371.

Joannis Aureli Augurelli Chrysopoesia. Ad Leonem X.

AURIFERAM parvis animi pro viribus artem,
Quæsitam nobis, et longo tempore partam,
Ut rerum involucris tantarum evolvere moles
Se potuit, claro perhibentes carmine nuper
Lusimus, et Musis hanc commendavimus almis,
Quod nulli ex omni numero fecere priores.
Cumque operi autorem cujus sub nomine tutum
Pergeret optarem, foret et res præside digna
Ipsa ex se magno, variaque hinc mente tenerer
Cui merito cuncta hæc, et non ingrata dicarem ;
Interea nobis tute velut æthere ab alto
Missus ades mundi festis succurrere rebus,
Qui belli scelerumque faces, incendia tanta
Extinguas, placidamque piis sperare quietem
Des populis, solidamque per aurea secula pacem.
Cuive etiam, si parva licet componere magnis,
Ad sanctos hæc nostra pedes ars aurea tendat :
Ut quo te fidei sacræ nunc cœtus honore
Prosequitur cunctus hoc te veneretur, et omni
Ipsa tuum pro me cultu sic numen adoret.
Hanc igitur, si non immensa negotia prorsus
Impediunt, permitte precor se prodere tantum
Quo tibi, detracto veluti velamine virgo
Nobilis ingenio vultum perfusa rubore,
Occultum incipiat semel ostentare decorem.
Hæc etenim prima quanquam se fronte legenti
Non adeo ostendat, paulum tamen ipsa reclusis
Detecta arcanis mira et gratissima pandit.
Quam si forte legens interdum nomina divum
Offendes quos vana olim coluisse vetustas
Dicitur, extemplo haud renuas, sacra optima quanquam
Exerces, veramque fidem, cultumque tueris.
Illa etenim tanquam priscis consueta vocari
Vatibus enixe quos tunc imitabar adivi
Supplex, et paribus curis in vota vocavi.
Materies etiam solitum conquirere Solis
Et Lunæ auxilium, nec non Vulcania velle
Arma videbatur quorum implorare favorem
Fas erat : et mihi jam per te licuisse sit id nunc
Concessum, et venia dignum peccasse fatenti.
Mox tamen hinc aliud quæsitum ad carmina numen,
Et precibus solum cunctis quandoque vocatum,

Forte aderit, præsens fuerit si gratia cœlo
Tanta mihi ; magnum multo seu carmine Mosen,
Seu quem flagranti vectum super æthera curru
Mirati videre patres, oculisque sequuti
Aera per purum cœli discindier oras,
Astrorumque globos intro aspexere micantes :
Seu qui voce palam porrectoque indice prodit
Venisse auxilio jam tum mortalibus agnum
Ipse canam, vatem quamprimum matris in alvo
Exultantem, et adhuc puerum ad deserta ferentem
Antra pedes, puri mox et Jordanis ad undam
Dignatum caput illius contingere limpha
Qui proprio antiquam nobis sic sanguine labem
Abluit, ut scelerum maculas absterserit omnes.
Nomine cujus item tibi quondam et moribus aucto
Defuit haud unquam favor ac cœlestis abunde
Gratia, qua tantum meritis conscendere culmen
Posses, et justas mundi regere unus habenas :
Magnanimos æquans propria virtute Leones,
Pontificum decus egregium jam sæpe repertos
Esse, nec Italiæ sub iniquo tempore, et usquam
Christicolis ullo prorsum in discrimine deesse.
Hæc sed erunt mihi cum dicendi facta potestas
Jam fuerit, dabiturque loqui quæ jusseris ipse
Sancte Pater, cujus nobis stant omnia nutu.
Interea certis hominum vis ulla-ne possit
Indiciis aurum facere, et mutare metalla
Percipias primum : dehinc quæ secreta laboret
Ars id perficere, et naturam æquare potenti
Ingenio inspicias, demum quis rite sequatur
Hinc modus assiduis doctisque laboribus artem
Pervideas, et quo tandem experientia ducat.
Omnia quæ gnaro passim tibi certa patebunt,
Si quo hac inter se nexu, quove ordine constant
Ipse acie qua cuncta soles discernere mentis
Inspectans, parvum non dedignabere munus,
Quod tibi non parva offerri super arte laboro.

No. LXXI. p. 186.

Dilecto Filio Actio Syncero Sannazario, Leo Papa X.

Dilecte fili, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Quum forte de claris ingeniis ætatis nostræ apud nos verba fierent, affuere qui quum te, tum opus tuum De Partu Virginis divinis prope laudibus cum admiratione attollerent, atque prædicarent. Quæ res exspectata quidem diu nobis (nihil enim non excultum, non elaboratum, non sin-

gulari tuo ingenio dignum proficisci a te posse arbitramur) verum eo nunc carior et jucundior visa est, tum quod quæ futura exspectabamus, accepimus jam facta esse, et quæ superent, omnem exspectationem, tum quod etsi nullo non tempore fuissent acceptissima, hac præcipue tempestate erunt longe gratiora. Qua ut quidam, quo doctiores videantur, Ecclesiam stilo iniquo petunt, qui exactissima eruditione commendent, non desiderentur. Dici non potest, quum hæc audiremus, quantum voluptatis acceperimus, et quum ipsi legemus, accepturi simus; quod persuasi simus, divina factum providentia, ut divina sponsa tot impiis oppugnatoribus, laceratoribusque lacessita, talem, tantumque nacta sit propugnatorem; et quum illi impia facundia abusi frangant in rem sacram genuinum, tu unus opus edideris quo rem sacram omnibus (ut dici solet) nervis attollendam, excolendamque procuraveris sancto consilio, eventu feliciore, quum dictitent qui legere, si rem quæramus, nihil nisi CHRISTUM atque ejus sponsam sonare: si pietatem, undique religionis enitere studium; si judicium, nihil ungue signandum relinquere; si figuras artisque conatus, veterum vatum nulli cedere, multos anteire. Gratulamur itaque tibi, quod tantum unus præstes, quantum antea nemo; Ecclesiæ, quod quum vexetur lacineturque ab aliis, a te uno in cœlum efferatur; nostro sæculo, quod fiet tui carminis luce celeberrimum, nobis denique ipsis quibus imminente hinc Goliade armato, hinc Saule a furiis agitato, affuerit pius David illum funda a temeritate, hunc lyra a furore compescens. Hortamur itaque te, jam opus edas, ut qui dolent, quum illa legunt quæ adversus pietatem venena ficti Christiani evomuere, ad tua conferant sese, quæ veluti præsens antidotum sint opposituri. Tu ita tibi persuadeas volumus, nos te et tua omnia perinde ac nostra complexuros esse, nec nos, nec hanc Sanctam Sedem umquam tui vel affectus vel operæ immemores futuros. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris die VI. Augusti, M. D. XXI. Pontificatus nostri anno nono.

BEMBUS.

Per Favonium de mandato.

No. LXXII. P. 186.

Dilecto Filio Actio Syncero Sannazario, Clemens Papa VII.

DILECTE fili, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Accepimus librum gratissimo munere, quem tu ad nos de DEI, et DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI rebus scriptum misisti, cujus argumentum præclarum, atque nobile quum in te parem ostendat animi pietatem, atque ingenii gloriam, sitque in eo nomen quoque nostrum ad memoriam eorum qui lecturi sunt, qui quidem innumerabiles futuri sunt in longa posteritate, immortalitati quasi commendatum, muneris tui magnitudinem hoc magis sentimus, quod quomodo parem referamus gratiam, habere nos non arbitramur. Si enim immortalitas optata, et grata est omnibus,

qui præsertim animo vegetiore atque erectiore sint, permagnæ sunt illius partes nobis a te tributæ. Quamquam enim ea est appetenda maxime, illique elaborandum præcipue, quæ post discessum ex hac vita, in illa altera vita felici et sempiterna nos cum DEO ipso collocat, tamen ne hæc quidem non libenter adsciscenda, quæ producit ad posteros nostri nominis perpetuitatem, pro qua, qui illam cœlestem et divinam immortalitatem non plane cognoverunt, maximis sæpe tamen contentionibus, et acerbissimis discriminibus vitam, et caput suum objecere, quod profecto non fecissent, nisi a natura ipsa admoniti, summum quoddam bonum exsistere conjectati fuissent, cujus in imagine et simulacro tam multas partes experirentur esse delectationis, et gloriæ. Est enim profecto hæc famæ et laudis ad commemorationem hominum celebritas, imago illius veræ immortalitatis quæ eximio dono Omnipotentis Dei, uni Christiano generi, per Dominum Nostrum Jesum Christum proposita est; ad quam potissimum aspirare debemus, hanc vero ita caram, jucundamque ducere, si proborum et prudentium testimonium nobis deferatur, quod quidem in te nobis egregie contigit. Non enim ingenio solum tuo honorati, illustratique sumus sed (quod nobis etiam gratius est) judicio comprobati; et si enim ingenii gloria concedis nemini, vel omnibus potius præstas qui in hoc scribendi genere cum laude versati sunt, tamen quum ipso scriptionis argumento ostendas, qua sis pietate, sapientia, religione præditus, jucundius etiam accepimus testimonium optimi, et religiosissimi viri, quam studium doctissimi. Quapropter macte virtute tu quidem; id enim es consecutus, quo nullum majus homini bonum in hac vita exsistere posse videatur, maximorum enim donorum quibus te affecerat Deus, gratia illi (quoad mortali homini licuit) relata, illud jam summum, et incomparabile veræ immortalitatis donum es promeritus, cui deinde jam gratia nulla esse par potest, qui talentum acceptum multiplicatis mercedibus, eidem domino reddidisti a quo acceperas. Ex quo quum fructum quoque non mediocrem tui libri dicatione, ad nominis nostri laudem, ac memoriam redundare volueris, tantam tibi habemus gratiam, quantam capere grati, et memoris Pontificis tanto devincta officio mens potest, sicut et re ipsa tibi ostendere parati sumus, et ut experiare etiam adhortamur. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris die V. Augusti, M.D.XXVI. Pontificatus nostri anno tertio.

Jac. Sadoletus.

No. LXXIII. p. 219.

Guidi Postumi Silvestri, Eleg. lib. ii. p. 89.

Leoni X. Pont. Opt. Max.

Heu quam nostra levis, quam non diuturna voluntas,
Quam juvat ingratum sæpe quod ante fuit.
Quam placitis, Pater Alme, adsunt fastidia rebus!
Ut minus id, gratum quod fuit ante, probes.

Urbis opes, moresque olim, sine fine placebant,
Nunc præferre urbi commoda ruris amem.
Credideram nihil esse Remi conspectius urbe,
Inque suis tantum gaudia nata jugis,
At magis ora, ubi nunc mihi torrida ducitur æstas,
Et placet, et sensus abstulit una meos.
Hic, de more, dies, non jam mihi stare videntur,
Quos placidum faciunt frigus et aura breves.
Sublevat arentemque sitim, ebibitumque remordet
Insiliensque oculis, frigidulumque merum;
Legitimum hic labens non ullo tempore desit,
Garrulaque algentis vena perennat aquæ.
Capripedes alibi Panes, non jam aptius, ora
Fervida, fontanis immaduistis aquis;
Non hic aura calet, non hic plaga noxia cœli,
Hic vel Erythreæ sæcula vatis agunt,
Huc Boreas gelido non jam bacchatur ab axe,
Sed leve nescio quid languidulumque sonat;
At Notus æternum squallentia comprimit ora,
In latus oppositi personat ille jugi;
Quin et nox, et lux somnos habet ipsa salubres,
Conveniens populis illa vel illa venit.
Quam juvat hic, quem non semper sublimia tangunt,
Agrestum tenues excoluisse casas.
Dulce pruinosis spatiatur manu frutetis,
Dulce diem spectat sole cadente mori,
Dulce videt fessos operosi cultibus agri
In sua ruricolas tecta redire boves,
Silvestrumque gregem imparibus certare cicutis,
Moxque inter pecudes accubuisse suas.
At festum venerata diem, perfunctaque vino,
Saltat amatori fusca colona suo.
Vernat læta, thymum populataque mane rubenti
Corticibusque cavis multa susurrat apis,
Plurima et hic perdix, et plurima phasidis ales
Rangoni volitant grata rapina meo.
Quarum cottidie prædam tibi destinat omnem,
Ingeminans, nostro cœpimus ista Jovi.
Excipe pacato silvestria munera vultu,
Quantulacunque animis nec satis æqua suis.
Ipsa vices tibi mox virtus fraterna rependet,
Unica nata tuo est pro capite illa mori.
Præside ab hac, Lepidi nuper summotus ab urbe est
Gallus, et in primo limina terga dedit.
Læta tibi belli dedit inclytus omina Guido,
Hic vir, hic est palmæ summa caputque tuæ.
Hoc duce, iniqua tuis quondam victoria castris.
Æqua tibi terris æqua futura mari est.

Non procul hinc rabidum erigones vitantibus aurum
Ilicibus densum verberat aura nemus ;
Quo velit ipsa libens juga permutare Lycæi,
Silvanusque pater, semicaperque deus.
Multa ubi frondet acer, ubi ponto natus arando,
Aurea Fagineus sydera tangit apex.
Illic dulce cubant sera sub nocte palumbos,
Illic rore madens plurima garrit avis,
Illic venatu accumbit perfuncta juventus,
Membraque frondosis ponit anhela jugis ;
Apta cohors, Satyris saltantibus, ordine longo
Visa modo est rudibus carmen hyare sonis.
Materiam quæris ? Nymphas celebrabat amatas,
Missaque virginea Naica dona manu.
Scilicet irrigui fontes, non antra, nec umbræ,
Nec faciunt silvæ, quo minus urat amor.
Est et Septimio quiddam teneroque Galeso
Carius, hoc unum sed latuisse velim.
Scilicet æoos brevis occulit arca lapillos
Incustoditæ ne rapiantur opes.
Judice me, Siquis gemmam ostentarit et aurum,
Ille reus fatuæ simplicitatis erit.
Magne pater, rerum atque hominum justissime rector,
Idem honor, et sæcli rexque deusque tui.
Si sinat hoc discors qui nunc tibi supplicat orbis,
Non alibi soles occuluisse velis.
Si liceat tua facta rudi mihi claudere versu,
Hoc nemus, hi fontes dent Helycona mihi.

No. LXXIV. p. 221.

Raph. Brandolini Leo, p. 139.

Raphael Brandolinus Junior Lippus, Joanni Med. Diac. Card. Sanctæ Mariæ in Navi Nuncup. S. D.

Quum nullum majus, atque præclarius indicium defunctorum memoria conferri beneficium possit, quam siquid assumatur, quod eorum laudi sempiternæ consulat, et per eos posteritatem maxime ad virtutem accendat, statui Lippi Germani lucubrationes in unum redactas in lucem proferre, ut ex hac ejus industria, exactaque diligentia, in summa præsertim rei familiaris angustia, et miserabili, quæ mihi cum illo communis est, cæcitate, et quam ipsam rerum, ac temporum vario conflictatio reddit miserabiliorem, illi quidem nomen et gloria quam meretur, mihi saltem hujus lucis aliquid comparetur ; quippe quod ille non in fortunis, quas ad usus vitæ necessarias non multum cupivit, vel

in corporis venustate, cujus caruit eminentissimo sensu, sed in virtute, ac honestate, et divinarum rerum contemplatione felicitatem omnem esse ponendam existimavit. Ego, etsi ejus in hoc genere laudis assequendi spem mihi effulgere non videam, imitandi tamen, ejusque vestigiis inhærendi studio semper incumbo. Quare cum ejus tres libros de comparatione Popularis, et Regii status in Rempublicam, quos Pannoniæ incœptos, Florentiæ per Dialogos absolverat, nuper evolvissem, tuo Nomini dicandos multis de caussis mihi proposui tum quod eos ille, interveniente Mathiæ Corvini optimi; ac sapientissimi Pannoniorum Regis obitu (cujus maxime hortatu opus aggressus fuerat) Laurentio Medi Parenti tuo, unico seculi nostri virtutum ac literarum omnium præsidio, summoque non Florentinæ modo Reip. totiusque Regionis Etruscæ, sed universæ Italiæ ornamento, censuerat offerendos; ut qui, justissimo ac munificentissimo nostræ tempestatis Rege amisso, eum civem deligendum videbat, cui tam præclarum opus merito debebatur, cujusque vel judicii gravitatis, vel ingenii acumini, vel rerum peritiæ posset maxime confidere; tum quod ipse veracissimam prudentiæ, pietatis, munificentiæ, fortitudinis, innocentiæ, cæterarum Parentis virtutum imaginem referens, dignissimus procul dubio videris, qui super jus quoque hæreditarium paternæ laudi, immortalitatique succedas. Quandoquidem tute tibi ab ineunte ætate vitæ formulam præscripsisti, ut sive publice sive privatim in summo rerum discrimine versareris, peropportunum et prope divinum consilium captares, quo Fratres, atque propinquos omnes difficillimis temporibus sublevasti; quique sic etiam in te pietatem semper habuisti, ut omnibus præditus virtutibus non immerito judicareris, quibus ea inopes beneficentia es complexus, ut qui tuæ rei familiaris angustiam metiretur, te Parentem quoque Laurentium in eo virtutis genere facile crederet superasse; qui autem ignoraret, illum in te revixisse arbitraretur. At domesticas per exilium calamitates, quæ multiplices, ac prope infinitæ fuere, acerrimos quoque invidorum morsus qua animi celsitudine ac innocentia pertulisti? ea nempe, qua unus ex fortissimis, innocentissimisque nostrorum temporum viris posses jure optimo judicari. Accipe igitur, Pater humanissime, Parentis prius lucubratum, deinde tuo nomini recognitum opus, quod uni tibi, et gratissimo Filio, et unico Familiæ Medicum fulcimento, et viro optimo, et pientissimo Cardinali, et denique paternæ laudis hæredi merito debebatur accipe; accipe, inquam ac una mecum existima, hanc tibi dedicationem optimum revisendæ Patriæ omen, ac certissimum esse. Quod si tibi tandem aliquando, ut ego quidem, et optimus quisque civis maxime sperat, contigerit, et illa per te pristinum decus, ac veterem dignitatem, et tu per illam incredibilem gloriam, sempiternamque ad posteros memoriam propagabis. Vale.

No. LXXV. p. 228.

Coryciana. Ed. Rom. 1524.

Blossius Palladius Romanus. Jano Corycio Lucumburgen. a Libellis Just. V. C. S. P. D.

Corycium senem tibi quadantenus cognominem, Jane Coryci, P. Vergilius (ut scis) multis versibus collaudat, facitque eum ad Galesum flumen, sub altis Tarenti turribus, hortorum cultui hærentem, vitamque felicem, atque otiosam ruri degentem. Itaque hac una hortensi industria meruit vetulus cilix divinis carminibus interseri, et vita longævus, longævior fieri carmine, quod illi pro æterno monumento a poeta omnium maximo statutum est. Atque ille quidem hoc summi poetæ munere æternus jam est, suasque arbores, et plantas vivacitate vincit, parique perennitate hujus memoria cum poetæ gloria protenditur, tantum illi felicitatis attulit, P. Vergilium in ejus hortos incidisse. Quid autem te Jane Coryci dicam, hujus senis cognominem, annis æquævum, ab hortorum cultu non abhorrentem? Quem omnes nostri temporis Urbani Poetæ, uno ore concelebrant? Quid hoc an fatum aliquod est, Corycios semper poetis populares. Corycium crocum atque adeo aromata omnia, ad æternitatem olentes? Nisi te etiam illo longe præstantiorem, et ex Parnasso monte, ac Corycio specu, Musarum dono nobis datum crediderim, ac (si poetice magis eloqui licet) ab Coryciis genitum Nymphis, atque educatum, quod omnia hujus ævi ingenia in urbe excitaveris, et ad virtutis, laudisque amorem miro ardore succenderis. Nam tu cum ab hinc ferme decennio pro tua pietate aram cum sacello in æde Divi Augustini, Christo Deo, Matrique et Aviæ ejus, Mariæ, et Annæ statuisses, treisque statuas, suam cuique e Lunensi illas marmore erexisses, ad hæc picturam longe inclytam, et priscæ æmulam, addidisses, sculptoremque, et pictorem quam eximios adhibuisses, præterea sacrificio quotidiano perpetuo, vasa, vestem, pecuniam legasses. Tum Poetæ urbani omnes, velut œstro perciti, tuamque tum pietatem, tum operis ipsius excellentiam admirati, te certatim extulerunt, tuamque animi magnitudinem, statuarum nitorem, artificum præstantiam, suis carminibus texuerunt. Præclare illi quidem, et ut in divinis rebus, prope divine. Qua sane in re, nescio an potius ubertatem ingeniorum, copiamve sententiarum, an carminum genera et varitates, laudandas putem, cum in omnibus, quanquam inventione, stylo, metro, diversis, unus tamen ac prope idem decor concentusque eniteat. Alius elegis, alius heroicis, alius lyricis numeris, aut phalæciis agit, æque pulchre omnes. Adde rei ipsius ac materiæ dignitatem, cum non ut prisci coacervatim in licentiosis Lampsaceni jocularibus, sed in Dei ac divorum laudibus canendis, ingenium exercuerint. Ergo ut in plurimis, quorum Pandectæ sunt, Jurisconsultis, præter rei ipsius quam docent, utilitatem, unus prope stylus in tot diversissimis, tum ætate tum patria, ingeniis elucet, sic in hoc uno libello, præter ipsam rem, quæ (ut non majus dicam) divina est, et de Deo, ac divis contexta, etiam styli elegantia, etiam ingeniorum ubertas,

etiam inventionis carminumque varietas, admiranda nobis est. Stupendum est præterea, quosdam in his pene pueros esse, Romanamque pubeculam tam præcox, et frugiferum ingenium divis suis consecrasse. Felix igitur tu, Coryci, non ut Tarentinus incola de suis hortis, sed de tuis statuis, de tua pietate, de divino cultu, de perpetuo sacrificio, de tot poetis, de tot carminibus, de tua perenni gloria, mansuraque æternitate. Nam quanquam tuæ laudes longe plures ac potius innumeræ sint, tamen sic velim, Coryci, existimes, tuam felicitatem hoc uno libello contineri. Etenim hæ tibi statuæ, præterquam quod carminibus et monumentis tot poetarum perennitatem tibi contulerunt, etiam statuam in cœlo statuerunt, aut certe locum ac sedem pepererunt, in quibus tu resideas sempiternus. Quod si P. Vergilius in tua, aut tu in illius tempora incidisses, habuisset ille quidem quid de te, præter hortense studium concineret ; prædicasset in homine natione externo, Romanum ingenium, urbanam dexteritatem, litteraria studia, litteratorum commercia, festivam urbanitatem, extemporariam dicendi facultatem, antiquitatis et marmorum vetustorum amorem, tum vero rigidam in justitia et supplicibus libellis, quibus jam sub sex Pontificibus præsides, severitatem; atque etiam istam tuam caniciem, corpusque teres et vividum, istamque tunicam tenuem atque expeditam in frugi homine, et ab omni ambitione semoto, cum nitens alioqui vestiarium tibi sit, prædicasset. An vero ille illum tuum solennem diem tacere potuisset, quo tu Annæ Christi Aviæ sacrum, tanto cultu et honore, ad tuas primum statuas stato sacrificio, inde ad hortos, pingui et lauto epulo, atque adeo omnibus bonis, omnibus doctis, indicto, concelebras ? Nam eo bonorum atque eruditorum virorum ea cohors coit, ac diem celebrat, ut in tuis hortis medias Athenas, emporiumque doctrinarum possis videri illo die includere, et musas de Helicone et Parnasso deductas, in Tarpejum et Quirinalem tuis hortis imminentes, transferre. Ubi alius ad arbores citrias, alius ad hortenses parietes, alius ad puteos, aut signa, quæ illic plurima sunt et speciosa, omnia antiqui operis, et gloriæ plena, hac illac temere et varie, carmina affigunt tuas statuas, tuam pietatem, liberalitatemque ejus diei, tam in Deos quam in homines tantam, uno ore concelebrant. Denique nullum in orbe terrarum (ausim hoc dicere) concilium aut convivium est, illo tuo illius diei, nobilius atque illustrius, quum præeuntibus mane sacrificiis, et re divina, post vergente vespera, selecta doctissimorum turba, et quasi flores litterarum, in hortos tuos coacervantur: quos tu quidem plurisquam reges, plurisque quam Satrapas universos æstimas et jure æstimas. Neque enim philosopho, immo sapienti tibi, plus animum purpuræ ac mitræ, quam carmina et metra pervadunt, neque pluris eos facis, qui sunt, quam qui esse reges merentur. Possem ego istos hic inserere, ac nomina poetarum tui temporis, posteritati indicare, nisi pene innumerabiles essent, ac bona eorum pars in libello ipso carminum annotaretur. Quare te iterum atque iterum felicem jure appellaverim, cum tu in tanta ubertate ingeniorum, quantam nostra tulit ætas, non solum annumerari, sed ab omnibus unus celebrari merueris. Eant igitur isti, qui laquearia aurea supini suspiciunt in cameris, suasque opes sibi habent, aut avare occlusas, aut inutiliter profusas, aut indignis erogatas, nec quicquam in poetas et doctos viros

largiuntur. Tu enim non usque adeo dives, sed tamen satis animo dives, ac divitiarum prudens partitor, nobili hac liberalitate, quam in perpetuum sacrificium, et in solenne hoc epulum contulisti, tum alia indesinente et perpeti, quam in omnes assidue bonos per occasionem exerces, factus es sempiternus. Siquidem in divos, qui supra homines, in homines, qui inter homines doctrina excellerent, ostendisti simul pietatem ac liberalitatem. Verum illi cum suis plurimis opibus, quibus uti nesciverunt, interibunt, nomenque una atque opes in terra condent, tu paucissimis tuis divitiis perbene usus, bene ac sempiterne uteris. Etenim in cœlo tibi æternitatem Divi, in terris optime homines, optimis monumentis, perennitatem rependent. Quo magis miratus aliquando sum, te tam inglorium, atque immortalitatis contemptorem fuisse, ut tuæ gloriæ invideres, carminaque tot, totque ingenia supprimeres, et cum gloriam tam meruisses, meritam tam contemneres, aut certe negligeres. Ecce jam Decennium circumactum est, ex quo ista conflata, emissa, divisque donata sunt nec dum in lucem a te proferuntur. Invidisti tibi, immo etiam Divis, immo et nobis omnibus, qui non sumus tam philosophi quam tu, qui gloriam amamus, qui famam non contemnimus. Ergo (dicam enim jam libere) tecum furem esse oportuit, atque istum libellum, quem tu sepultum atque occultum volueras, subfurari tibi, atque in lucem edere opus fuit, ut nobis omnibus aliquam afferret lucem. Scio non esse nos Vergilios, neque tam nos assecutos his plurimis versibus, quam illum illis paucissimis. Sed nec ullos alios præter Vergilium fuisse Vergilios, et te illi Corycio anteponendum (ut dixi) non dubito, neque quia nos tibi Vergilii esse non possumus, Ideo tu nobis non eris Corycius. Vives, vives, inquam nobiscum, et hoc uno remedio mortem vincemus, ut mortui vita, per famam et gloriam vivamus. Quod si altera quoque æternitatis via, quæ armis et victoriis quæritur, in precio est, quinimmo preciosior quibusdam habetur, ego istam mihi amabo, quæ non hominem ferro necat, sed stylo servat, quæ prodest scribendo, non obest rapiendo, quæ innocentia, humanitate, pietate, non audacia, ira, vi, temeritate contendit, ita ut longe mihi præoptem (si id assequi possim) poetam me esse quam militem. Verum ad me redeo, quem furem fuisse fateor, ne tu esses invidus, neu forte id nobis quod olim illi eveniret, cui divina opici roserunt carmina mures. Librum itaque istum, quem tu capsula occlusum tenebas, in tua cellula, ad lævam manum, sopito nuper tibi subripui, et quasi a Sileno dormiente Vergiliani pueri, sic ego a Corycio sene, æterna carmina clam extorsi, invulgandaque typis dedi. Dabis tu veniam, ac mecum redibis in gratiam, ut voles, neque me sic furem oderis, ut non recogites, te potius odio habendum fuisse, ut invidum. Denique alliges me ut vis ad tuam Tarpejam rupem ; me nunquam pœnitebit fuisse Prometheum, qui ut ille de cœlo ignem, sic tibi ardentia, et victura carmina, ad perennitatem nostram, sæculique voluptatem, subripuerim. Vale.

C. Sylvanus Germanicus, Jano Corycio S.

Arsillus egregius vir, libellum ad me detulit, quem de poetis urbanis conscripsit; eum tibi mitto, non solum ut legas, verum ut associes

quoque libellis tuis, una orbem terrarum ut peragrent, postquam tandem extra sinum, parto deliberaris frui honore. Non poteris profecto sine magna ingratitudinis nota id negare officii, me poscente, viris iis, qui in te statuasque tuas officiosissimi fuere, sed certum est invidulos aliquot exclamaturos, quid tam sedulo Silvanus laborat isthæc edi? scilicet quod ipse quoque est insertus corona tantorum virorum. At ego istiusmodi blaterones perinde habeo, ac Romani Brutios, dummodo sciant laudem hanc, somnos mihi breviores facturam. Tu vero, mi Coryci, plusquam decuit inanes illorum, immo vero inermes stimulos metuens, hactenus rarissimam cohibuisti gloriam. Cave igitur animo decedas, confige cornicum oculos, utere laude tua vivens, si sapies, quæ cæteris post fata longe venire soleat, naucifacito quicquid est omnino invidentium, quando citius invidere quis poterit, quam imitari. Vale.

Janus Corycius Lucumbergen. C. Silvano. S.

Multam, Silvane, tibi debeo gratiam, qui mihi nostri Arsilli de Urbanis poetis legendum libellum indulseris, longe jucundiorem profecto, et venustiorem, iis libellis, qui mihi, quotidie inter manus versantur, et lites præferunt, atque contentiones; ac licet assueto, nauseam et bilem commovent. Ingentem itaque ex eo voluptatem cepi, nec mittere mihi carius potuisses quippiam. Arsillo vero etiam atque etiam debeo, qui tantos illos viros, quorum opera pene spiro et vigeo, quorum ope nomen obtineo, atque umbris subtrahor, uno libello nobili complexus est, verissimas uniuscujusque laudes attingens, et quodammodo collocatos in Musarum concilio, posteritati plane intuendos exhibet. Cum tamen efflagitationibus, ne dicam conviciis, virorum probatissimorum urgear, carmina in nostras edita statuas publicare, typisque cudenda tradere (non tam quod obtrectatores invidosque extimescam, quibus parum certe negotii nobiscum est, quam quod mihi, judicioque meo non satis fido, et consulendas mihi aures arbitror disertiorum) minime obsequendum credidi, et ut ab editione abhorreo, ita quoad fieri possit abstinere decrevi; non maligno, ædepol, animo, neque ut immortales laude homines fraudem, aut præconio illo excludam, atque intervertam, quod tot fessi vigiliis commeruerunt (Nempe ea jactura mihi cum iis est communis). Sed ne viderer forte ita gloriæ appetens esse, ut quid deceat, quid dedeceat, non prius dispiciam. Hac ratione, libellus summæ apud me æstimationis et gratiæ, cæteris quidem jungetur, verum in scrinii latebra aliquamdiu dorment, et hoc elegantiæ præmium apud me feret. Scio summi Oratoris esse sententiam, Nullius Agricolæ stirpem tam diuturnam, quam boni Poetæ versum, conseri posse. Verum ego non tanti duco gloriæ illecebras, ut decoris rationem et temporis posthabendam existimem, cui sapientem servire in primis decet. Vale.

No. LXXVI. p. 236.

Oratio Stephani Possidarski, habita apud Leonem Decimum, Pontificem Maximum, pro Domino Joanne Torquato Comite Corbaviæ defensore Crovaciæ.

Beatissime Pater, semper in divinis Beatissime, in humanis autem vix audeo dicere, cum rempublicam Christianam a ferocissimis hostibus lacerari et ludibrio iri animadverto. Quod idem Sanctitati tuæ cognitum esse, cum ex nunciis Domini mei Joannis Torquàti devotissimi servuli tui, Corbaviæ infelicissimi Comitis, tum ex legatis tuis ad illas provincias missis exploratum esse judicamus, quod omnibus fere Christianis, non sine magno terrore cognitum est, immanem illam Bestiam in Apocalypsi figuratam, idest Turcarum regem, septem illa cornua contra nos extulisse, et per quinquaginta et amplius annos, nescio an propter vitia nostra, an permissu summi Dei, tot Episcopatus et consequenter episcopatibus subditos, in suam ditionem, et quod pejus est in suos mores ire coegerit, ut jam prope, nisi ostenderis te esse id quod es, Salvatoris Vicarium, de nostra salute desperemus. Videmus enim quotidie non indies majus urgeri, et quasi ex igne aquam petere? sed proh Deus immortalis, ubi est veritas? ubi est amor justitiæ? ubi est fœdus amicitiæ christianæ? Vicini Domini atque Dynastæ qui nobis auxilio et sibi præsidio esse deberent, invidia nos quadam prosequuntur, et ex amaritudine nostra sibi adipes faciunt; sed Joanne Torquato deleto, tunc intelligent carnes et adipes ex invidia saginatos sine ossibus constare non posse. Verba subdola et apparentia inter gladios et frameas nullius efficaciæ sunt. O quoties inter ignes villarum suarum, et multitudinem captivorum, ipse Joannes, non sine magno sanguine suorum, tanquam Leo irritatus in medias latronum et hostium acies impetum fecit, nullaque humana ope sed divina potius evasit. Animos ejus et ausus quis enarraverit! Cogitare potes, Clementissime Pater, cum tot calamitatibus de continuis incursionibus et latrociniis affectus sit, quomodo sibi constet, ut facile appareat non sine numine tam diu posse subsistere. Utcumque tamen vigilat et observat quantum fieri potest in angusto, et in regione prope desolata, ut exclamare possit, unde mihi auxilium nisi a Domino. Venetorum provinciæ Dalmatia et Liburnia prope mare quum naturali munimento defensæ tum fœdere facto tutæ aliquandiu a faucibus Turcarum fuerunt. Ceteræ Mediterraneæ provinciæ, aut quia longius ab ipsis hostibus, aut quia prope flumina sunt, negligentius de nobis agere videntur; sed Joanni Torquato ista necessitas imposita est, ut non solum se finesque suos, sed alienos etiam tutari cogatur; nam in Tinium, et Clissiam, et Regulorum castella, quæ ab aliis custodiri deberent, et maxima quidem vigilia, idem Dominus meus semper oculos intendit, et sæpe castella sua, et bellicis tormentis, et militibus exarmat ut illis opem ferat. Cæteri omnes Reguli et Frangipanes, qui a tergo sunt, illius fortunam opperiuntur, in casu ejus omnino casuri. Banus in penetralia Sclavoniæ secessit, et in foribus Crovatiæ hostes non curat. Sed quid plura

dicam, quum nemo ignoret Joannem Torquatum xxx. annos in foribus Corbaviæ vigilantissimum custodem excubare, et contermina Turcis loca intrepido animo defendere. Ibi non legationibus neque verborum disceptationibus de principatu agitur; sed cruentatis ensibus de fide, libertate, ac de salute contenditur; sed circumcirca, undique terror undique fuga est; quas pulcherrimas et fecundissimas terras ipsa natura constituit, sævitia hostium et cultorum desolatio turpissimas et infecundissimas reddidit. Non possum tibi, Pater Sancte, tot arces natura munitissimas, tot nobiles et strenuissimos equites Crovatia fugatos nonnisi Banorum incuria et negligentia recensere. Non possum tibi omnes Turcarum æstus et insidias, taceo crudelitates quas contra nos faciunt, enarrare. Ambiguum est an majus nos potentia an dolis et fraudibus urgeant. Waiwodas captis arcibus et Castellis præficiunt qui sponsionibus et possessionibus Christianos subditos alliciunt ut sibi obnoxii sint. Proh dolor, Beatissime Pater, jamjam cum Turcis vicini Christiani matrimoniam contrahunt, atque ita conveniunt ut Domino meo inter Christianos et subditos agenti debito dubitandum sit. Affirmare tibi possum, clementissime Pater, illum hostium fraudes multo majus quam arma timere. Hostium tributarius effectus est, ut quoquomodo possit effugiat et salutem sibi et miserrimæ Crovatiæ tam diu producat, quoad divina miseratio faverit. Videt enim omnem furorem Turcarum totas in se vires effundere; ut nisi tu, Beatissime Pater, qui summi Dei Vicarium agis, solita providentia Domino meo prospexeris, de rebus suis, et de tota Crovatia propediem interitum nunciet. Si prospicere, Pater sanctissime, vis, aut Joannem Torquatum militem Ecclesiæ restitue de Turcarum tributario, et sicut optat, propugnatorem effice, aut aliquem de ducibus tuis mitte, cujus armis et ope Turcis vicinis secum obstare valeat, et latrocinio latrocinia repellere, aut saltem aliquem virum religiosum ad illos populos mitte, cujus autoritate a fuga contineantur, et ad fidem Christi corroborentur, aut Sanctitas tua dic novissima verba. Vale.

Manlius arces Romanas et templa repulso,
  Defendit Gallo sæpius hoste procul.
Hic noster Torquatus agros defendit avitos,
  Et sæpe a nobis Turkica signa fugat;
Tam gratus patriæ quantum ille Quiritibus olim,
  Et si fata dabunt prospera, major erit.

No. LXXVII. P. 237.

From the original in the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum. Vitell. B. 3. 218. b.

Reverendissime Pater et Domine, Domine mi ac benefactor singularis, post humillimas commendationes. Nonnullis meis litteris ad vestram R. D. scriptis, satis copiose me significasse arbitror ingens Sanctissimi Domini nostri desiderium ad pacem inter cunctos chris-

tianos principes universalem componendam, meique non ejus Sanctitatis consilium quod Gallico Regi hac de causa tanquam sibi in mentem venisset proponendum decreverat; sperans non difficulter successurum quod saluberrimum eventu foret atque in ea re, viam a me cogitatam quam maxime probans, nostrum consilium tanquam a semetipso proveniens, postea Pontifex ipse, per Illustrissimum Urbini Ducem, opportune secreteque ad prefatum Gallicum Regem deferri curavit, a quo nuper plenum accepit responsum, mentem atque ejus voluntatem plane indicans, ut abunde V. R. a Domino Silvestro Dario percipiet. Quamobrem Sanctissimus D. N. mihi injunxit, ut per celerem cursorem, vestram R. D. ejus nomine rogarem, obtestarerque, ut quam citissime ejus responsum haberemus; Nam verbis ullis explicare nunquam ardentissimum suæ Sanctitatis desiderium possem, quo afficietur donec rescripserit ipsa V. R. quam meo etiam nomine propterea obsecratam velim ut huic tanto Pontificis voto satisfacere dignetur.

Super privationem Cardinalis Hadriani ternis ad vestram R. D. literis significavi perplexum Sanctissimi D. N. animum, ac suæ trepidationis causas; quamvis in sententia se persistere affirmaret, et ad postremum non defore diceret, quin illum ad Ecclesiæ Bathoniensis Resignationem compellat; id quod ab ejus Sanctitate sæpissime et quotidie pene mihi confirmatur. Felicissime valeat eadem V. R. D. cui me iterum humillime commendo. Romæ xiii. Junii, M.D.XVIII. V. R. D.

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri et Dom. D. Thomæ, Sanctæ Cec. Presb. Card. &c. ac Sedis Apost. Legato.

Humill. suus Sil. Ep. Wigornien.

No. LXXVIII. p. 239.

From the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum. Vitell. B. iii. p. 225.

Cum nuper Sanctissimus Dominus noster Leo Papa decimus, Gregis Dominici sibi a Deo commissi, tamquam bonus pastor paternam solicitudinem gerens, et tranquillitatem ac pacem omnium christianorum principum mira cordis affectione desiderans, videns insuper immanissimos Turchas velut Lupos rapaces ad dispergendas Oves et ad Gregis Dominici internecionem paratos imminere, nisi pastoris Vigilantia et Diligentia a Christianorum invasione ab oculo Dominico arceantur et repellantur, præsertim cum nuper eorundem Turcharum Tyranni vires et potentia eousque creverint ut deleto Sultano cum toto Mamaluchorum exercitu, tota Syria et Egipto cum omnibus provinciis dicto Sultano quondam subjectis sit potitus, et nunc omni alia cura probe solutus et liber, nil aliud moliri quam Christianorum cædibus et sanguini inhiare videtur. Considerans præterea quæ culpa Christianorum principum qui inter se miserabiliter potius pugnare quam dictorum Turcharum feritati resistere eosque adoriri retroactis temporibus voluerunt, tot

Regna a Turchis et Saracenis ante hæc tempora occupata, coinquinata, et fœdata fuerunt, pastorali officio suo convenire putavit ut Christianos principes omnes contra Turchas pugnare et susceptas injurias ulcisci hortaretur. Et cum hoc commode fieri non posse idem Sanctissimus Dominus noster prospiceret, nisi prius ipsi principes Christiani inter se pacem habentes, de communi hoste propellendo cogitarent, ac unitis animis et viribus gladium quem eis divina Majestas ad vindictam malorum tribuit, in Turchas, qui salvatorem Christum verum Deum esse abnegantes Legem Evangelicam evertere atque extirpare conantur eripere vellent. Ac propterea idem Sanctissimus Dominus noster, habita super hoc cum Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalibus matura deliberatione, Reges, principes et potentatus Christianos, necnon Respublicas, communitates, cæterosque Christi fideles, quinquenales treugas et inducias (ne tam necessaria aut salutifera Expeditio in Turchas aliquo impedimento differatur, sed potius debitum et optatum exitum consequatur) suscipere sit hortatus, atque easdem anno Incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo decimo septimo, sexto Idus Martis publicavit, Christianos et cæteros prædictos hortans per vim Misericordiæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et per passionem qua nos redemit, et per Judicium extremum quod unusquisque secundum opera sua est accepturus, et per spem Vitæ æternæ quam repromisit Deus diligentibus se, ut hujusmodi treugis et induciis durantibus, in Caritate mutua et amoris et benevolentiæ unione persistentes, ab omni prorsus abstineant offensione, ut tam sanctæ contra nefandissimos Turchas Expeditioni, omni prorsus metu et suspitione cessantibus, intendere possint, ad quas quidem inducias sive treugas acceptandas et ratificandas, dominus Sanctissimus Dominus noster nos non solum suis litteris verum etiam per Reverendissimos in Christo patres Thomam Sanctæ Ceciliæ et Laurentium Sancti Thomæ in Parione titulorum presbiteros Cardinales et ad hoc nostrum Regnum de latere domini Sanctissimi Domini nostri legatos requisiverit et hortatus fuerit. Nos igitur, tanquam Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ et sedis Apostolicæ Filius obsequentissimus, nec non honorem ejusdem cordi semper habentes, eamque pro viribus et opibus nostris defendere, ac sanctissimæ ejusdem Apostolicæ sedis monitis et exhortationibis acquiescere paratissimi, dictas quinquennales treugas seu inducias quantum ad nos attinet acceptandas ratificandas et approbandas duximus, ac easdem per præsentes acceptamus, ratificamus, et approbamus: Protestantes nihilominus et per præsentes declarantes, quod per dictarum quinquennalium treugarum seu induciarum acceptationem, ratificationem, seu approbationem, ab aliis Ligis, Amicitiis, seu confederationibus cum quibuscunque Regibus, Principibus Christianis, Dominis sive Comitibus ante hæc per nos initis, aut ab aliquo seu aliquibus articulo seu articulis in aliqua dictarum Ligarum, Amicitiarum seu confederationum comprehenso seu comprehensis, recedere vel in aliquo derogare nullo modo intendimus, sed easdem Amicitias, Ligas, et Confederationes cum Regibus quibuscunque, Principibus, Dominis, Comitibusque ut præfertur factas, ac omnia et singula capitula contenta in eisdem in suo pleno robore et effectu permanere volumus et declaramus. *Cætera desunt.*

No. LXXIX. p. 241.

Exhortatio Viri Cuiusdam doctissimi ad Principes, ne in Decimæ præstationem consentiant.

Si unquam Germaniæ principibus prudentia, consilio, concordiaque pro defendendo honore, et communi utilitate opus fuit, Alemani proceres electissimi, inprimis indigere mihi videntur hoc tempore, quo in prædam Romanæ avaritiæ deputantur, ac dedecorosam servitutem, ita blande propositam, ut illa homines, prius quam intra viscera penetraverit, sese captos non sentiant. Est enim modus fallendi adeo vafer, ut his septis versutiis (quid enim non excogitat avaritia) existiment acuti homines fraudem a nemine posse deprehendi, præsertim a vobis Germaniæ ducibus, quos cibo semper refertos, et vino madidos arbitrantur, et publice declamant. Et ob id ad decipiendum liberius aggrediuntur. Præbuerunt præterita tempora fallacibus hominibus constantiam in spe præsenti. Quando enim non est assensum illorum malis artibus ; cum saltem adfuerit, qui vel mediocriter didicit fraudi fucum adpingere ? Constat profecto nullam partem Christiani orbis ab hujusmodi prodigiorum genere non esse callide tentatam, multos reges et principes fraudulenter deceptos. Sed singula mecum reputanti occurrit nullam gentem sæpius illusam, habitamque ludibrio ac nostram. Non te, inclyta Germania, ad libros relego, ut gesta hominum cognoscas legendo. Satis ampla sunt, quæ memoria hujus ætatis tenet. Quo magis vereor ne inscitia temporis præteriti successum præbeat malo incumbenti. De quo brevem tibi Germania sermonem subjiciam, quanquam nil novi a me audies, quod per inclytos tuos principes non melius noris. Quadriennium habitum Romæ concilium patrum de rep. christiana (quam legitime jurisperiti et theologi disputant). Nondum erat finis tamen cum de colligendis Decimis omnium assensu decretum est, volutus erat lapis ad locum suum. Placuit ergo, rejecto reliquo negotio, tanquam parum utili, invocato sancto spiritu, concilium dimittere, gratias agendo Deo, per quem operationes nostræ incipiunt, et cœptæ recte finiuntur. Porro impium est, quod concilio placuit, id putare displicere Deo, quo hæc aguntur autore. De pace agitur inter reges, qua firmata, visum omnium suffragiis Asiatico hosti conjunctis viribus bellum inferre. Evomuntur evestigio quatuor legati (nisi ob quintum collegam et ob computum erraverim) ad nationes Christianas, ut reges et principes ad expeditionem instigent, ipsi vero pecuniam mulgeant. Quibis forte dicebatur, Ite in orbem universum, prædicate dicentes, Qui crediderit, et Decimas solverit, salvus erit. Quorum nuper, cum Bononiæ essemus, tres vidimus ingredi, tanta pompa et apparatu, ut sapientes ad eorum errorem allicerent. Dilatate inclyti Germani imperium christianum. Frangite vires hostis impurissimi ; in hoc omnibus nervis incumbite, quo nomen Christi extendatur. Res pia et sancta est, et a nemine potest reprehendi, nisi qui malit Turcæ, quam Christo servire. Verum sub hoc prætextu, per hanc fictam pietatem, sub hoc umbrato nomine exspoliare imperitiorem populum,

sugere lac gentium, inebriari mamilla regum, dico scelus esse multo probabilius, quam quæ a Turca inferuntur. Non quod tanti faciam pecunia privari (quam sceleratus citius quam probus habere potest) sed quod nullo pacto ferre debemus (quantum in nobis est) ut angelus Satanæ transfiguret se in angelum lucis, et poculo pietatis propinet impietatis venenum, ut populus, cum se rem sacram facere Deo existimet, avaritiæ sacrificet, quæ mater est falsæ religionis. Falli, errare, labi, decipi, ubique turpe est, per religionem vero turpissimum; quam unam nobis contra noxios mores contulit divina bonitas. Hæc absolutiorem partem pietatis nobis proponit. Primum, Deum amare omnibus viribus, proximum deinde ut nosipsos. At quomodo illum amabimus, cum videmus ejus sacrosancta præcepta manifeste pollui? Nec tamen occurrendo, sed potius connivendo, opem ferimus impietati. An ille proximum sincere amat, qui in incommodo illius removendo nihil est occupatus? Nolo amicum nihil solicitum de salute mea. Inimicus mihi habeatur, qui a me non propulset injuriam si potest, et tamen illa non legimus, nec audimus, sed quotidie fieri videmus, nullo hominum reluctante, sed patientes ad omnem ignominiam; quasi non potius contumelia sit Deo quam obsequium, stulta patientia. Utinam tam facile possint ista emendari, quam reprehendi, et principes nostri nollent perpetuo connivere, sed tandem aliquam partem, si non totum, perversæ consuetudinis præcidere. Quanto æquabilius res tam prophanæ quam sacræ se haberent? Ego enim sic existimo, imperia his artibus melius retineri, quibus acquiruntur. At imperium Christianum non armis non gladio comparatum est, sed pietate, et optimis exemplis vivendi. Quæ postquam pessum abierunt, omnia bona retrolapsa sunt. Multa imperia perdidimus, quoniam artes, per quas parta erant, non retinuimus. Amissa est pietas, retinuimus nomen. Salutamur in vita sanctissimi, et post mortem nemo nos dignatur nomine sanctitatis. Ab hac parte paulatim cœpit proserpere virus exitiale. Deinde cæteri proceres secuti sunt non segniter. Ergo mirum non est quod a nobis alienatur cœlestis favor, et nos non cognoscit amplius, atque prædæ relinquit improbo hosti. Pontifices enim Romani, postquam cœperunt prophana cum sacris conjungere, immo relictis sacris solum prophana admirari, quam bene consultum fuerit reip. christianæ, quam bene placuerit superis ipsorum institutum, eventus comprobavit. Amissis externis, interna infinitis seditionibus conturbantur. Divina despiciuntur. Venditur Christus, lana ovium tondetur, de custodia studium nullum. Omitto hic Hispaniam, Gallias, orientem cum occidente. Quantum pro palliis similibusque figmentis, ætate duorum principum Frederici et Maximiliani, una effudit Germania, si Roma, ut institutum est, in fiscum collegisset, vel Germania (veluti par erat) in unum contulisset, haberemus jam nervos reipublicæ abunde sufficientes bello Asiatico. Nec opus foret orbem jam fatigare Christianum et novis onerare (ne dicam exenterare) quotidie tributis, et excoriare pauperes. Provenit Pontifici ex sua terra vectigal, quantum nulli regum Christianorum, et tamen pallia emimus, et tamen asinos auro onustos Romam mittimus, patibula Christi erigimus, munera promittimus, aurum pro plumbo mutamus, negligentias (heu lapsus sum calamo)

indulgentias passim admittimus. O avaritiam immensam carentem fundo, canum impurissimorum nescientium saturitarem, ut est apud prophetam Danielem. Certe emere pallia sanctum duco, modo id prosit aut pietati, aut valeat ad conservandam communem utilitatem. Sed cum utrunque horum tot sæculorum experientia refutet, et pallia tantum extiterint simulata instrumenta perditissimæ avaritiæ, surgat jam aliquis, atque justam causam dandi proferat in medium. Qui timeat Pontificis fulmen, probus Episcopus aliquis, concordia fratrum, puraque conscientia electus, sed respuens, multis modiis aureorum emere Romanum centonem? Non faciet puto. Non probat Paulus Apostolus, qui nos devorant, qui in faciem cædunt, qui nos in servitutem redigunt. Quandoquidem non christianam charitatem, sed meram tyrannidem illi præ se ferunt. Foris facto fure, in pellibus ovium intus lupos rapaces agunt. Mihi justus dolor est, ob nefariam avaritiam totum mundum sub umbra religionis polluentem. Quem enim locum, quantumvis obscurum illa contagione non contaminatum ostendas? Quæ resp. non multa amisit? Quis princeps jus avitum servat integrum? Quæ sacerdotum collegia non sunt contaminata? Quis pessimos mores (quorumque etiam nomen erat apud nostros majores abhorrendum) induxit in Germaniam; et quæ honeste nominari non possunt docuit? Qui fœdarunt hominum societates? Qui norunt egregie fallere, decipere, pejerare, testamenta supponere, divina et humana prophanare, miscere lites, quietos perturbare, denique cœlum cum terra confundere? Nonne e Romana Italicaque proluvie ista sentina sese in orbem terrarum effudit? Adeo ut ne saltus et sylvæ (ubi lustra ferarum tantum esse duxeris) hoc malo careant. Episcopos merito sacrosanctos esse dicimus; sed prodeant, quibus est illæsa sua autoritas, et hunc veluti bonum valde, et rarum merito suscipiemus. Non sunt longe petenda exempla. Sermon imeo fidem conciliant res vestræ. Ante omnes protectum esse oportuit Episcopum Bambergensem ab hac peste, ob ingentia dona in Italia Pontifici largita ab Henrico imperatore, quo domum suam contra Romanas invasiones obarmatam post mortem suam relinqueret. Verebatur vir providus id quod postea accidit. Latrocinari cœpit superstitio, sed nondum tanta erat in sæculo. Violatum jus est, ut servata fides sancto seni. Sed quid ego ista commemoro, quæ declamationis exempla superant? Ad institutum sermonem redeo. Turcam profligare vultis. Laudo propositum, sed vehementer vereor ne erretis in nomine. In Italia quærite, non in Asia. Contra Asiaticum quisque nostrorum regem pro finibus suis defendendis per se satis est. Ad alterum vero domandum, totus orbis christianus non sufficit. Ille cum finitimis quoque tumultuans, nobis nondum nocuit. Hic ubique grassatur, et sanguinem miserorum sitit. Hunc Cerberum nullo modo sedare potestis, nisi aureo fluvio. Nihil armis, nihil exercitu opus est. Plus valebunt Decimæ quam equitum turmæ, et militum copiæ. Duplex mihi videtur via proposita, dum rem diligentius considero; una quæ jubente superstitione, aurum petit; altera quæ renuentibus Pontificis fulmen minatur. Utram vultis ingredimini. Sed O stultam, et superstitiosam opinionem credentium cœleste numen, omnia æquis oculis intuens, ad

nutum Florentinorum flecti et reflecti, irasci non danti, et rursum largienti placari ! Non est Christi vicarii fulmen contemnendum, sed non semper ab illius jactu pertimescendum, præsertim cum res agitur pro humanis affectibus. Christi indignationem vereor, Florentinorumque non vereor. Jem vero Florentinorum negotium agitur, non Christi. Superiori æstate sumptu incredibili bellum gestum est contra Franciscum ducem Urbinatem, quo regno ejecto, sed prius placato aurea gratia, Laurentius Medices in locum successit. Ibi non satis providus fuit Julius II. quod non plus auri reliquit. Ergo inventa fuit quædam fraus nova. Quicunque plura dare potuerunt Cardinalium, hi inventi sunt conspirasse in necem Pontificis. Horum bona ficco scribebantur. Subsecuta est discordia fratrum cordigerorum, quæ, quantum lucri attulerit rabulis Florentinis, rem pro voluntate in omnes partes flectentibus, quid attinet narrare ? cum fidem superet largitio mendicorum. Non libet narrare erectas cruces Salvatoris per cuncta oppida, ad mensuram dantis propitias. Prætereo scenam de æde Petri et risus, et indignationis plenam. Templum domini, templum domini, templum domini clamat propheta, sed non est templum domini. Laurentius ædificat, non Petrus. Lapides noctu migrant. Nihil hic fingo, principes Romani imperii, imo orbis totius, cuncti sollicitantur pro æde Petri in qua duo tantum opifices operantur, et alter claudus, quod nuper in frequentia peregrinorum concitabatur tumultus artificum, currebatur, clamabatur, videbantur sculpti et picti angeli excipientes munera largientium, ferentesque in sublime. Ridere poteratis mecum commoti ob prestigias aucupii, sicut risit olim venerabilis pater Cyprianus præ indignatione, viso Christo pedibus et auribus asininis depicto. Deflere libet fortunam sæculi corruptissimi, ob supremam negligentiam episcoporum, atque principum, permittentium populum suum ita nequiter decipi. Omnes illas artes invenit fraus Florentina, et propediem nefandiores excogitabit. Animadvertite modo. Quisque modo dies novam pariet curam. Timetur ne corpus pontificis crassum immatura morte perturbet consilia. Fugato duce Urbinate, similem fortunam minatur principi Ferrariensi. Quo pariter ejecto, regnum constituemus, et Regem Tusciæ salutabimus Laurentium Medicem civem Florentinum. Sed quia fortuna mutabilis est, et citius potest mori Leo decimus, quam ista optatum finem consequantur, et fieri potest, ut Leonis successor discedere cogat Laurentium ex alienis regnis, ideo contra adversum eventum ducenda est uxor Laurentio in Gallia cujusdam potentis ducis filia, emendusque ibi principatus ; parandum adversus fortuitos casus, sicut decet sapientem virum duobus regnis profugium. Facta est emptio, signatæ tabulæ, dati fidejussores. Satis diu Medici fuimus, Principum Regumque fortuna ambienda est. Habetis jam breviter caput Decimarum, et insidias Turcæ, duce superstitione, in viscera vestra latrocinantis. Quamobrem resistite nefando conatui. Nolite assentiendo contaminari impietate. Quod rectum est, quod ratio suadet sequimini. Signatum est lumen vultus tui domine super nos. Illud errare nolentes non sinit. Mementote vos esse Germanos, hoc est, populum ante alios natura liberiorem, sicut hostes vestri de vobis scripserunt. Nolite alicui esse vectigales, ante omnes

vero Florentinis. Proferant se in judicium nostri episcopi, indignum servitutis jugum a cervicibus suis abjicientes. Sed verentur omnes, mussitant quidem, quod dicere non didicerunt, alii metu fulminis, nonnulli spe novi honoris. Unus omnium mihi venerabilis Laurentius sese erigit, qui sæpenumero gravem imbrem consilio, et prudentia sua a repub. Franconica amovit. Atque ideo corona aurea merito laureandus, Augustiore vero, si hanc quoque tempestatem removerit. Ad quem honorem studium omne convertat alacriter divino monitu. Nos, qui ab eo sacerdotum collegio decorati sumus, audentius deprecari volumus. Oremus pro Pontifice nostro. Dominus conservet eum, et vivificet eum, et beatum faciat eum in terra, et non tradat eum in manus inimicorum ejus. In manus inimicorum traditur quando audire contemnit eum qui dicit, Ego dominus amans judicium, et odio habens rapinam, qui sit in sæcula sæculorum benedictus, Amen.

In Comitiis imperii Ratisbonen. Francisco Cardinali Senen. legato, et Joanne Campano oratore, decima itidem petita fuit contra Turcas : Tum princeps quidam elector, bellicæ rei peritissimus, et in eadem non vulgariter fortunatus, qui paulo ante treis principes viros devicerat, ait, se sola Vicesima, et Turcas, et eos, qui decimam exigerent, ultra Herculeum fretum facile profligaturum.

Horum tu Carole meminisse memento.

Emprime en che paiis neuu trouve nome Utopya l'an mille. ccccc. et xix. le quinzome jour Mars.

No. LXXX. p. 261.

Lutheri Op. tom. i. pp. 183, 184.

Beatissimo Patri Leoni X. Pontifici Maximo, F. Martinus Lutherus Augustinianus, salutem æternam.

Beatissime Pater, cogitate rerum necessitas, ut ego fæx hominum et pulvis terræ, ad beatitudinem tuam, tantamque Majestatem loquar. Quare paternas ac vere Christi vicarias aures huic oviculæ tuæ interim clementissime accommodare dignetur Beatitudo tua, et balatum meum hunc officiose intelligere.

Fuit apud nos honestus hic Vir Carolus Miltitius, Beatitudinis tuæ Secretarius Cubicularius, gravissime causatus, nomine Beatitudinis tuæ apud Illustrissimum Principem Fridericum, de mea in Romanam Ecclesiam et Beatitudinem tuam, et irreverentia et temeritate, expostulans satisfactionem. Ego ista audiens, plurimum dolui, officiosissimum officium meum tam infelix esse, ut quod pro tuendo honore Ecclesiæ Romanæ susceperam, in irreverentiam, etiam apud ipsum verticem ejusdem Ecclesiæ, ac plenam omnis mali suspicionem, venerit.

Sed quid agam, Beatissime Pater ? Desunt mihi consilia prorsus. Potestatem iræ tuæ ferre non possum, et quo modo eripiar, ignoro.

Revocationem expostulor Disputationis, quæ si id posset præstare, quod per eam quæritur, sine mora ego præstarem eam. Nunc autem, cum resistentibus et prementibus adversariis, scripta mea latius vagentur quam unquam speraveram, simul profundius hæserint plurimorum animis, quam ut revocari possint; quin cum Germania nostra hodie mire floreat ingeniis, eruditione, judicio, si Romanam Ecclesiam volo honorare, id mihi quam maxime curandum video, ne quid ullo modo revocem; nam istud revocare nihil fieret, nisi Ecclesiam Romanam magis ac magis fœdare, et in ora omnium hominum accusandam tradere.

Illi, illi, heu! Beatissime Pater, hanc Ecclesiæ Romanæ intulerunt injuriam, et pene infamiam apud nos in Germania, quibus ego restiti, id est, qui insulsissimis suis sermonibus, sub nomine Beatitudinis tuæ non nisi teterrimam avaritiam coluerunt, et opprobrio Ægypti contaminatam et abominandam reddiderunt sanctificationem. Et quasi id non satisfieret malorum, me, qui tantis eorum monstris occurri, authorem suæ temeritatis apud Beatitudinem tuam inculpant.

Nunc Beatissime Pater, coram Deo et tota creatura sua testor, me neque voluisse, neque hodie velle, Ecclesiæ Romanæ ac Beatitudinis tuæ potestatem ullo modo tangere, aut quacunque versutia demoliri. Quin plenissime confiteor hujus Ecclesiæ potestatem esse super omnia, nec e præferendum quidquam sive in cœlo, sive in terra, præter unum Jesum Christum Dominum omnium. Nec Beatitudo tua ullis malis dolis credat, qui aliter de Luthero hoc machinantur.

Et quod unum in ista causa facere possum, promittam libentissime Beat. tuæ istam de Indulgentiis materiam me deinceps relicturum, penitusque taciturum (modo et adversarii mei suas vanas ampullas contineant) editurum denique in vulgus, quo intelligant et moveantur, ut Romanam Ecclesiam pure colant, et non illorum temeritatem huic imputent, neque meam asperitatem imitentur adversus Romanam Ecclesiam, qua ego usus sum, imo abusus et excessit adversus balatrones istos, si qua tandem gratia Dei, vel eo studio rursum sopiri queat excitata discordia. Nam unicum a me quæsitum est, ne avaritiæ alienæ fœditate pollueretur Ecclesia Romana, mater nostra, neve populi seducerentur in errorem, et charitatem discerent posthabere Indulgentiis. Cætera omnia, ut sunt neutralia, a me vilius æstimantur. Si autem et plura facere potero aut cognovero, sine dubio paratissimus ero.

Christus servet Beatitudinem tuam in æternum.

Ex Aldenburgo III. Martii, Anno M.D.XIX.

No. LXXXI. P. 264.

Lutheri Op. tom. i. p. 385.

Leoni X. Romano Pontifici Martinus Lutherus, salutem in Christo Jesu Domino nostro, Amen.

Inter monstra hujus sæculi, cum quibus mihi jam in tertium annum res et bellum est, cogor aliquando et ad te suspicere, tuique recordari,

Leo Pater beatissime ; immo cum tu solus mihi belli causa passim habearis, non possum unquam tui non meminisse. Et quamquam impiis adulatoribus tuis in me sine causa sævientibus, coactus fuerim a Sede tua ad futurum provocare concilium, nihil veritus Pii et Julii tuorum prædecessorum vanissimas constitutiones, id ipsum stulta tyrannide prohibentium, non tamen unquam interim animum meum a tua Beatitudine sic alienavi, ut non totis viribus optima quæque tibi Sedique tuæ optarim, eademque sedulis, atque quantum in me fuit, gemebundis precibus apud Deum, quæsierim ; atqui eos, qui me autoritatis et nominis tui majestate hactenus terrere conati sunt, pene contemnere ac triumphare cœpi. Unum superesse video, quod contemnere non possum, quæ causa fuit, ut denuo scriberem ad tuam Beatitudinem. Hæc est, quod accusari me et magno verti mihi vitio intelligo meam temeritatem, quæ nec tuæ personæ pepercisse judicor.

Ego vero, ut rem aperte confitear, conscius mihi sum, ubicunque tuæ personæ meminisse oportuit, non nisi magnifica et optima de te dixisse. Si vero a me secus factum esset, ipsemet nullis modis probare possem, et illorum de me judicium omni calculo juvarem, nihilque libentius, quam palinodiam hujus temeritatis et impietatis meæ canerem. Appellavi te Danielem in Babylone ; et innocentiam tuam insignem adversus contaminatorum tuum Silvestrum, quam egregio studio tutatus sim, quivis lector intelligit abunde. Scilicet, celebratior et augustior est in omni terrarum orbe, tot tantorum virorum literis cantata opinio et vitæ tuæ inculpata fama, quam ut a quovis vel maximi nominis possit quavis arte impeti. Non sum tam stultus, ut eum incessam, quem nullus non laudat; quin et mei studii fuit eritque semper, nec eos incessere, quos publica fama fœdat. Nullius enim delector crimine, qui et ipse mihi satis conscius sum magnæ trabis meæ in oculo meo, nec primus esse queam, qui in adulteram lapidem mittat.

Communiter quidem in impias doctrinas invectus sum acriter, et adversarios, non ob malos mores, sed ob impietatem, non segniter momordi. Cujus me adeo non pœnitet, ut animum induxerim, contempto hominum judicio, in ea vehementia zeli perseverare, Christi exemplo, qui genimina viperarum, cœcos, hypocritas, filios diaboli suos adversarios pro zelo suo appellat. Et Paulus filium diaboli, plenum omni dolo et malitia Magum criminatur, canes, subdolos, cauponatores quosdam traducit. Ubi, si des molliculos istos auditores, nihil erit Paulo mordacius et immodestius. Quid mordacius Prophetis ? Nostri sane sæculi aures ita delicatas reddidit adulatorum vesana multitudo, ut quam primum nostra non sentiamus probari, morderi nos clamemus ; et cum veritatem alio titulo repellere nequeamus, mordacitatis ; impatientiæ, immodestiæ prætextu fugimus. Quid proderit sal, si non mordeat ? Quid os gladii, si non cædat ? Maledictus vir, qui facit opus Domini fraudulenter.

Quare optime Leo, his me literis rogo expurgatum admittas, tibique persuadeas, me nihil unquam de persona tua mali cogitasse. Deinde me talem esse, qui tibi optima velim contingere in æternum, neque mihi cum ullo homine de moribus, sed de solo verbo veritatis esse contentionem. In omnibus aliis cedam cuivis. Verbum deserere et

negare nec possum nec volo. Qui aliud de me sentit, aut aliter mea hausit, non recte sentit, nec vera hausit.

Sedem autem tuam, quæ Curia Romana dicitur, quam neque tu, neque ullus hominum potest negare, corruptiorem esse quavis Babylone et Sodoma, et quantum ego capio, prorsus deploratæ, desperatæ atque conclamatæ impietatis, sane detestatus sum, indigneque tuli sub tuo nomine et prætextu Romanæ Ecclesiæ, ludi Christi populum ; atque ita restiti, resistamque dum spiritus fidei in me vixerit. Non quod ad impossibilia nitar, et sperem mea solius opera, tot repugnantibus furiis adulatorum, quidquam promoveri in ista Babylone confusissima. Sed quod debitorem me agnoscam Fratrum meorum, quibus consuli a me oportet, ut vel pauciores, vel mitius a Romanis pestibus perdantur. Neque enim aliud e Roma jam e multis annis in orbem inundat (quod non ignoras ipse) quam vastitas rerum, corporum, animarum, et omnium pessimarum rerum pessima exempla ; luce enim hæc omnibus clariora sunt, et facta est e Romana Ecclesia, quondam omnium sanctissima, spelunca latronum licentiosissima, lupanar omnium impudentissimum, regnum peccati, mortis et inferni ; ut ad malitiam quod accedat, jam cogitare non possit ne Antichristus quidem si venerit.

Interim tu Leo, sicut agnus in medio luporum sedes, sicut Daniel in medio Leonum et cum Ezechiele inter Scorpiones habitas. Quid his monstris unus opponas ? Adde tibi eruditissimos et optimos Cardinales tres aut quatuor. Quid hi inter tantos ? Ante veneno omnibus pereundum vobis, quam de remedio statuere præsumeretis. Actum est de Romana Curia ; pervenit in eam ira Dei usque in finem. Concilia odit, reformari metuit, furorem impietatis suæ mitigare nequit, et implet matris suæ elogium, de qua dicitur : Curavimus Babylonem, et non est sanata, derelinquamus eam. Officii quidem tui Cardinaliumque tuorum fuerat, his malis mederi ; sed ridet medicam ista podagra manum, et nec currus audit habenas. Hac affectione tactus dolui semper, optime Leo, his seculis te Pontificem factum, qui melioribus dignus eras. Non enim Romana Curia meretur te tuique similes, sed Satanam ipsum, qui et vere plus quam tu in Babylone ista regnat.

O utinam deposita ista, quam tibi gloriam esse jactant hostes tui perditissimi, privato potius sacerdotiolo, aut hæreditate paterna victitares ! Hac gloria gloriari non sunt digni, nisi Schariotides, filii perditionis. Quid enim facis in Curia, mi Leo, nisi quo quisque est sceleratior et execratior, eo felicius utatur tuo nomine et autoritate, ad perdendas hominum pecunias et animas, ad multiplicanda scelera, ad opprimendam fidem et veritatem, cum tota Ecclesia Dei. O revera infelicissime Leo, et periculosissimo sedens solio ! Veritatem enim tibi dico, quia bona tibi volo. Si enim Bernhardus suo Eugenio compatitur, cum adhuc meliore spe Romana sedes, licet tum quoque corruptissima imperaret, quid nos non queramur, quibus in trecentis annis tantum accessit corruptionis et perditionis ?

Nonne verum est, sub vasto isto cælo nihil esse Romana Curia corruptius, pestilentius odiosius ? Incomparabiliter enim Turcarum vincit impietatem. Ut revera quæ olim erat janua cœli, nunc sit

patens quoddam os inferni, et tale os, quod, urgente ira Dei obstrui non potest, uno tantum relicto miseris consilio, si queamus aliquot a Romano (ut dixi) isto hiatu revocare et servare.

Ecce mi Leo Pater, quo consilio, qua ratione in sedem istam pestilentiæ debacchatus sim. Tantum enim abest, ut in tuam personam sævirem, ut sperarem etiam gratiam initurum me, et pro tua salute staturum, si carcerem istum tuum, immo infernum tuum strenue et acriter pulsarem. Tibi enim tuæque saluti profuerit, et tecum multis aliis, quidquid in impiæ hujus Curiæ confusionem moliri potest omnium ingeniorum impetus. Tuum officium faciunt, qui huic male faciunt. Christum glorificant, qui eam omnibus modis execrantur. Breviter, Christiani sunt, qui Romani non sunt.

Sed ut amplius loquar, nec hoc ipsum unquam super cor meum ascendit, ut in Romanam Curiam inveherer, aut quidquam de ea disputarem. Videns enim desperata omnia salutis remedia, contempsi, et dato repudii libello, dixi ad eam, "qui sordet sordescat adhuc, et qui immundus est, immundus sit adhuc," tradens me placidis et quietis sacrarum literarum studiis, quibus prodessem Fratribus circum me agentibus.

Hic cum nonnihil proficerem, aperuit oculos suos Satan et servum suum Johannem Eccium, insignem Christi adversarium, extimulavit indomita gloriæ libidine, ut me traheret in arenam insperatam, captans me in uno verbulo, de primatu Romanæ Ecclesiæ, mihi obiter elapso. Hic Thraso ille gloriosus, spumans et frendens jactabat, pro gloria Dei, pro honore sanctæ sedis Apostolicæ, omnia se ausurum, et de tua inflatus abutenda sibi potestate, nihil certius expectabat quam victoriam; non tam primatum Petri, quam suum principatum inter Theologos hujus sæculi, quærens; ad quem non parvum momentum habere ducebat, si Lutherum duceret in triumpho. Quod ubi Sophistæ infeliciter cessit, incredibilis furia hominem exagitat. Sentit enim sua culpa solius factum esse, quidquid Romanæ infamiæ per me natum est.

Atque sine me, quæso, optime Leo, hic et meam aliquando causam agere, verosque tuos hostes accusare. Notum esse arbitror tibi, quid mecum egerit Cardinalis S. Sixti Legatus tuus imprudens et infelix, imo infidelis. In cujus manu ob tui nominis reverentiam, cum me et omnia mea posuissem, non hoc egit, ut pacem statueret, quam uno verbulo potuisset facile statuere, cum ego tum promitterem silentium et finem causæ meæ facturum, si adversariis idem mandaretur. At homo gloriæ non contentus eo pacto, cœpit adversarios justificare, licentiam aperire, et mihi palinodiam mandare, id quod in mandatis prorsus non habuit. Hic sane, ubi causa in optimo loco erat, illius importuna tyrannide venit in multo pejorem; unde quidquid post hæc secutum est, non Lutheri, sed Cajetani tota culpa est, qui ut silerem et quiescerem non est passus, quod tum summis viribus poscebam. Quid enim facere amplius debui?

Secutus est Carolus Miltitius, et ipse Beatitudinis tuæ nuntius, qui multo et vario negotio cursans et recursans, nihilque omittens, quod ad reparandum causæ statum, quem Cajetanus temere et superbe

turbaverat, pertineret, vix tandem etiam auxilio illustrissimi Principis Friderici Electoris effecit, ut semel et iterum familiariter mecum loqueretur. Ubi denuo tuo nomini cessi, paratus silere, acceptans etiam judicem vel Archiepiscopum Treverensem, vel Episcopum Nuremburgensem. Atque ita factum et impetratum. Dum hæc spe bona aguntur, ecce alter et major hostis tuus, irruit Eccius cum Disputatione Lipsica, quam instituerat contra D. Carolostadium, et nova accepta de primatu Papæ quæstione, in me vertit insperata arma, et penitus hoc consilium pacis dissipat. Expectat interim Carolus Miltitius. Disputatur. Judices eliguntur, nec hic aliquid decernitur. Nec mirum; quando Eccii mendaciis, simulationibus, technis omnia ubique erant turbatissima, exulceratissima, confusissima, ut quocunque inclinasset sententia, majus esset exoriturum incendium; gloriam enim, non veritatem quærebat. Nihil etiam hic omisi, quod a me fieri oporteret.

Et fateor hac occasione non parum venisse ad lucem Romanarum corruptelarum, sed in qua, si quid peccatum est, Eccii culpa est, qui onus supra vires suscipiens, dum gloriam suam furiose captat, ignominiam Romanam in totum orbem revelat.

Hic est ille hostis tuus, mi Leo, seu potius Curiæ tuæ. Hujus unius exemplo discere possumus, non esse hostem adulatore nocentiorem. Quid enim sua adulatione promovit, nisi malum, quod nullus Regum promovere potuisset? Fœtet enim hodie nomen Romanæ Curiæ in orbe, et languet papalis autoritas, famosa inscitia male audit; quorum nullum audiremus, si Eccius Caroli et meum de pace consilium non turbasset, id quod non obscure et ipse sentit, sero et frustra indignatus in Libellorum meorum editionem. Hoc debebat tum cogitare, cum totus in gloriam, sicut hinniens emissarius, insaniret, neque alia quam sua in te, tuo tamen maximo periculo quæreret. Sperabat homo vanissimus me formidine nominis tui cessurum et taciturum (nam de ingenio et eruditione non credo, quod præsumpserit). Nunc cum nimio me confidere et sonare videat, sera pœnitentia temeritatis suæ, intelligit esse in cœlo, qui superbis resistat, et præsumentes humiliet, si tamen intelligit.

Nihil itaque hac disputatione promoventibus nobis nisi majorem confusionem Romanæ causæ, jam tertio Carolus Miltitius Patres ordinis Capitulo congregatos adit, consilium petit componendæ causæ, quæ jam disturbatissima et periculosissima esset. Mittuntur hinc ad me, cum viribus in me (Deo propitio) non sit spes grassandi, aliquot celebriores ex illis, qui petunt, ut altam T. B. personam honorem, et literis humilitatis excusem innocentiam et tuam et meam; esse adhuc rem non in extremo desperationis loco, si Leo X. pro sua innata bonitate manum admoveret. Hic ego, qui semper pacem et obtuli et optavi, ut placidioribus et utilioribus studiis inservirem, cum et in hoc ipsum tanto spiritu sim tumultuatus, ut eos, quos mihi longissime impares esse videbam, magnitudine et impetu, tam verborum quam animi compescerem, non modo libens cessi, sed et cum gaudio et gratitudine acceptavi, ut gravissimum beneficium, si dignum fuerit spei nostræ satisfacere.

Ita venio, Beatissime Pater, et adhuc prostratus rogo, si fieri potest, manum apponas, et adulatoribus istis, pacis hóstibus, dum pacem simu-

lant, frenum injicias. Porro palinodiam ut canam, Beatissime Pater, non est quod ullus præsumat, nisi malit adhuc majore turbine causam involvere. Deinde leges interpretandi verbi Dei non patior, cum oporteat verbum Dei esse non alligatum, quod libertatem docet omnium aliorum. His duobus salvis, nihil est, quod non facere et pati possim, ac libentissime velim ; contentiones odi, neminem provocabo, sed provocari rursus nolo ; provocatus autem, Christo magistro, elinguis non ero. Poterit enim tua Beatitudo brevi et facili verbo contentionibus istis ad se vocatis et extinctis silentium et pacem utrinque mandare, id quod semper audire desideravi.

Proinde, mi Pater Leo, cave Syrenas istos audias, qui te non purum hominem, sed mixtum Deum faciunt, ut quævis mandare et exigere possis. Non fiet ita, nec prævalebis. Servus servorum es, et præ omnibus hominibus miserrimo et periculosissimo loco. Non te fallant, qui te Dominum mundi fingunt, qui sine tua authoritate nullum Christianum esse sinunt, qui te in cœlum, infernum, purgatorium posse aliquid garriunt. Hostes hi tui sunt et animam tuam ad perdendum, quærunt, sicut Esaias dicit : " Populе meus, qui te beatum prædicant, ipsi te decipiunt." Errant, qui te supra Concilium et universalem Ecclesiam evehant. Errant, qui tibi soli Scripturæ interpretandæ jus tribuunt ; suas enim hi omnes impietates sub tuo nomine statuere in Ecclesia quærunt, et proh dolor, multum per eos Satan profecit in tuis prædecessoribus.

Summa nullis crede, qui te exaltant, sed qui te humiliant. Hoc enim est judicium Dei : Deposuit potentes de sede, exaltavit humiles. Vide quam dispar sit Christus suis Successoribus, cum tamen omnes velint ejus esse Vicarii, et metuo, ne revera plurimi eorum sint, et nimium serio Vicarii ejus Vicarius enim absentis principis est. Quod si Pontifex, absente Christo et non inhabitante in corde ejus, præsit, quid aliud quam Vicarius Christi est ? At quid tum illa Ecclesia nisi multitudo sine Christo est ? Quid vero talis Vicarius nisi Antichristus et idolum est ? Quanto rectius Apostoli, qui se servos Christi appellant præsentis, non Vicarios absentis.

Impudens forte sum, tantum verticem visus docere, a quo doceri omnes oportet, et sicut jactant pestilentiæ tuæ, a quo judicantium Throni accipiunt sententiam. Sed æmulor S. Bernardum in libello de Consid. ad Eugenium, omni Pontifici memoriter noscendo. Neque enim docendi studio, sed puræ fidelisque sollicitudinis officio hoc facio, quæ cogit nos etiam omnia tuta vereri proximis nostris, nec patitur rationem dignitatis aut indignitatis haberi, solis periculis et commodis alienis intenta. Cum enim sciam, tuam Beatitudinem versari et fluctuari Romæ, id est, medio mari infinitis periculis undique urgente, et ea te miseriæ conditione laborantem, ut etiam cujusque minimi fratris minima ope indigeas, non videor mihi absurdus, si interim majestatis tuæ oblviscar, dum officium charitatis implevero. Nolo adulari in re tam seria et periculosa, in qua si amicus esse et plus quam subjectissimus tibi non intelligar est qui intelligat, et judicet.

In fine ne vacuus advenerim, Beatissime Pater, mecum affero Tractatulum hunc sub tuo nomine editum, velut auspicio pacis componendæ,

et bonæ spei ; in quo gustare possis, quibusnam studiis ego malim et possim fructuosius occupari, si per impios adulatores tuos liceret, et hactenus licuisset. Parva res est, si corpus spectes, sed summa, ni fallor, vitæ Christianæ compendio congesta, si sententiam captes. Neque habeo pauper aliud, quo gratificer, nec tu alio eges, quam spirituali dono augeri. Quo et meipsum Paternitati et Beatitudini tuæ commendo, quam Dominus Jesus servet in perpetuum, AMEN.

Wittembergæ, M.D.XX. 6 *Aprilis*.

No. LXXXII. p. 272.

Lutheri Op. tom. i. p. 423.

Bulla Leonis X. contra Errores Martini Lutheri et Sequacium.

LEO Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Exurge Domine, et judica causam tuam, memor esto improperiorum tuorum, eorum quæ ab insipientibus fiunt tota die. Inclina aurem tuam ad preces nostras, quoniam surrexerunt vulpes quærentes demoliri vineam, cujus tu torcular calcasti solus, et ascensurus ad Patrem, ejus curam, regimen et administrationem Petro tanquam Capiti, et tuo Vicario ejusque successoribus, instar triumphantis Ecclesiæ commisisti; exterminare nititur eam aper de silva, et singularis ferus depascitur eam.

Exurge Petre, et pro pastorali cura præfata (ut præfertur) tibi divinitus demandata, intende in causam sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ matris omnium Ecclesiarum, ac fidei Magistræ, quam tu, jubente Deo, tuo sanguine consecrasti. Contra quam, sicut tu præmonere dignatus es, insurgunt Magistri mendaces, introducentes sectas perditionis sibi celerem interitum superducentes, quorum lingua ignis est, inquietum malum, plena veneno mortifero, qui zelum amarum habentes, et contentiones in cordibus suis, gloriantur, et mendaces sunt adversus veritatem.

Exurge tu quoque, quæsumus Paule, qui eam tua doctrina, ac pari martyrio illuminasti atque illustrasti. Jam enim surgit novus Porphyrius, qui sicut ille olim sanctos Apostolos injuste momordit, ita hic sanctos Pontifices Prædecessores nostros, contra tuam doctrinam eos non obsecrando, sed increpando mordere, lacerare, ac ubi causæ suæ diffidit, ad convicia accedere non veretur, more hæreticorum, quorum (ut inquit Hieronymus) ultimum præsidium est, ut, cum conspiciant causas suas damnatum iri, incipiant virus serpentis lingua diffundere, et cum se victos conspiciant, ad contumelias prosilire. Nam licet hæreses esse ad exercitationem fidelium, tu dixeris oportere, eas tamen ne incrementum accipiant, neve vulpeculæ coalescant, in ipso ortu, te intercedente et adjuvante, extingui necesse est.

Exurgat denique omnis Sanctorum, ac reliqua universalis Ecclesia, cujus vera sacrarum literarum interpretatione posthabita, quidam,

quorum mentem pater mendacii excœcavit, ex veteri hæreticorum instituto, apud semetipsos sapientes, scripturas easdem aliter, quam Spiritus sanctus flagitet, proprio duntaxat sensu, ambitionis auræque popularis causa (teste Apostolo) interpretantur, imo vero torquent, et adulterant. Ita ut juxta Hieronymum, jam non sit Evangelium Christi, sed hominis aut quod pejus est, Diaboli. Exurgat, inquam, præfata sancta Ecclesia Dei, et una cum beatissimis Apostolis præfatus apud Deum omnipotentem intercedat, ut purgatis ovium suarum erroribus, eliminatisque a Fidelium finibus hæresibus universis, Ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ pacem et unitatem conservare dignetur.

Dudum siquidem, quod præ animi angustia et mœrore exprimere vix possumus, fide dignorum relatu ac fama publica referente ad nostrum pervenit auditum, immo vero, proh dolor, oculis nostris vidimus, ac legimus, multos ac varios errores, quosdam videlicet jam per Concilia, ac Prædecessorum nostrorum constitutiones damnatos, hæresim etiam Græcorum et Bohemicam expresse continentes, alios vero respective vel hæreticos, vel falsos, vel scandalosos, vel piarum aurium offensivos, vel simplicium mentium seductivos a falsis fidei cultoribus, qui per superbam curiositatem, mundi gloriam cupientes contra Apostoli doctrinam, plus sapere volunt quam oporteat, quorum garrulitas (ut inquit Hieronymus) sine Scripturarum autoritate non haberet fidem, nisi viderentur perversam doctrinam, etiam divinis testimoniis, male tamen interpretatis, roborare, a quorum oculis Dei timor recessit, humani generis hoste suggerente, noviter suscitatos, et nuper apud quosdam leviores in inclyta natione Germanica seminatos.

Quod eo magis dolemus ibi evenisse, quod eandem nationem et nos et Prædecessores nostri in visceribus semper gesserimus charitatis ; nam post translatum ex Græcis a Rom. Ecclesia in eosdem Germanos Imperium, iidem Prædecessores nostri et nos, ejusdem Ecclesiæ advocatos defensoresque ex eis semper accepimus. Quos quidem Germanos catholicæ veritatis vere germanos, constat hæresium acerrimos oppugnatores semper fuisse. Cujus rei testes sunt laudabiles illæ constitutiones Germanorum Imperatorum pro libertate Ecclesiæ, proque expellendis exterminandisque ex omni Germania hæreticis, sub gravissimis pœnis, etiam amissionis terrarum et dominiorum, contra receptatores, vel non expellentes, olim editæ, et a nostris Predecessoribus confirmatæ ; quæ si hodie servarentur, et nos et ipsi utique hac molestia careremus.

Testis est in Concilio Constantiensi Hussitarum ac Wiclevistarum, nec non Hieronymi Pragensis damnata ac punita perfidia. Testis est toties contra Bohemos Germanorum sanguis effusus. Testis denique est prædictorum errorum, seu multorum ex eis, per Coloniensem et Lovaniensem Universitates, utpote agri dominici piissimas, religiosissimasque cultrices, non minus docta quam vera ac sancta confutatio, reprobatio, et damnatio. Multa quoque alia allegare possemus, quæ, ne historiam texere videamur, præmittenda censuimus.

Pro pastoralis igitur officii divina gratia nobis injuncti cura, quam gerimus, prædictorum errorum virus pestiferum ulterius tolerare, seu dissimulare, sine Christianæ religionis, nota atque orthodoxæ fidei

injuria, nullo modo possumus. Eorum autem errorum aliquos præsentibus duximus inserendos, quorum tenor sequitur et est talis.

Hæretica sententia est, sed usitata. Sacramenta novæ legis justificantem gratiam illis dare, qui non ponunt obicem.

In puero post Baptismum negare remanens peccatum, est Paulum et Christum simul conculcare.

Fomes peccati, etiamsi nullum adsit actuale peccatum moratur exeuntem a corpore animam ab ingressu cœli.

Imperfecta charitas morituri, fert secum necessario magnum timorem, qui se solo satis est facere pœnam purgatorii, et impedit introitum regni.

Tres esse partes pœnitentiæ, Contritionem, Confessionem et Satisfactionem, non est fundatum in Scriptura, nec in antiquis sanctis Christianis Doctoribus.

Contritio quæ paratur per discussionem, collectionem, et detestationem peccatorum, qua quis recogitat annos suos in amaritudine animæ suæ, ponderando peccatorum gravitatem, multitudinem, fœditatem, amissionem æternæ beatitudinis ac æternæ damnationis acquisitionem, hæc contritio facit hypocritam, imo magis peccatorem.

Verissimum est Proverbium, et omnium doctrina de contritionibus hucusque data præstantius, de cætero non facere summa pœnitentia, optima pœnitentia, nova vita.

Nullo modo præsumas confiteri peccata venialia, sed nec omnia mortalia, quia impossibile est, ut omnia mortalia cognoscas. Unde in primitiva Ecclesia solum manifesta mortalia confitebantur.

Dum volumus omnia pure confiteri, nihil aliud facimus, quam quod misericordiæ Dei nihil volumus relinquere ignoscendum.

Peccata non sunt ulli remissa, nisi remittente Sacerdote credat sibi remitti ; imo peccatum maneret, nisi remissum crederet, non enim sufficit remissio peccati, et gratiæ donatio, sed oportet etiam credere esse remissum.

Nullo modo confidas absolvi propter tuam contritionem, sed propter verbum Christi : Quodcunque solveris, &c. Hic, inquam, confide si Sacerdotis obtinueris absolutionem, et crede fortiter te absolutum et absolutus es, quidquid sit de contritione.

Si per impossibile confessus non esset contritus, aut Sacerdos non serio, sed joco absolveret, si tamen credat se absolutum, verissime est absolutus.

In Sacramento pœnitentiæ, ac remissione culpæ, non plus facit Papa vel Episcopus, quam infimus Sacerdos, immo ubi non est Sacerdos, æque tantum quilibet Christianus, etiamsi mulier aut puer esset.

Nullus debet Sacerdoti respondere, se esse contritum, nec Sacerdos requirere.

Magnus est error eorum, qui ad Sacramentum Eucharistiæ accedunt huic innixi, quod sint confessi, quod non sint sibi conscii alicujus peccati mortalis, quod præmiserint orationes suas et præparatoria ; omnes illi ad judicium sibi manducant et bibunt. Sed si credant et confidant se gratiam ibi consecuturos, hæc sola fides facit eos puros et dignos.

Consultum videtur, quod Ecclesia in communi Concilio statueret, Laicos sub utraque specie communicandos, nec Bohemi communicantes sub utraque specie sunt hæretici, sed schismatici.

Thesauri Ecclesiæ, unde Papa dat Indulgentias, non sunt merita Christi et Sanctorum.

Indulgentiæ sunt piæ fraudes fidelium et remissiones bonorum operum, et sunt de numero eorum quæ licent, et non de numero eorum quæ expediunt.

Indulgentiæ iis, qui veraciter eas consequuntur, non valent ad remissionem pœnæ pro peccatis actualibus debitæ apud divinam justitiam.

Seducuntur credentes, Indulgentias esse salutares, et ad fructum Spiritus utiles.

Indulgentiæ necessariæ sunt solum publicis criminibus, et proprie concedunt duris solummodo et impatientibus.

Sex generibus hominum Indulgentiæ nec sunt necessariæ, nec utiles, videlicet, mortuis seu morituris, infirmis, legitime impeditis, his qui non commiserunt crimina, his qui crimina commiserunt, sed non publica, his qui meliora operantur.

Excommunicationes sunt tantum externæ pœnæ, nec privant hominem communibus spiritualibus Ecclesiæ orationibus.

Docendi sunt Christiani plus diligere excommunicationem, quam timere.

Romanus Pontifex, Petri Successor, non est Christi Vicarius super omnes totius mundi Ecclesias, ab ipso Christo in B. Petro institutus.

Verbum Christi ad Petrum ; Quodcunque solveris super terram, &c. extenditur duntaxat ad ligata ab ipso Petro.

Certum est, in manu Ecclesiæ aut Papæ prorsus non esse, statuere articulos fidei, imo nec leges morum, seu bonorum operum.

Si Papa cum magna parte Ecclesiæ sic vel sic sentiret, nec etiam erraret, adhuc non est peccatum aut hæresis contrarium sentire, præsertim in re non necessaria ad salutem, donec fuerit per Concilium universale alterum reprobatum, alterum approbatum.

Via nobis facta est enarrandi autoritatem Conciliorum, et libere contradicendi eorum gestis, et judicandi eorum decreta, et confidenter confitendi quidquid verum videtur, sive probatum fuerit, sive reprobatum a quocunque Concilio.

Aliqui articuli Johannis Hus, condemnati in Concilio Constantiensi sunt Christianissimi, verissimi, et Evangelici, quos nec universalis Ecclesia posset damnare.

In omni opere bono justus peccat.

Opus bonum optime factum, est veniale peccatum.

Hereticos comburi, est contra voluntatem Spiritus.

Prœliari adversus Turcas, et repugnare Deo visitanti iniquitates nostras.

Nemo est certus, se non semper peccare mortaliter, propter occultissimum superbiæ vitium.

Liberum arbitrium post peccatum est res de solo titulo, et dum facit quod in se est, peccat mortaliter.

Purgatorium non potest probari ex sacra Scriptura quæ sit in Canone.

Animæ in Purgatorio non sunt securæ de eorum salute, saltem omnes, nec probatum est, ullis aut rationibus aut Scripturis, ipsas esse extra statum merendi, aut augendæ charitatis.

Animæ in Purgatorio peccant sine intermissione, quamdiu quærunt requiem, et horrent pœnas.

Animæ ex Purgatorio liberatæ suffragiis viventium, minus beantur, quam si per se satisfecissent.

Prælati ecclesiastici et Principes seculares non malefacerent, si omnes saccos mendicitatis delerent.

Qui quidem errores respective quam sint pestiferi, quam perniciosi, quam scandalosi, quam piarum et simplicium mentium seductivi, quam denique sint contra omnem charitatem ac S. Romanæ Ecclesiæ Matris omnium fidelium et magistræ fidei reverentiam, atque nervum ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ, obedientiam scilicet, quæ fons est et origo omnium virtutum, sine qua facile unusquisque infidelis esse convincitur, nemo sanæ mentis ignorat.

Nos igitur in præmissis, utpote gravissimis, propensius (ut decet) procedere, nec non hujusmodi pesti, morboque canceroso, ne in agro dominico tanquam vepres nocivus, ulterius serpat, viam præcludere cupientes habita super prædictis erroribus et eorum singulis diligenti trutinatione, discussione, ac districto examine, maturaque deliberatione, omnibusque rite pensatis ac sæpius ventilatis cum venerabilibus Fratribus nostris, sanctæ Rom. Ecclesiæ Cardinalibus, ac Regularium ordinum Prioribus seu Ministris generalibus, pluribusque aliis sacræ Theologiæ, nec non utriusque Juris Professoribus, sive Magistris, et quidem peritissimis, reperimus eosdem errores respective (ut præfertur) aut articulos non esse catholicos, nec tanquam tales esse dogmatizandos, sed contra catholicæ Ecclesiæ doctrinam, sive traditionem, tanquam adeo veram divinarum Scripturarum receptam interpretationem, cujus authoritati ita acquiescendum censuit Augustinus, ut dixerit, se Evangelio non fuisse crediturum, nisi Ecclesiæ catholicæ intervenisset autoritas. Nam ex eisdem erroribus, vel eorum aliquo, vel aliquibus palam sequitur, eandem Ecclesiam quæ Spiritu sancto regitur, errare et semper errasse. Quod est utique contra illud quod Christus discipulis suis in ascensione sua (ut in sancto Evangelio Matth. legitur) promisit dicens: Ego vobiscum sum usque ad consummationem seculi. Nec non contra sanctorum Patrum determinationes, Conciliorum quoque et summorum Pontificum expressas ordinationes seu Canones, quibus non obtemperasse, omnium hæresium et schismatum, teste Cypriano, fomes et causa semper fuit.

De eorundem itaque venerabilium Fratrum nostrorum consilio et assensu, ac omnium et singulorum prædictorum matura deliberatione, prædicta autoritate omnipotentis Dei, et beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et nostra, præfatos et singulos articulos seu errores tanquam (ut præmittitur) respective hæreticos aut scandalosos, aut falsos, aut piarum aurium offensivos, vel simplicium mentium seductivos et veritati catholicæ obviantes, damnamus, reprobamus, atque omnino rejicimus, ac pro damnatis, reprobatis et rejectis ab omnibus utriusque sexus

Christi fidelibus haberi debere, harum serie decernimus et declaramus. Inhibentes in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, ac sub majoris excommunicationis. talæ sententiæ, nec non quoad Ecclesiasticas et regulares personas, Episcopalium omnium, etiam Patriarchalium, Metropolitanorum, et aliarum cathedralium Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum quoque et prioratuum, etiam Conventualium et quorumcunque dignitatum, aut beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, secularium, aut quorumvis ordinum regularium, privationis et inhabilitatis ad illa, et alia in posterum obtinenda.

Quo vero ad conventus, Capitula seu domos aut pia loca secularium, vel regularium, etiam mendicantium, nec non Universitatis etiam studiorum generalium, quorumcumque privilegiorum indultorum a Sede Apostolica vel ejus Legatis, aut alias quomodolibet habitorum vel obtentorum, cujuscunque tenoris existant; nec non nominis et potestatis studium generale tenendi, legendi, ac interpretandi quasvis scientias et facultates inhabilitatis ad illa, et alia in posterum obtinenda; predicationis quoque officii ac amissionis studii generalis et omnium privilegiorum ejusdem.

Quo vero ad seculares ejusdem excommunicationis, nec non amissionis cujuscunque emphiteosis, seu quorumcunque Feudorum, tam a Romana Ecclesia, quam alias quomodolibet obtentorum, ac etiam inhabilitatis ad illa et alia in posterum obtinenda.

Nec non quoad omnes et singulos superius nominatos, inhibitiones ecclesiasticæ sepulturæ, inhabilitatisque ad omnes et singulos actus legitimos, infamiæ, ac diffidationis, et criminis læsæ Majestatis, et hæreticorum et fautorum eorundem in jure expressis pœnis, eo ipso et absque ulteriori declaratione, per omnes et singulos supradictos, si (quod absit) contra fecerint, incurrendis. A quibus vigore quibuscunque facultatis et clausularum etiam in confessionalibus quibusvis personis, sub quibusvis verborum formis contentarum, nisi a Rom. Pontifice vel alio ab eo ad id in specie facultatem habente, præterquam in mortis articulo constituti absolvi nequeant.

Omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus tam Laicis quam Clericis, secularibus, et quorumvis ordinum regularibus et aliis quibuscunque personis, cujuscunque status, gradus vel conditionis existant, et quacunque Ecclesiastica vel mundana præfulgeant dignitate; etiam sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalibus, Patriarchis, Primatibus, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis Patriarchalium, Metropolitanorum et aliarum cathedralium, collegiatarum, ac inferiorum Ecclesiarum Prælatis, Clericis, aliisque personis ecclesiasticis, secularibus, et quorumvis ordinum, etiam Mendicantium, Regularibus, Abbatibus, Prioribus, vel Ministris generalibus vel particularibus Fratribus, seu Religiosis, exemptis et non exemptis Studiorum quoque Universitatibus sæcularibus et quorumvis ordinum etiam medicantium Regularibus.

Nec non Regibus, Imperatoribus, Electoribus, Principibus, Ducibus, Marchionibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Capitaneis, Conductoribus, Domicellis, omnibusque Officialibus, Judicibus, Notariis ecclesiasticis et secularibus, Communitatibus, Universitatibus, Potentatibus, Civitatibus, castris, terris et locis, seu eorum vel earum civibus, habitatori-

bus et incolis, ac quibusvis aliis personis, ecclesiasticis, vel regularibus (ut præfertur) per universum orbem ubicunque, præsertim in Alemania existentibus, vel pro tempore futuris, ne præfatos errores, aut eorum aliquos, perversamque doctrinam hujusmodi asserere, affirmare, defendere, prædicare, aut illi quomodolibet, publice vel occulte, quovis quæsito ingenio vel colore tacite vel expresse favere præsumant.

Insuper, quia errores præfati, et plures alii continentur in Libellis seu Scriptis cujusdam Martini Lutheri, dictos Libellos, et omnia dicti Lutheri Scripta, seu Prædicationes, in latino, vel quocunque alio idiomate reperiuntur, in quibus dicti errores, seu eorum aliquis continentur, similiter damnamus, reprobamus, atque omnino rejicimus, et pro omnino damnatis, reprobatis ac rejectis (ut præfertur) haberi volumus. Mandantes in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, et sub pœnis prædictis eo ipso incurrendis, omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus superius nominatis ne hujusmodi Scripta, Libellos, Prædicationes seu schedulas, vel in eis contenta capitula, errores aut articulos supradictos continentia legere, asserere, prædicare, laudare, imprimere, publicare sive defendere, per se, vel alium, seu alios, directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expresse, publice vel occulte, aut in domibus suis, sive aliis, publicis vel privatis locis tenere quoquo modo præsumant. Quinimo illa statim post harum publicationem ubicunque fuerint, per Ordinarios et alios supradictos diligenter quæsita, publice et solenniter, in præsentia Cleri et populi, sub omnibus et singulis supradictis pœnis comburant.

Quod vero ad ipsum Lutherum attinet, bone Deus, quid prætermisimus, quod non fecimus, quid paternæ charitatis omisimus, ut eum ab hujusmodi erroribus revocaremus? Postquam enim ipsum citavimus, mitius cum eo procedere volentes, illum invitavimus, atque tam per diversos tractatus, cum Legato nostro habitos, quam per literas nostras hortati fuimus, ut e prædictis erroribus discederet, aut ad nos, oblato etiam salvo conductu, et pecunia ad iter necessaria, sine metu, sine timore aliquo, quem perfecta charitas foras mittere debuit, veniret, ac Salvatoris nostri, Apostolique Pauli exemplo, non in occulto, sed palam, et in facie loqueretur. Quod si fecisset, pro certo (ut arbitramur) ad cor reversus, errores suos cognovisset, nec in Romana curia, quam tantopere vanis malevolorum rumoribus plusquam oportuit tribuendo vituperat, tot reperisset errata, docuissemusque eum, luce clarius, sanctos Romanos Pontifices, Prædecessores nostros, quos præter omnem modestiam injuriose laceret, in suis Canonibus seu Constitutionibus quas mordere nititur, nunquam errasse. Quia juxta Prophetam, nec in Galaad resina, nec medicus deest.

Sed obaudivit semper, et prædicta Citatione, omnibusque et singulis supradictis spretis, venire contempsit, ac usque in præsentem diem contumax, atque animo indurato censuras ultra annum sustinuit. Et quod deterius est, addens mala malis, de Citatione hujusmodi noticiam habens, in vocem temerariæ Appellationis prorupit ad futurum Concilium, contra constitutionem Pii II. ac Julii II. prædecessorum nostrorum, qua cavetur, taliter appellantes hæreticorum pœna plectendos, (frustra enim Concilii auxilium imploravit, qui illi se non credere

palam profitetur.) Ita ut contra ipsum, tanquam de fide notorie suspectum, imo vere hereticum, absque ulla Citatione, vel mora, ad condemnationem et damnationem ejus, tanquam hæretici, ac omnium et singularum suprascriptarum pœnarum et censurarum severitatem procedere possemus, Nihilominus de eorundem Fratrum nostrorum consilio, omnipotentis Dei imitantes clementiam, qui non vult mortem peccatoris, sed magis ut convertatur et vivat, omnium injuriarum hactenus nobis et Apostolicæ Sedi illatarum obliti, omni qua possumus pietate uti decrevimus, et quantum in nobis est, agere, ut proposita mansuetudinis via, ad cor revertatur, et a prædictis recedat erroribus, ut ipsum, tanquam Filium illum prodigum ad gremium Ecclesiæ revertentem benigne recipiamus.

Ipsum igitur Lutherum, et quoscunque ei adhærentes, ejusque receptatores et fautores per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri, et per aspersionem sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quo, et per quem humani generis redemptio, et sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ ædificatio facta est, ex toto corde hortamur et obsecramus, ut ipsius Ecclesiæ pacem unitatem et veritatem, pro qua ipse Salvator tam instanter oravit ad Patrem, turbare desistant, et a prædictis tam perniciosis erroribus prorsus abstineant, inventuri apud nos, si effectualiter paruerint, et paruisse per legitima documenta nos certificaverint, paternæ charitatis affectum, et apertum mansuetudinis et clementiæ fontem.

Inhibentes nihilominus eidem Luthero ex nunc, ut interim ab omni prædicationis, seu prædicationis officio omnino desistat. Alioqui ut ipsum Lutherum, si forte justiciæ et virtutis amor a peccato non retrahat, indulgentiæque spes ad pœnitentiam non reducat, pœnarum terror coerceat disciplinæ, eundem Lutherum, ejusque adhærentes, complices, fautores et receptatores tenore præsentium requirimus, et monemus in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, et sub prædictis omnibus et singulis pœnis, eo ipso incurrendis, districte præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus infra sexaginta dies, quorum viginti pro primo, viginti pro secundo, et reliquos viginti dies pro tertio et peremptorio termino assignamus, ab affixione præsentium in locis infrascriptis, immediate sequentes numerandos, Ipse Lutherus, complices, fautores, adhærentes et receptatores prædicte a præfatis erroribus eorumque prædicatione ac publicatione et assertione, defensione quoque, et librorum seu Scripturarum editione, super eisdem, sive eorum aliquo, omnino desistant: librosque ac Scripturas omnes et singulas, præfatos errores, seu eorum aliquos quomodolibet continentes, comburant, vel comburi faciant. Ipse etiam Lutherus errores et assertiones hujusmodi omnino revocet, ac de Revocatione hujusmodi per publica documenta in forma juris valida, in manibus duorum Prælatorum consignata, ad nos infra alios similes sexaginta dies transmittenda, vel per ipsummet (si ad nos venire voluerit, quod magis placeret) cum præfato plenissimo salvo conductu, quem ex nunc concedimus, deferenda, nos certiores efficiat, ut de ejus vera obedientia nullus dubitationis scrupulus valeat remanere.

Alias, si (quod absit) Lutherus præfatus, complices, fautores, adhærentes et receptatores prædicti secus egerint, seu præmissa omnia

et singula infra terminum prædictum cum effectu non impleverint, Apostoli imitantes doctrinam, qui hæreticum hominem post primam et secundam correctionem vitandum docuit, exnunc prout extunc et e converso eundem Lutherum complices, adhærentes, fautores et receptatores præfatos, et eorum quemlibet, tanquam aridos almites, in Christo non manentes, sed doctrinam contrariam, catholicæ fidei inimicam, sive scandalosam, seu damnatam, in non modicam offensam divinæ Majestatis ac universalis Ecclesiæ, et fidei catholicæ detrimentum, et scandalum dogmatizantes et prædicantes, claves quoque Ecclesiæ vilipendentes, notorios et pertinaces hæreticos eadem authoritate fuisse et esse declarantes, eosdem, ut tales harum serie condemnamus, et eos pro talibus haberi ab omnibus utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus supradictis volumus, et mandamus. Eosque omnes et singulos omnibus supradictis et aliis contra tales a jure inflictis pœnis præsentium tenore subjicimus, et eisdem irretitos fuisse et esse decernimus et declaramus.

Inhibemus præterea sub omnibus et singulis præmissis pœnis eo ipso incurrendis omnibus et singulis Christi fidelibus superius nominatis, ne Scripta etiam præfatos errores non continentia, ab eodem Luthero quomodolibet condita vel edita, aut condenda vel edenda, seu eorum aliqua, tanquam ab homine orthodoxæ fidei inimico, atque ideo vehementer suspecta, et ut ejus memoria omnino deleatur de Christi fidelium consortio, legere, asserere, prædicare, laudare, imprimere, publicare, sive defendere, per se, vel alium seu alios directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expresse, publice vel occulte, seu in domibus suis, sive aliis locis publicis vel privatis, tenere quoquo modo præsumant, quinimo illa comburant, ut præfertur.

Monemus insuper omnes et singulos Christi fideles supradictos sub eadem excommunicationis latæ sententiæ pœna, ut hæreticos prædictos declaratos et condemnatos, mandatis nostris non obtemperantes, post lapsum termini supradicti evitent, et quantum in eis est, evitari faciant, nec cum eisdem vel eorum aliquo commercium aut aliquam conversationem, seu communionem habeant nec eis necessaria ministrent.

Ad majorem præterea dicti Lutheri suorumque complicum, fautorum et adhærentium, ac receptatorum prædictorum sic post lapsum termini prædicti declaratorum hæreticorum, et condemnatorum confusionem, universis et singulis utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus, Patriarchis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, patriarchalium, metropolitan, et aliarum cathedralium, collegiatarum, ac inferiorum Ecclesiarum Prælatis, Capitulis, aliisque personis ecclesiasticis, secularibus, et quorum vis ordinum, etiam Mendicantium (præsertim ejus congregationis, cujus dictus Lutherus est professus, et in qua degere, vel morari dicitur) regularibus, exemptis, et non exemptis. Nec non universis et singulis Principibus, quacunque ecclesiastica vel mundana fulgentibus dignitate, Regibus, Imperatoribus, Electoribus, Ducibus, Marchionibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Capitaneis, Conductoribus, Domicellis, Communitatibus, Universitatibus, Potentatibus, Civitatibus, Terris, Castris et Locis, seu eorum habitatoribus, civibus et incolis, omnibusque aliis et singulis supradictis per universum orbem, præsertim in eadem

Alemania constitutis mandamus, quatenus sub prædictis omnibus et singulis pœnis, ipsi vel eorum quilibet præfatum Lutherum, complices, adhærentes, receptatores et fautores personaliter capiant, et captos ad nostram instantiam retineant, et ad nos mittant; reportaturi pro tam bono opere, a nobis et Sede Apostolica remunerationem præmiumque condignum, vel saltem eos, et eorum quemlibet de metropolitanis, cathedralibus, collegiatis et aliis Ecclesiis, domibus, monasteriis, conventibus, civitatibus, dominiis, universitatibus, communitatibus, castris, terris ac locis respective, tam clerici et regulares, quam laici omnes et singuli supradicti, omnino expellant.

Civitates vero, dominia, terras, castra, villas, comitatus, fortilitia, oppida et loca, quæcunque ubilibet consistentia, earum et eorum respective, Metropolitanos Cathedrales, Collegiatas et alias Ecclesias, Monasteria, Prioratus, Domus, Conventus, et alia loca religiosa, vel pia, cujuscunque ordinis (ut præfertur) ad quæ præfatum Lutherum, vel aliquem ex prædictis declinare contigerit, quam diu ibi permanserit, et triduo post recessum, ecclesiastico subjicimus interdicto.

Et ut præmissa omnibus innotescant, mandamus insuper universis Patriarchis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, patriarchalium, metropolitanorum et aliarum cathedralium ac collegiatarum Ecclesiarum Prælatis, Capitulis, aliisque personis ecclesiasticis, secularibus et quorumvis ordinum supradictorum regularibus Fratribus, Religiosis, Monachis, exemptis et non exemptis supradictus ubilibet, præsertim in Alemania constitutis, quatenus ipsi, vel eorum quilibet sub similibus censuris, et pœnis eo ipso incurrendis, Lutherum, omnesque et singulos supradictos, qui elapso termino, hujusmodi mandatis seu monitis nostris non paruerint, in eorum Ecclesiis, dominicis et aliis festivis diebus, dum inibi major populi multitudo ad divina convenerit, declaratos hæreticos et condemnatos publice nuncient, faciantque, et mandent ab aliis nunciari, et ab omnibus arctius evitari. Nec non omnibus Christi fidelibus, ut eos evitent pari modo, sub prædictis censuris et pœnis. Et præsentes literas, vel earum transsumptum sub forma infrascripta factum in eorum Ecclesiis, monasteriis, domibus, conventibus, et aliis locis, legi, publicari, atque affigi faciant.

Excommunicamus quoque et anathematizamus omnes et singulos cujuscunque status, gradus, conditionis, præeminentiæ, dignitatis, aut excellentiæ fuerint, qui, quo minus præsentes literæ vel earum transsumpta, copiæ, seu exemplaria, in suis terris et dominiis legi, affigi et publicari possint, fecerint, vel quoquo modo procuraverint, per se vel alium seu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expresse.

Postremo, quia difficile foret præsentes literas ad singula quæque loca deferri, in quibus necessarium foret, Volumus et Apostolica autoritate decernimus, quod earum transsumptis manu publici Notarii confectis et subscriptis, vel in alma urbe impressis, et sigillo alicujus ecclesiastici Prælati munitis, ubique stetur, et plena fides adhibeatur, prout originalibus literis staretur et adhiberetur, si forent exhibitæ vel ostensæ.

Et ne præfatus Lutherus omnesque alii supradicti, quos præsentes

literæ quomodolibet concernunt, ignorantiam earundem literarum, et in eis contentorum omnium et singulorum prætendere valeant, literas ipsas in Basilicæ principis Apostolorum, et Cancellariæ Apostolicæ, nec non cathedralium Ecclesiarum Brandenburgen. et Misnen, et Mersburgen. valvis affigi et publicare deberi voluimus, Decernentes, quod earundem literarum publicatio sic facta, supradictum Lutherum, omnesque alios et singulos prænominatos, quos literæ hujusmodi quomodolibet concernunt, perinde arctent, ac si literæ ipsæ die affixionis et publicationis hujusmodi, eis personaliter lectæ et intimatæ forent. Quum non sit verisimile, quod ea, quæ tam patentur fiunt, debeant apud eos incognita remanere.

Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus Apostolicis, seu supradictis omnibus et singulis, vel eorum alicubi, aut quibusvis aliis a Sede Apostolica prædicta, vel ab ea potestatem habentibus, sub quavis forma, etiam confessionalis, et cum quibusvis etiam fortissimis clausulis, aut ex quavis causa, seu grandi consideratione indultum, vel concessum existat, quod interdici, suspendi, vel excommunicari non possint per literas apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam, ac de verbo ad verbum, non autem per clausulas generales, id importantes de indulto hujusmodi mentionem ejusdem indulti tenores, causas et formas, perinde ac si de verbo ad verbum insererentur, ita ut omnino tollatur, præsentibus pro expressis habentes.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ damnationis, reprobationis, rejectionis, decreti, declarationis, inhibitionis, voluntatis, mandati, hortationis, obsecrationis, requisitionis, monitionis, assignationis, confessionis, condemnationis, subjectionis, excommunicationis, et anathematizationis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contra ire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ, M.D.XX. 17. Kalend. Julii, Pontificatus nostri anno octavo.

Visa ; R. Milanesius.

ALBERGATUS.

No. LXXXIII. P. 272.

Lutheri Op. tom. ii. p. 257.

Leo Papa X. Friderico Saxoniæ Duci, Sacri Romani Imperii Electori.

Dilecte Fili, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

QUOD ad nos gravissimorum hominum testimoniis allatum est, Nobilitatem tuam pro sua præstanti prudentia, et in summum Deum ejusque fidem orthodoxam, pietate, nobilitate animi et generis Majorumque tuorum, quorum singularis, semper extitit in Christianam Rempublicam et hanc sactam Sedem voluntas, infensos semper habuisse iniquitatis

filii Martini Lutheri conatus, eique, nec auxilio, nec favori unquam fuisse, id fuit majorem in modum gratum, atque ita, ut eam quam de tua egregia virtute habuimus opinionem, et paternam nostram erga te benevolentiam, hæc eadem res vehementer auxerit. Nec vero possumus constituere, utrum hoc sapientius abs te, an religiosius judicemus esse factum. Fuit enim singularis sapientiæ, hominem furentem, nequaquam congrua suæ professioni, quæ humilitatem postulat, ambitione, veteres hæreses Vuik, Leviensium, Hussitarum, Bohemorum, jam ab universali Ecclesia damnatas suscitantem, vulgi auram manifeste quærentem, ansas peccandi simplicibus animis, suis Scripturæ interpretationibus præbentem, vinculum continentiæ, et innocentiæ, potissimum Confessionem cordisque Contritionem prophanis vocibus evertentem, faventem Turcis, Hæreticorum pœnas deplorantem, denique omnia summa imis permiscere conantem, cognoscere, esse immissum, non illum quidem a Christo, sed a Satana, qui in tantum superbiæ atque amentiæ sit evectus, ut sit ausus palam et dicere et scribere, se neque sanctorum Doctorum scriptis, neque œcumenicorum Conciliorum decretis, nec Romanorum Pontificum institutis, sed sibi se uni et opinionibus suis fidem habere velle, Quod nemo certe unquam præsumpsit hæreticus.

Ergo tua Nobilitas sapientissime hujus pestilentis ac venenati hominis familiaritatem aspernata est, qui certe, quod potes existimare, nonnullam Domui vestræ nobilissimæ labem, maximam vero Germanicæ nationi adfert. Illud vero religioni tribuendum est, quod nunquam in quenquam tantorum errorum consensisti, et eis potius obstitisti. Nec per te occasio ulla data est, a vetere et diuturno per Spiritum sanctum tot seculis conservato ordine, fidei orthodoxæ deficere.

Quæ nos de te audita, et ut diximus, multorum testimoniis cognita, non solum nobiscum, sed cum pluribus maximis ac gravissimis viris communicantes, tuamque nobilitatem dignis laudibus in Domino commendantes, eidem Domino gratias agentes, quod hominis scelerati et nefarii impiis conatibus tales quoque obices oppositos vellet. Quoniam nos eum quoque, cum diutius passi essemus, ea ratione moti quod ad pœnitentiam redire optabamus; postquam vero nec mansuetudo nostra, nec monita, quidquam proficerent, fuitque periculum, ne morbosa ovis aliquam partem gregis dominici corrumperet, necessario ad acriora remedia devenimus. Itaque sacro venerabilium Fratrum nostrorum, et aliorum in sacris Canonibus omniumque divina Scriptura peritissimorum virorum convocato Concilio, re multum agitata atque discussa, tandem præeunte Spiritu sancto, qui in hujusmodi causis huic sanctæ Sedi nunquam abfuit, Decretum fecimus, literis Apostolicis inscriptum, et plumbea Bulla insignitum, in quo ex innumerabilibus prope hujus hominis erroribus eos ex ordine perscribi jussimus, qui partim plane hæretici essent, fidemque rectam perverterent; partim laxatis apud simpliciores animos obedientiæ, continentiæ et humilitatis vinculis, ad omne scandalum et nefas invitarent. Nam quod plurimos ille idem felle injusti odii paratus, in hanc sanctam Sedem evomuit, eorum Dei sit, non nostra, judicatio.

Quarum literarum exempla in alma Urbe nostra impressa, ad Nobilitatem tuam misimus, ut illa, recognitis diligentius ministri Satanæ erroribus, eum sicut in eisdem literis pro Apostolica mansuetudine scriptum est, Primum hortari et monere, ut abjecto contumaciæ et superbiæ spiritu, ad sanitatem redire, Dei et nostram clementiam experiri, abnegatis palam detestandis opinionibus, velit. Sin autem perstiterit in amentia, tunc elapso termino, in eisdem literis contento, eum declaratum Hæreticum, quantum in tua est autoritate et potestate, capi, captumque ad nostram instantiam custodiri curet et studeat.

In quo Nobilitas tua præclaris initiis virtutis suæ eximiæ pares reddiderit exitus, nec mediocrem maculam a sua et familiæ et Germanicæ nationis claritate repulerit, hancque apud Deum et homines excelsam laudem promereberis, esse tuæ Nobilitatis opera ac pietate oriens incendium pravæ hæresis a splendore fidei orthodoxæ et cœtu fidelium summotum et extinctum.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die 8 Julii, Anno M.D.XX. Pontificatus nostri anno VIII.

No. LXXXIV. p. 273.

Lutheri Op. tom. ii. p. 256.

Exemplum Responsionis Scriptæ a Duce Saxoniæ Electore Friderico. Ad D. Valentinum a Deitleben, eo tempore Romæ agentem.

QUOD scribitis, si forte accidat, ut hoc et alia nostra negotia apud sanctissimum Dominum Papam prægravata laborent, id omne, vestro judicio, attribuendum esse immodestiæ et temeritati Doctoris Martini Lutheri, quod, sicut vos loquimini, nescio quæ nova dogmata contra sanctitatem Pontificiam, et ipsam sanctam Sedem et Ecclesiam Romanam sparserit, et erga reverendissimos Dominos Cardinales non pro debita modestia et reverentia sese submiserit, et nos singillatim, quod publica fama adfirmet, illum a nobis ali, foveri et clementer haberi.

Ad hæc vobis breviter et bono studio respondemus, Nos doctrinam et scripta Doctoris Martini Lutheri nunquam conatos esse nostra autoritate aut patrocinio tueri aut defendere, ac ne nunc quidem hoc conari : non enim nobis sumimus judicium pronuntiandi quid ille recte et jure, aut contra fecerit, et quæ pie ac Christiane, aut secus, ab eo doceantur.

Tametsi non dissimulandum duximus, quod nos audimus hujus Viri doctrinam, multorum eruditorum et intelligentium judicio piam et Christianam haberi et adprobari, quod tamen nos in medio relinquimus, et ut de illius doctrina non præjudicamus, ita suorum dogmatum defensionem ipsi Autori integram relinquimus ; præsertim cum tota hæc causa ad legitimam cognitionem rejecta sit, cui sese ipse subjecit, sic, ut obtulerit se apud Pontificiæ sanctitatis Commissarium jam delectum, æquis conditionibus, videlicet imposita cautione de assecuratione seu

fide publica, obedienter compariturum esse, ad reddendam rationem eorum, quæ docuit aut scripsit ; addita etiam uberiore submissionis et obedientiæ oblatione, se, si de quovis suo dogmate aliud et rectius, ex verbo Dei edoctus, et veris testimoniis Scripturæ de errore convictus fuerit, ultro mutaturum sententiam et recantaturum esse, ut ex ipsa forma Protestationis seu oblationis ab ipso edita apparet.

Etsi autem non satis causæ erat, cur ad hunc modum se offerenti aliquid oneris præterea imponeretur, Nos tamen priusquam res ad has conditiones deduceretur, hoc etiam cum ipso Doctore Martino Luthero egimus ac effecimus, ut sua sponte ex nostra Ditione et Academia sese cessurum esse polliceretur. Et quidem jam cessisset, nisi ipse Nuntius Pontificiæ sanctitatis D. Carolus a Miltitz intercessisset, multis precibus a nobis contendens, ne illum dimitteremus, metuens videlicet, ne se in ea loca conferret, ubi multo liberius et tutius scribere et agere posset quæ vellet, quam hactenus nostram et Scholæ nostræ autoritatem reveritus, fecerit. Quod ut caveretur, consultius visum fuit, eum a nobis retineri.

His et aliis pluribus de causis, judicamus nos ita omnibus purgatos esse debere, ut nemo merito vel de nobis male suspicandi causam habeat, multo minus suggillationibus et falsa criminatione nos prægravandi. Quare confidimus nostra negotia apud sanctitatem Pontificiam hoc nomine nihil odii aut impedimentorum habitura esse. Vere enim hoc adfirmare possumus, nec nobis quidquam tristius et acerbius accidere posse, quam nobis viventibus, et nostro patrocinio aliquos perniciosos errores spargi et confirmari, ut hanc nostram mentem datis literis ad reverendissimum Dn. Cardinalem S. Georgii, Dominum et amicum nostrum copiosius exposuimus.

Vos tamen, ut tanquam cum Cive nostro, propter communem Patriæ conjunctionem, paulo liberius conferamus, etiam ea, quæ ex communibus sermonibus hominum intelligimus, nolumus celare. Adfirmant multi, Doctorem Martinum Lutherum, sicut et ipse dicitur scriptis et sermone palam fateri, non sua voluntate, sed invitum ad has controversias de Papatu descendisse, videlicet eo pertractum a Doctore Eccio, et sæpe provocatum ac lacessitum quorundam scriptis Romæ et aliunde in ipsum editis, coactum fuisse respondere, qui si quievissent, nunquam ista, quæ nunc disputantur, fuissent prolata, sed prorsus silentio sepulta jacerent.

Et cum nunc Germania floreat ingeniis, et multis doctrina et sapientia præstantibus viris, peritis linguarum et omnis generis literarum, cumque etiam nunc vulgo Laici sapere incipiant, et studio cognoscendæ Scripturæ teneantur, multi judicant valde metuendum esse, si neglectis æquissimis conditionibus a Doctore Luthero oblatis, sine legitima cognitione, tantum Ecclesiasticis censuris feriatur, ne hæ contentiones et certamina multo magis exasperentur, ut postea non ita facile ad otium et compositiones res deduci possit. Nam Lutheri doctrina, ita jam passim in plurimorum animis in Germania et alibi infixa radices egit, ut si non veris ac firmis argumentis et perspicuis testimoniis Scripturæ revincatur, sed solo ecclesiasticæ potestatis terrore ad eum opprimendum procedatur, non videatur res sic abitura,

quin in Germania acerrimas offensiones et horribiles ac exitiales tumultus excitatura sit, unde nec ad sanctissimum Dominum Pontificem, nec aliis quidquam utilitatis redire poterit. Hæc nos vobis bono studio, ut qui et Ecclesiam et Rempub. quam maxime salvam optamus, respondenda esse duximus, et vobis nostra officia clementer offerimus.

Datum Torgæ, Kalen. April. Anno M.D. XX.

No. LXXXV. P. 273.

Lutheri Op. tom. ii. p. 258.

Appellatio F. Mart. Luth.

Jesus.

Notum sit omnibus Christianis, quod ego Martinus Lutherus antea a Leone X. Papa legitime et juste appellavi ad futurum Concilium, iniquis ad hoc coactus gravaminibus ejusdem Leonis Papæ. Quæ vero hic sequuntur, sunt ejusdem Appellationis quædam appendix.

Postquam autem prædictus Leo X. in impia sua tyrannide induratus perseverat, et in tantum crescit, ut me quadam Bulla, ut fertur, neque vocatum, neque auditum, neque convictum in Libellis meis, damnarit; ad hæc Concilium Ecclesiasticum esse in rerum natura neget, fugiat et vituperet, tanquam infidelis et apostata, suamque tyrannidem illius potestati impiissime præferat, jubeatque impudentissime, ut abnegem fidem Christi in Sacramentis percipiendis necessariam, atque ut nihil omittat, quod Antichristum referat, sacram Scripturam sibi subjiciat, et conculcet incredibili blasphemia, simque his intolerabilibus gravaminibus gravissime læsus. Ego prædictus Martinus omnibus et singulis in Domino notum facio, me adhuc niti et inhærere Appellationi factæ et prædictæ, eamque legitime coram Notario et fide dignis testibus innovavi, et his scriptis innovo, et innovatam pronuntio, et in virtute ejusdem adhuc persevero appellans et Apostolos petens jure et modo, quibus fieri potest et debet melioribus, coram vobis Domine Notario publico, et autentica persona, et his testibus ad futurum Concilium a prædicto Leone.

Primum tanquam ab iniquo, temerario, tyrannicoque Judice, in hoc, quod me non convictum nec ostensis causis aut informationibus, mera potestate judicat. Secundo, tanquam ab erroneo, indurato, per Scripturas sanctas damnato, Hæretico, et Apostata, in hoc, quod mihi mandat fidem catholicam in Sacramentis necessariam abnegare. Tertio, tanquam ab hoste, adversario, Antichristo, oppressore totius sacræ Scripturæ, in hoc, quod propriis, meris, nudisque verbis suis agit, contra verba divinæ Scripturæ sibi adducta. Quarto, tanquam a blasphemo, superbo contemptore sanctæ Ecclesiæ Dei, et legitimi Concilii, in hoc, quod præsumit et mentitur, Concilium nihil esse in rerum natura, quasi ignoret etiam, si non sit actu congregatum, tamen esse personas in Ecclesia non nihil in rerum natura, immo Dominos et Judices omnium, qui ad Concilium pertinent pro tempore congregan-

dum. Neque enim ideo Imperium aut Senatus nihil est, quia Imperator cum Principibus aut Senatores non sunt congregati, quorum interest congregari, sicut hic insigniter et crasse delirat Leo cum suis Leunculis. Horum omnium rationem reddere paratus, offero me pro loco et tempore, ad comparendum et standum et audiendum, quis contradicat mihi.

Quocirca oro suppliciter, Serenissimum, illustrissimos, inclytos, generosos, nobiles, strenuos, prudentes viros et Dominos, Carolum Imperatorem, Electores Imperii, Principes, Comites, Barones, Nobiles, Senatores, et quidquid est Christiani Magistratus totius Germaniæ, velint pro redimenda catholica veritate et gloria Dei pro fide et Ecclesia Christi pro libertate et jure legitimi Concilii, mihi meæque Appellationi adhærere, Papæ incredibilem insaniam adversari, tyrannidi ejus impiissimæ resistere, aut saltem quiescere, et Bullæ ejusmodi executionem omittere et differre, donec legitime vocatus, per æquos judices, auditus, et Scripturis dignisque documentis convictus fuero. In quo sine dubio Christo rem facient, in die novissima, cumulatissima gratia remunerandam. Quod si qui hanc meam petitionem contemnentes, pergant, et Papæ impio homini plus quam Deo obediant, volo his Scriptis me excusatam coram omnibus et uniuscujusque conscientiam hac fideli fraternaque monitione requisitam, obstrictam, suoque onere gravatam habere, et judicio extremo Dei super eum locumdare ; Dixi.

No. LXXXVI. p. 274.

From the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum. Vitell. b. 4, p. 111.

Pope's Sentence against Marten Luther, published at London.

The xij daye of Maye in the yeare of our Lord 1521, and in the thirteenth yeare of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Lord Kinge Henry the eighte of that Name, the Lord Thomas Wolsey, by the grace of God Legate de Latere, Cardinall of Sainct Cecely and Archbishop of Yorke, came unto Saint Paules Churche of London, with the most parte of the Byshops of the Realme, where he was received with procession, and sensid by Mr. Richard Pace, then beinge Deane of the said Church. After which ceremonies done, there were four Doctors that bare a canope of cloth of gold over him goinge to the Highe Alter, where he made his oblacion ; which done, hee proceeded forth as abovesaid to the Crosse in Paules Church Yeard, where was ordeined a scaffold for the same cause, and he, sittinge under his cloth of estate which was ordeined for him, his two crosses on everie side of him ; on his right hand sittinge on the place where hee set his feete, the Pope's embassador, and nexte him the Archbishop of Canterbury : on his left hand the Emperor's Embassador, and next him the Byshop of Duresme, and all the other Byshops with other noble prelates sate on twoe formes outeright forthe, and ther the Byshop of Rochester made a

sermon, by the consentinge of the whole clergie of England, by the commandement of the Pope, against one Martinus Eleuthereus, and all his workes, because hee erred sore, and spake against the hollie faithe; and denounced them accursed which kept anie of his bookes, and there were manie burned in the said church yeard of his said bookes duringe the sermon, which ended, my Lord Cardinall went home to dinner with all the other prelates.

No. LXXXVII. p. 278.

Lutheri Op. tom. ii. p. 412.

Carolus V. Dei Gratia Romanorum Imperator, semper Augustus, &c. Honorabili, nostro dilecto, devoto, Doctori Martino Luthero, Augustiniani Ordinis.

Honorabilis, Dilecte Devote, Quoniam nos et sacri Imperii status, nunc hic congregati, proposuimus et conclusimus, propter doctrinam et libros, aliquandiu hactenus abs te editos, scrutinium de te sumere, Dedimus tibi ad veniendum huc, et iterum hinc ad tuam securam reditionem, nostram et Imperii liberam, directam securitatem et Conductum, quem tibi circa hæc mittimus.

Desiderantes, ut velis te statim accingere itineri, ita, ut infra xxi. dies in hujusmodi Conductu nostro nominatis omnibus modis hic apud nos sis, et non domi maneas, neque ullam vel violentiam vel injuriam timeas, Volumus enim te in præfato nostro Conductu firmiter manu tenere et nobis persuadere, te venturum. In hoc namque facies nostram severam sententiam. Datum Wormatiæ, Die VI. Martii, Anno Domini m.d.xxi. Regnorum nostrorum, &c.

No. LXXXVIII. p. 284.

Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p. 92.

Polizza di Carlo Quinto Imperatore a i Principi dell' Imperio ridotti in Vormatia.

Voi sapete Signori, ch' io ho havuta l'origine mia da i Christianissimi Imperatori della natione Germana, da i Catolici Re di Spagna, di gli Arciduchi d'Austria, et da i Duchi di Borgogna; i quali tutti insino da fanciulli, son stati sempre ubidientissimi alla sede Apostolica, et a' sommi Pontefici, et hanno fin' alla morte perseverato nella loro fideltà; et sono stati sempre difensori, et protettori della fede Catolica, delle cerimonie sante, de' santi Decreti, de' santi ordini, et buoni costumi, per l'honore di Dio, accrescimento della fede, et salute delle anime. Onde ancora che siano morti, ci hanno per però l'ordine della natura, et ragioni di heredità, lasciate queste sante constitutioni per osservarle di mano in mano; affine che seguendo i vestigi loro, et i loro essempi,

venissimo poi a morte nella vera osservatione di quelle, come per la gratia di Dio, essendo noi veri imitatori de gli ottimi antichi nostri, habbiamo vissuto fin a questo giorno, et pretendiamo di morire. A questo fine adunque mi sono fermato, et ho preso risolutione d'essere difensore, et far mantenere tutto quello, che i miei predecessori, et noi habbiamo fin qui osservato, et mandato in essecutione; eh' è quello stesso, ch' è stato concluso, et diffinito, non tanto nel sacro Concilio di Costanza, quanto ne gli altri ancora. Et perciochè gli è cosa manifesta, che un solo Frate ingannato della sua propria opinione, vuole mandar sottosopra, et abbagliare gli intelletti, et giuditii di tutta la Christianità, con levar via quelle cose, che già molti et molti anni sono confermate da un lungo uso: però se la sua opinione fosse vera, ci farebbe facilmente credere, che fin' a questi tempi tutto il Christianesimo fosse vissuto in errore. Ma conciosia che ella è falsissima, et pessima, et inventione diabolica trovata da lui, ho deliberato del tutto di esponere, et impiegare i miei Regni, l'Imperio, et potentati, gli amici, il corpo, il sangue, la mia vita, et l'anima ancora, se bisognerà, perche questo tristo, et infelice principio non passi più oltre; considerando che ciò mi ritornarebbe a troppo gran disonore, et biasimo, come parimente ritornarebbe a voi stessi, che sete l'Illustrissima natione della tanto celebrata Germania, essendo avenuto per spetial previlegio, che voi siate detti, et nomati osservatori della giustitia, protettori, et difensori della fede Cattolica, cosa certamente, che non v' è di poco honore, auttorità, et riputatione. La onde se a' tempi nostri qualche, non voglio dir' heresia, ma sospitione di errore, overoe qual si voglia altra cosa, che indebolisse la Religione Christiana, prendesse vigore ne i cuori de' Christiani, et che noi gli lasciassimo fare la radice, senza farvi a tutto nostro potere la debita provisione, oltre che noi offenderiamo Dio, ci saria per sempre rinfacciato questo da i nostri successori di mano in mano, come cosa in vero degna d'ogni vituperio. Per tanto poiche habbiamo udita l'ostinata risposta, che hieri Lutero ci diede alla presenza di tutti voi, vi rendo sicuri per questa mia scrittura di mia propria mano, et vi dico certo, che mi dispiace molto, et mi duole nel cuore haver differito tanto tempo, et esser stato tanto a fulminar processo contra il detto Lutero, et contra la sua falsa doctrina, di modo che ho preso risolutione in me stesso di mai più non volerlo udire, commandando, che subito egli sia ricondotto fuori della Corte nostra, secondo il tenore del suo salvocondotto, con questo patto, che sieno a pieno osservate le conditioni, che vi sono espresse, di non predicare, scrivere, nè essere in modo alcuno occasione di sollevatione popolare. Nel rimanente poi sono deliberato, come ho già detto, di procedere contra di lui con quelle ragioni che si debbe procedere contra un' heretico manifesto, et vi ricerco, che in questa causa sia deliberato quello, che voi sete, tenuto di fare, come buoni, et fedeli Christiani, che sete, et come m'havete promesso di fare. Scritta di mia propria manu in Vormatia à 19 d' Aprile, 1521.

Carlo Imperatore.

No. LXXXIX. p. 284.

Sadolet. Ep. Pont. No. LXXVI. p. 106.

Cæsari.

Charissime, &c. Cum in hac Catholicæ Fidei causa te advocato hujus sanctæ Sedis adversus impias opiniones novorum hæreticorum, ac filium præcipue iniquitatis Martinum defendenda, ea expectaremus de tuæ Majestatis animo atque judicio, quæ de maximo Principe et præstantissimo Cæsare poterant expectari, fatebimur tamen verum, longe vicit virtus tua nostram expectationem. Ita enim ad nos omnium constanti voce perlatum est, tantam in te gravitatem, admirabilem insignemque sapientiam, tantum in te extitisse servandæ et custodiendæ ejus, quam a Deo et patribus nostris accepimus, Religionis studium, ut omnibus manifeste apparuerit, Deum tibi comitem, et Dei spiritum tuis optimis consiliis adfuisse. Res igitur acta per te omnibus sæculis memorabilis, exemplum salutare. Ceteros enim cernimus, auctoritatem tuam in damnanda perfidi hominis contumacia facile secutos. Qui modus ? aut quonam hæc a te studio gesta sunt ? quæ magnitudo animi ? quæ constantia ? cujusmodi erga Deum pietas, digna quidem Cæsare, sed summo et optimo Cæsare ? Domine salvum fac Regem hunc, et exaudi nos in die qua invocamus te. Quid quod tute decretum tuum conscripsisti, altis illis et magnificis verbis exorsus; decere te, ex Ducibus, Archiducibus, Regibus, Imperatoribusque oriundum, similia illis, in Dei omnipotentis honorem et fidei suæ sanctæ salutem, agere, nec Majoribus tuis deesse. Scilicet hoc non est esse similem, sed longe virtute antecedere. Non enim jam te ex Majorum tuorum exemplo, cohortabimur, sed hæc erit animi tui et virtutis excelsitas, in universam posteritatem omnibus Principibus exemplo. Nos quidem, qui novo quodam amoris affectu erga Majestatem tuam incitati sumus, deprecantes tibi apud omnipotentem Deum omnia prospera et gloriosa, gratias tibi agimus pro tuo officio tanto, non quas debemus, id enim est infinitum, sed quantas animo capere aut verbis referre possumus maximas ; quod et perpetuo acturi sumus, id supra omnia desiderantes, ut aliqua sese nobis offerat occasio, ut quid de tua singulari natura sentiamus, quantumve tua causa cupiamus, possimus tibi memorabili aliquo facto declarare ; quod tamen Deo auspice futurum confidimus. Sed et de his omnibus, et quam optemus, Majestatem tuam quæ bene cœpta sunt ad salutarem finem deducere, scribimus Nuntiis nostris, ut cum Majestate tua nostro nomine communicent ; quibus illa fidem habere dignabitur. Datum Mallianæ, die 4, Maji, 1521. Anno nono.

Gratias tibi quas possumus habemus, Redemptorem nostrum humiliter deprecantes, tibi concedat prospera cuncta, impleat sancta desideria, tribuatque Majestati tuæ similem semper animum, et parem virtutem.

Verba manu propria SS. D.N.

No. XC. p. 289.

Rymeri Fœdera, tom. vi. par. i. p. 199.

Bulla pro Titulo Defensoris Fidei.

Leo Episcopus *Servus Servorum Dei*, Carissimo in Christo Filio, *Henrico Angliæ Regi*, Fidei Defensori, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Ex supernæ dispositionis arbitrio, licet imparibus meritis, Universalis Ecclesiæ Regimini Præsidentes, ad hoc cordis nostri longe lateque diffundimus cogitatus, ut Fides Catholica, sine qua nemo proficit ad Salutem, continuum suscipiat Incrementum, et ut ea, quæ pro cohibendis conatibus Illam deprimere aut pravis mendacibusque comentis pervertere et denigrare molientium, sana Christi Fidelium, præsertim Dignitate Regali Fulgentium, Doctrina sunt disposita, continuis perficiant Incrementis, Partes nostri Ministerii et Operam impendimus efficaces.

Et, sicut alii Romani Pontifices, Prædecessores nostri, Catholicos Principes (prout Rerum et Temporum qualitas exigebat) specialibus favoribus prosequi consueverunt, illos præsertim, qui procellosis temporibus, et rapida Scismaticorum et Hæreticorum fervente perfidia, non solum in Fidei Serenitate et Devotione illibata Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ immobiles perstiterunt, verum etiam, tanquam ipsius Ecclesiæ legitimi Filii, ac fortissimi Athletæ, Scismaticorum et Hæreticorum insanis Furoribus spiritualiter et temporaliter se opposuerunt; ita etiam nos *Majestatem tuam*, propter Excelsa et Immortalia ejus erga Nos et hanc Sanctam Sedem, in qua, Permissione Divina, sedemus, opera et gesta, condignis et immortalibus præconiis et laudibus efferre desideramus, ac ea sibi concedere propter quæ invigilare debeat a Grege Dominico Lupos arcere, et putida membra, quæ Mysticum Christi Corpus inficiunt, ferro et materiali gladio abscindere, et nutantium corda Fidelium in Fidei soliditate confirmare.

Sane cum nuper Dilectus Filius *Johannes Clerk*, Majestatis tuæ apud Nos Orator, in Consistorio nostro, coram Venerabilibus Fratribus nostris Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalibus, et compluribus aliis Romanæ Curiæ Prælatis, *Librum*, quem *Majestas tua*, charitate, quæ omnia sedulo et nihil perperam agit, Fideique Catholicæ zelo accensa, ac Devotionis erga Nos et hanc Sanctam Sedem fervore inflamata, contra Errores diversorum Hæreticorum, sæpius ab hac Sancta Sede Damnatos, nuperque per *Martinum Lutherum* suscitatos et innovatos, tanquam nobile ac salutare quoddam antidotum, composuit, Nobis examinandum, et deinde Auctoritate nostra approbandum, obtulisset, ac luculenta Oratione sua exposuisset, *Majestatem tuam* paratam ac dispositam esse ut, quemadmodum veris Rationibus ac irrefragabilibus Sacræ Scripturæ et Sanctorum Patrum Auctoritatibus notorios Errores ejusdem *Martini* confutaverat, ita etiam omnes eos sequi et defensare præsumentes totius Regni sui viribus et armis persequatur:

Nosque ejus *Libri* admirabilem quandam et cœlestis Gratiæ rore

conspersam, Doctrinam diligenter accurateque introspeximus, Omnipotenti Deo, a quo omne Datum optimum et omne Donum perfectum est, immensas Gratias egimus, qui optimam et ad omne bonum inclinatam mentem tuam inspirare, eique tantam Gratiam superne infundere dignatus fuit, ut ea scriberes quibus Sanctam ejus Fidem contra novum Errorum Damnatorum hujusmodi Suscitatorem defenderes, ac reliquos Reges et Principes Christianos tuo exemplo invitares ut ipsi etiam Orthodoxæ Fidei et Evangelicæ Veritati, in periculum et discrimen adductæ, omni ope sua adesse opportuneque favere vellent; æquum autem esse censentes eos, qui pro Fidei Christi hujusmodi Defensione pios Labores susceperunt, omni Laude et Honore afficere; Volentesque non solum ea, quæ *Majestas* tua contra eundem *Martinum Lutherum* absolutissima Doctrina nec minori Eloquentia scripsit, condignis laudibus extollere ac magnificare, Auctoritateque nostra approbare et confirmare, sed etiam *Majestatem ipsam* tali Honore et Titulo decorare, ut nostris ac perpetuis futuris temporibus Christi Fideles omnes intelligant quam gratum acceptumque Nobis fuerit *Majestatis tuæ* munus, hoc præsertim tempore nobis oblatum;

Nos qui Petri, quem Christus, in cœlum ascensurus, Vicarium suum in Terris reliquit, et cui curam Gregis sui commisit, veri Successores sumus, et in hac Sancta Sede, a qua omnes Dignitates ac Tituli emanant, sedemus, habita super his cum eisdem Fratribus nostris matura Deliberatione, de eorum unanimi Consilio et Assensu, *Majestati tuæ* Titulum hunc (videlicet) Fidei Defensorem donare decrevimus, prout Te tali Titulo per Præsentes insignimus; Mandantes omnibus Christi Fidelibus ut *Majestatem tuam* hoc Titulo nominent, et cum ad eam scribent, post Dictionem Regi adjungant Fidei Defensori.

Et profecto, hujus Tituli excellentia et dignitate ac singularibus Meritis tuis diligenter perpensis et consideratis, nullum neque dignius neque *Majestati tuæ* convenientius nomen excogitare potuissemus, quod quotiens audies aut leges, totiens propriæ Virtutis optimique Meriti tui recordaberis; nec hujusmodi Titulo intumesces vel in Superbiam elevaberis, sed solita tua Prudentia humilior, et in Fide Christi ac Devotione hujus Sanctæ Sedis, a qua exaltatus fueris, fortior et constantior evades, ac in Domino bonorum omnium Largitore lætaberis perpetuum hoc et immortale Gloriæ tuæ Monumentum Posteris tuis relinquere, illisque viam ostendere ut, si tali Titulo ipsi quoque insigniri optabunt, talia etiam Opera efficere, præclaraque *Majestatis tuæ* Vestigia sequi studeant, quam, prout de Nobis et dicta Sede optime merita est, una cum Uxore et Filiis, ac omnibus qui a Te et ab Illis nascentur, nostra Benedictione, in Nomine illius, a quo illam concedendi Potestas Nobis data est, larga et liberali Manu Benedicentes, Altissimum illum, qui dixit, *per Me Reges regnant et Principes imperant, et in cujus manu Corda sunt Regum*, rogamus et obsecramus ut eam in suo Sancto Proposito confirmet, ejusque Devotionem multiplicet, ac præclaris pro Sancta Fide gestis ita illustret, ac toti Orbi Terrarum conspicuam reddat ut Judicium, quod de ipsa fecimus, eam tam insigni Titulo decorantes, a nemine falsum aut

vanum judicari possit; Demum, mortalis hujus Vitæ finito Curriculo, sempiternæ illius Gloriæ consortem atque participem reddat.

Dat. *Romæ* apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Millesimo, Quingentesimo, Vigesimo Primo, Quinto Idus Octobris, Pontificatus nostri anno Nono.

Ego Leo Decimus, *Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus.*

Locus Signi.

Ego B. Epis. Ostien. Card. S.
Ego N. Card. de Flisco Episc. Albn.
Ego A. Episc. Tuscul. de Farnesiis.
Ego Episc. A. Alban.
Ego P. Tit. S. Eusebii Presbyt. Card.
Ego A. Tit. S. Mariæ in Transtyberim Presbyt. Car. Bonon.
Ego Laur. Tit. Sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum Presbyt. Card. manu propria.
Ego Jo. Do. Tit. S. Jo. an. Por. Lat. Presbyt. Cardin. Recanaten. manu propria.
Ego A. Tit. S. Prisce. Presbyt. Card. de Valle manu propria.
Ego Jo. Bap. Tit. S. Apollinaris Presbyt. Card. Cavallicen.
Ego S. Tit. S. Cyriaci in Thermis Presbyt. Car. Comen.
Ego D. Tit. S. Clementis Presbyt. Car. Jacobinus.
Ego L. Tit. S. Anastasiæ Presbyt. Car. Campegius.
Ego F. Ponzettus, Tit. S. Pancratii Presbyt. Car.
Ego G. Tit. S. Marcelli Car. Presbyt. de Vic.
Ego F. Armellinus Medices, Tit. S. Callisti Presbyt. Car.
Ego Tho. Tit. S. Xisti Card. Presbyt.
Ego E. Tit. S. Matthæi Presbyt. Card.
Ego Ch. Tit. Mariæ Aræ Cœli, Presbyt. Car.

Ego F. S. Mariæ in Cosmedin. Diacon. Car. Ursinus. manu prop.
Ego P. S. Eustachii Diaconus, Car. manu propria.
Ego Alex. S. Sergii et Bacchi Diacon. Car Cæsarinus. manu prop.
Ego Jo. SS. Cosmæ et Dam. Diac. Car. de Salviatis. manu prop.
Ego N. S. Viti et Mod. Diacon. Car. Rodulphus. manu prop.
Ego Her. S. Agathæ Diaconus Car. de Rangon. manu prop.
Ego Aug. S. Hadriani Diaconus Car. Trivultius. manu prop.
Ego F. S. Mariæ in Porticu Car. Pisanus, manu propriâ.

Locus Sigilli.

H. de Comitibus.

Explicatio Nominum, Titulorum, et Familiarum, suprascriptorum subscribentium.

Episcopi Cardinales.

Bernardinus Carvaial Hispanus, Episcopus Ostien. Cardinalis Sanctæ Crucis.
Nicholaus Cardinalis de Flisco, Episcopus Albn.
Alexander Episcopus Tusculanus de Farnesiis.
Antonius de Monte Sancti Sabini, Episcopus Albanus.

Presbyteri Cardinales.

Petrus de Accoltis, Tituli Sancti Eusebii, Presbyter Cardinalis.

Achilles de Crassis, Tituli Sanctæ Mariæ trans Tyberim Presbyter Cardinalis Bononien.

Laurentius Puccius, Tituli Sanctorum quatuor Coronatorum Presbyter Cardinalis.

Johannes Dominicus de Cupis, Tituli Sancti Johannis ante Portam Latinam Presbyter Cardinalis Recanaten.

Andreas de Valle, Tituli Sanctæ Priscæ Presbyter Cardinalis de Valle.

Jo. Baptista Palavicinus, Tituli Sancti Apollinaris Presbyter Cardinalis Cavallicen.

Scarramuccia Trivultius, Tituli Sancti Cyriaci in Thermis, Presbyter Cardinalis Comensis.

Dominicus Jacobatius, Tituli Sancti Clementis, Presbyter Cardinalis Jacobinus.

Laurentius Campegius, Tituli Sanctæ Anastasiæ, Presbyter Cardinalis Campegius.

Ferdinandus Ponzettus, Tituli Sancti Pancratii, Presbyter Cardinalis.

Gullielmus Raymundus de Vicos Tituli Sancti Marcelli Cardinalis Presbyter de Vic.

Franciscus Armellinus Medices, Tituli Sancti Calisti, Presbyter Cardinalis.

Frater Thomas de Vio, Tituli Sancti Xisti, Presbyter Cardinalis.

Frater Ægidus Viterbensis, Tituli Sancti Matthæi, Presbyter Cardinalis.

Frater Christophorus Humalius, Tituli Sanctæ Mariæ de Aracœli, Presbyter Cardinalis.

Diaconi Cardinales.

Franciottus Ursinus, Sanctæ Mariæ in Cosmedin Diaconus Cardinalis, Ursinus.

Paulus de Cæsis, Sancti Eustachii, Diaconus Cardinalis.

Alexander Cæsarinus Sanctorum Sergii et Bacchi Diaconus Cardinalis Cæsarinus.

Johannes Salviatus, Sanctorum Cosmæ et Damiani Diaconus Cardinalis de Salviatis.

Nicholaus Rodulphus Sanctorum Viti et Modesti in Mocello, Diaconus Cardinalis Rodulphus.

Hercules Comes de Rangonibus, Sanctæ Agathæ Diaconus Cardinalis de Rangonibus.

Augustinus Trivultius, Sancti Adriani Diaconus Cardinalis Trivultius.

Franciscus de Pisanis, Sanctæ Mariæ in Porticu Diaconus Cardinalis Pisanus.

No. XCI. p. 303.

Allwoerden Hist. Mich. Serveti, pp. 67, 73, 91. *Ed. Helmstadt.*

A mes tres honorés Seigneurs, Messeigneurs les Syndics et Conseil de Geneve.

Supplie humblement Michael Servetus accusé, mettant en faict que c'est une novelle invention, ignorée des Apostres et Disciples et de l'Eglise anciene, de faire partie criminelle pour la doctrine de l'Escriture, ou pour questions procedentes d'icelle. Sela se monstre premierement aux Actes des Apostres, chapitre xviii. et xix. ou tiels accusateurs sont deboutés, et renvoyés aux Eglises, quant ni aultre crime que questions de la Religion. Pareillement du temps de l'Empereur Constantin le grand, ou il y avoyt grandes heresies des Arriens, et accusations criminelles, tant du costé de Athanasius, que du costé de Arrius, le dict Empereur par son conseil e conseil de toutes les Eglises, arresta que suyvant la anciene doctrine, teles accusations narioni poynt de lieu, voire quand on seroyt un heritique, comme estoyt Arrius. Mais que toutes leurs questions serioni decidées par les Eglises, et que estila que seroyt convencu, ou condamné par iceles, si ne se voloyt reduire par repentance, seroyt banni. La quiel epunition a esté de tout temps observé en l'anciene eglise contra les heretiques, comme se preuve par mille autres histoires, et authorités des Docteurs. Pour quoy, Messeigneurs, suyvant la doctrine des Apostres et Disciples, que ne permirent oncques tieles accusations, et suyvant la doctrine de l'anciene eglise, en la quiele tieles accusations ne estiont poynt admises, requiert le dict Suppliant estre mis dehors de la accusation criminelle.

Secondament, Messeigneurs, vous supplie considerer, que n'a poynt offansé en vostre terre, ni allieurs, n'a poynt esté sedicieux, ni perturbateur. Car les questions que luy tracte, sont difficiles, et seulement dirigées a gens sçavans. Et que de tout le temps que a esté en Allemagne, n'a jamais parlé de ces questions, que a Œcolampadius Bucer et Capito. Aussi en France n'en ha jamais parlé a home. En oultre que les Anabaptistes, sedicieux contre les Magistrats, et que volioni faire les choses communes, il les a tousjours reprouvè et reprouve. Donc il conclut, que pour avoir sans sedition aucune mises en avant certaines questions des anciens Docteurs de l'eglise, que pour sela ne doyt aulcunement estre detenu en accusation criminelle.

Tiersament, Messeigneurs, pour ce qu'il est estranger, et ne scait les costumes de ce pays, ni comme il fault parler, et preceder en jugement, vous supplie humblement luy doner un procureur, lequiel parle pour luy. Ce fesant farés bien, et nostre Seigneur prosperera vostre Republique. Faict en vostre cité de Geneve, le 22. d'aost. 1553.

Michel Servetus,
De Ville neufve. en sa cause propre.

Mes tres honorés Seigneurs.

Je vous supplie tres humblement, que vous plaise abreger ces grandes dilations, ou me mettre hors de la criminalité. Vous voyes que Calvin est au bout de son roulle, ne sachant ce que doyt dire, et pour son plaisir me voult icy faire pourrir en la prison. Les poulx me mangent tout vif, mes chauses sont descirées, et n'ay de quoy changer, ni purpoint, ni chamise, que une mechante. Je vous avois presenté une aultre requeste, la quiele estoyt selon Dieu. Et pour la empecher, Calvin vous a allegué Justinian. Certes il est malheureux, d'alleguer contre moy ce que luy mesme ne croyt pas. Luy mesme ne tient point, ni croyt point, ce que Justinian a dict de Sacrosanctis Ecclesiis, et de Episcopis, et Clericis, et d'aultres choses de la Religion ; et scait bien que l'eglise estoit desja depravée. Cest grand honte a luy, encores plus grands, qu'il a cinq Semeines, que me tient icy si fort enfermé, et n'a jamais allegué contra moi un seul passage.

Messeigneurs ; je vous avoys aussi demandé un procureur, ou advocat, comme aviés permis a ma partie la quiele n'en avoyt, si afaire que 'moy, que suys estrangier, ignorant les costumes de cè paijs. Toute fois vous l'avés permis a luy, non pas a moy, et l'aves mis hors de prison, devant de cognoistre. Je vous requier que ma cause soyt mise au conseil de deux cents, aveque mes requestes ; et si j'en puys appeller la, j'en appelle, protestant de tous despans, dammages et interès, et de pœna talionis, tant contra le premier accusateur, que contra Calvin son maistre, que a prins la cause a soy. Faict en vos prisons de Geneve le xv. de Septembre, 1553.

Michel Servetus,
En sa cause propre.

Tres honorés Seigneurs.

Je suis detenu en accusation criminelle de la part de Jehan Calvin, lequel m'a faulsamant accusé, disant que j'aves escript,

I. Que les ames estiont mortelles, et aussi

II. Que Jesu Christ n'avoyt prins de la vierge Maria, que la quatriesme partie de son corps.

Ce sont choses horribles et execrables. En toutes les aultres heresies, et en tous les aultres crimes, n'en a poynt si grand, que de faire l'ame mortelle. Car a tous les aultres il y a sperance de salut, et non poynt a cestuicy. Qui dict cela, ne croyt poynt quil y aye Dieu, ni justice, ni resurrection, ni Jesu Christ, ni sainte Escriture, ni rien : si non que tout e mort, et que home et beste soyt tout un. Si j'aves dict cela, non seulement dict, mais escript publicament, pour enfecir le monde, je me condemnares moy mesme a mort.

Pourquoy, Messeigneurs, je demande que mon faulx accusateur soyt puni poena talionis, et que soyt detenu Prisonier comme moy, jusques a ce que la cause soyt diffinie pour mort de luy ou de moy, au aultre

peine. Et pour ce faire je me inscris contra luy a la dicte peine de talion. Et suis content de morir, si nou est convencu, tant de cecy, que d'aultres choses, que je luy mettre dessus. Je vous demande justice, Messeigneurs, justice, justice, justice. Faict en vos prisons de Geneve, le xxii. de Septembre, 1553.

MICHEL SERVETUS,
En sa cause propre.

No. XCII. p. 319.

Rymer. Fœdera, tom. vi. par. 1. p. 119.

Papa ad Regem super Anticipatione Æquinoctiorum, et de Kalendario emendando.

CARISSIME in Christo Fili noster Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Cum, Doctorum Virorum relatione, in Sacro Lateranensi Concilio propositum fuisset Kalendarium, quod in positione Vernalis Æquinoctii, Solis cursum designantis, a suo recto cursu defluxerat, correctione indigere, ut Pascha, quod, præcipue a vernali æquinoctio et quartadecima Luna novorum pendet, recte observaretur, ac dignum reputantes in hujusmodi Lateranensis Concilii celebratione errorem hujusmodi agnosci et agnitum emendari: movissemusque et hortati fuissemus Theologos et Astrologos ac alios in his Viros doctissimos de remedio et emendatione congruâ cogitare; sententiisque eorum partim scriptis partim disputationibus habitis, reipsa in sacris dicti Concilii Cardinalium et Prælatorum Disputationibus crebris disceptationibusque agitata, nonnullæ difficultates quæ ex illa oriebantur apparuissent; volentes ea omnia mature et considerate discerni ut decreta postea et deliberata ab omnibus observarentur, *Majestatem tuam* hortati fuimus ut Theologiæ et Astrologiæ Professores Viros claros, quos in regno tuo haberes, et Lateranense Concilium, ut erroris hujusmodi discussio et illius emendatio salubri remedio perquireretur, et ad veram determinationem et sinceram observationem omnium votis produceretur, venire juberes atque curares; impeditis autem præciperes quid eorum quisque in his statueret, et quid juxta conscientiam meam arbitraretur, ad Nos in scriptis transmitteret; et, ut ipsi venturi vel remansuri convenientius rem considerare et discutere possent, summariam aliquarum propositionum, super præmissis in dictis disputationibus exhibitam mittendam curavimus:

Cumque factum fuerit, hortationibus nostris hujusmodi, ut aliquorum scripta ad Nos pervenerint, illis in disputationibus præfatis diligenter examinatis; denuo compendium cum quibusdam propositionibus, diversos modos correctionis Kalendarium hujusmodi continentibus, a doctis et sapientibus prolatum, literis nostris, universis et singulis Patriarchis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, ac Rectoribus Universitatum studiorum generalium directis, adjunctum duximus destinandum; ut super his quod conclusum atque scriptum pro majori parte fuerit per

Patriarchas, Archiepiscopos, et Episcopos, eorum sigillis munitum, saltem infra quatuor menses per proprium seu alium Nuncium ad Nos destinare procurent, ut in prima sessione, quam ea potissimum causa ad pridie Kalendas Decembris distulimus ac prorogavimus, negotium hujusmodi absolvere ac maturius et consultius terminare valeamus.

Cupientes igitur opus hujusmodi tam laudabile ad finem optatum, cum omnium fidelium pace et spirituali consolatione deduci, *Majestatem tuam* hortamur in Domino ut viros doctos quos habes ad veniendum, seu quid ipsi in præmissis sentiant scribendum inducere, ac eorum scripta ad nos transmittere, ac opem et operam efficaces adhibere velis quod dictæ nostræ litteræ Patriarchis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Rectoribus Universitarum hujusmodi Regni tui fideliter et diligenter præsententur, ac juxta mandata nostra per eos executioni debite demandentur; Quod si feceris ut speramus rem in primis Deo acceptam, Nobis vero gratam efficies.

Datum *Romæ*, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die decima Julii, millesimo quingentesimo decimo sexto, Pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

J. Sadoletus.

Dors.

Charissimo in Christo Filio nostro Henrico Angliæ Regi Illustri.

No. XCIII. p. 344.

From the original, in the possession of the Reverend Mr. Hinckes, of Cork.

Signjor Mio,

Quel Gismondo Arovello, degno de tutti gli honori mentre rapresenta il Re vostro ne la imbasciaria, prima che la bonta vostra affermasse l'haver egli ritratto la somma de i trecento scudi, che doveva darmi come dono di sua Maestà, et ordine di voi altri miei fautori, ha sempre giurato di non havere il modo di darmigli del suo, e che subito che se gli rimettino, manderamigli sino a casa, e che pagaria del proprio sangue a non essere caduto ne lo errore del ferirmi; et che di ciò e suto cagione il Medico de gli Agustini, che gli ha riportato il falso; ma che s'io voglio diventargli amico, che mi sara tal mio in Inghilterra, che beato me. Ma hora che ha inteso come per tutta questa citta è sparso il nome, che prova il come molto tempo è, che hebbe tali denari, si è posto in su le furie, et dice, ma de si; che gli ho; nègliene vo dare, perchè L'Aretino ha detto mal di me; et voglio scrivere al protettore cose stupende di lui. Onde non si parla d'altro, che de la tracagnaria di cosi insolente homo, al quale non ho fatto altro dispiacere che chiedergli il mio. Il che voi giustissima creatura del grande Henrico, non sopportarete gia; ma piaccia a Dio che fornisca cosi

empia lite, senza altro interresse che di danari et parole; et bascio la mano di V. S. con tutto l'animo. Di Venetia, il VIIII. di Luglio, 1548.

Obligatissimo Serv.

PIETRO ARETINO.

Al Honoratissimo Signor Fillippo Obi Imbasciatore del Re de Inghilterra apresso la Maestà di Cesare.

No. XCIV. p. 345.

Opere Burlesche del Berni ed altri, vol. ii. p. 112.

Contro a Pietro Aretino.

Tu ne dirai, e farai tante, e tante,
Lingua fracida, marcida, senza sale,
Ch' al fin si troverà pur un pugnale
Miglior di quel d'Achille, e più calzante.
Il Papa è Papa, e tu sei un furfante,
Nudrito del pan d'altri, e del dir male;
Un piè hai in bordello, e l'altro allo spedale;
Storpiataccio, ignorante, ed arrogante.
Giovammatteo, e gli altri ch' egli ha presso,
Che per grazia di Dio son vivi, e sani,
T' affogheranno ancora un di n'un cesso,
Boja, scorgi i costumi tuoi ruffiani:
E se pur vuoi cianciar, dì di te stesso;
Guardati il petto, e la testa, e le mani.
Ma tu fai come i cani,
Che dà pur lor mazzate se tu sai,
Scosse che l'hanno, son più bei che mai,
Vergognati haggimai,
Prosuntuoso porco, mostro infame,
Idol del vituperio, e della fame;
Ch' un monte di letame
T' aspetta, manigoldo, sprimacciato,
Perchè tu muoja a tue sorelle allato,
Quelle due, sciagurato,
C' hai nel bordel d'Arezzo a grand' honore,
A gambettar, che fa lo mio amore.
Di queste, traditore,
Dovevi far le frottole, e novelle,
E non del Sanga, che non ha sorelle.
Queste saranno quelle,
Che mal vivendo ti faran le spese,
E 'l lor, non quel di Mantova, Marchese.
Ch' ormai ogni paese,

Hai ammorbato, ogni huom, ogni animale,
Il Ciel, e Dio, e 'l Diavol ti vuol male.
Quelle veste ducale,
O ducali accattate, e furfantate,
Che ti piangono indosso sventurate,
A suon di bastonate
Ti saran tratte, prima che tu muoja,
Dal reverendo padre Messer Boja ;
Che l'anima di noja,
Mediante un capresto, caveratti,
E per maggior favore squarteratti.
E quei tuoi Leccapiatti
Bardassonacci, Paggi da taverna,
Ti canteranno il requiem eterna.
Or vivi, e ti governa,
Bench' un pugnale, un cesso, o vero un nodo,
Ti faranno star cheto in ogni modo.

No. XCV. p. 351.

Nova Litteraria Maris Balthici et Septentrionis. An. 1699. *Edit. Lubec.* 4to. p. 347.

Hensburgi. Joannes Mollerus inter varias de Scriptoribus Danicis observationes curiosas a Viro Rev. et antiquitatum patriarum callentissimo, Petro Jani, Lucoppidano Pastore Diœceseos Landensis in insula Thorsing prope Fioniam, secum communicatas, singularem nuper Leonis X. Papæ Romani Bullam adeptus est, quam si obtinuisset citius, præfationi *Bibliothecæ suæ Septentrionis eruditi* inseruisset ; probaturus inde paucitatis ac penuriæ veterum apud Septentrionales monumentorum Litterariorum causam, Italis quoque adscribendam, qui ea forte sub initium superioris sæculi per emissarios suos undique conquisita avexerint. Id enim e Bulla ista Pontificia, sive Leonis X. ad Christiernum II. Daniæ Regem epistola, ad oculum patere existimat ; cujus copiam publico non invidens, hoc saltem monet, Callundburgi olim vetustum Regni Daniæ Archivum sive Tabularium fuisse, quamvis locus ille, non, ut Bulla habet, ad Diœcesin Ottoniensem seu Fionicam, sed potius ad Roeskildensem vel Selandicam, pertineat : et licet Pontifex Regi monumentorum veterum ab ipso impetratorum restitutionem promittat ; eam tamen, ob insequutum paullo post Regis exilium, quin et mutationem religionis, aliasque varias Septentrionis turbas, nunquam factum fuisse, videri verisimile, Bulla ipsa ita habet.

Corissimo in Christo Filio Christierno, Daciæ, Norvegiæ et Gothiæ Regi illustri.

Leo Papa X.

Carissime in Christo Fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem ; Retulit nobis dilectus filius Joannes Heytmers de Zonalben Clericus

Leodiensis Diœceseos, commissarius noster, quem dudum ad inquirendum Libros vetustos, ad inclytas nationes Germaniæ, Daciæ, Sveciæ, Norwegiæ, et Gothiæ miseramus, in regno tuo, in castro videlicet Callenburgensi, Ottoniensis Diœceseos, alias repertos libros nonnullos vetustos Auctorum clarissimorum, Romanas præsertim Historias continentes, illosque tuo jussu diligenter custodiri. Magnum nos desiderium invasit, et ab ipso primo pontificatus nostri initio, viros quovis virtutum genere insignitos, præsertim litteratos, quantum cum Deo possumus, fovere, extollere, et juvare. Qua de causa, licet et nobis nonnihil dispendiosum sit, curamus indies diligentissime ut nostra impensa antiqui libri, qui temporum malignitate perirent, in lucem redeant. Quocirca Majestatem tuam ea, qua demum possumus affectione, hortamur, monemus, et enixius in Domino obtestamur, ut, in quantum nobis rem gratam facere unquam animo proponit, tam dictos, quam alios quosvis antiquos libros sui regni dignos, et qui desiderentur, ad nos transmittere curet, illos statim receptura, cum exscripti hic fuerint, juxta obligationem per Cameram nostram Apostolicam factam, seu quam dictus Joannes Heytmers ad id mandatum sufficiens habens, nomine dictæ cameræ denuo duxerit faciendam. Quod si Majestas tua fecerit, et ingens nomen apud viros litteratos consequetur, et nobis adeo rem gratam faciet, ut nihil supra. Mittimus autem in præsentia Majestati tuæ confessionale in forma Principum, tam illi, quam suæ Consorti, et duodecim personis, per vos nominandis concessum ; munus, si id ad cœlum respicere volueris, maximum. Non minora etiam pollicemur, et Majestati tuæ offerimus, quæ illi grata esse in dies cognoscemus.

Datum Romæ, apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, octavo Novembris. An. M.D.XVIII. Pont. nostri anno quinto.

JAC. SADOLETUS.

No. XCVI. P. 358.

Ex Codice MS. Marucelliano. Florent. A. 82.

Ode Zenobii Acciaioli, qua Leo X. Luminare Majus Ecclesiæ, Soli seu Apollini comparatur, invitaturque ad collis Quirinalis ornatum; exemplo Leonis illius qui partem urbis Transtyberinam, dici a se Leoninam voluit.

Veris Descriptio.

ORBIS ut nostri superas ad Arctos
Sol pater Lucis redit, atque Phryxi
Aureus vector gemino refulget
Splendidus auro,
Excitus fundo locuples ab imo
Dis opes farcti penoris remittit ;
Æquus alternis variare summum
Dotibus orbem.

Quæque contractis hyemem diebus
Passa, fumosa latuit sub antro,
Vesta, mutatos viridi colorat
Gramine vultus.
Chloris augustam Charitesque matrem
Sedulo circum refovent honore ;
Veris ubertim gravido ferentes
Munera cornu.
Jam caput lætum Dominæ sedenti
Frondibus silvæ teneris obumbrant,
Jamque substerni pedibus decoris
Lilia certant.
Rorido ludit pecus omne campo,
Reddit et lucus volucrum querelas,
Blanda subsultim penetrat voluptas
Sæcla animantum.
Ipse Pythonis colubri nepotes
Enecat cinctus radiis Apollo ;
Ipse et arguto chelyos sonoræ
Temperat orbem.
Flecte nunc versus, age mens canenti,
Numen ut sacri recinam LEONIS ;
Quem parem Dio, similemque Soli
Mundus adorat.
Sol, LEO noster, domus anne Sōlis ?
Ipse Sol idem, domus atque Solis ;
Quem sub arcano Sophia nitentem
Pectore gestat.
Ergo non artis medicæ salubres,
Respuit noster titulos Apollo,
Doctus et vocum numeros, lyræque
Carmina doctus.
Qua movet gressus, hilarata pulcro
Ridet occursu facies locorum ;
Sive per campos, Tiberisque valles,
Seu juga fertur.
Nempe cum visens Laterana templa
Movit ex imo, veniens ad altos
Romuli colles, manifesta Solis
Fulsit imago.
Fulsit et verni species nitoris,
Sole cum tristes abeunt pruinæ
Cumque prætentu vario renidet
Dædala tellus.
Quippe quæ vastis regio ruinis
Horret, aggestas operitque moles,
Attali cultu Tyrioque late
Splenduit ostro.

Coccinis tecti juvenes abollis,
Aureis tectos præiere patres ;
Impari sicut radiant Olympi
Sidera luce.
Ille sed fulgor radios euntis
Obruit turbæ populique visus,
Celsa cum Phœbo similis refulsit
Thensa Leonis.
Namque gemmato rutilabat auro
Triplici surgens obitu coronæ,
Inferi, summi, et medii potestas
Inclita mundi.
Lenis augusto gravitas ab ore
Testis arcanæ bene fida mentis,
Pace diffusa populi tuentis
Pectora traxit.
Quale non unquam Latio potenti
Sæculis vidit decus evolutis
Roma, cum victrix domito triumphos
Extulit orbe.
Sive cum strato Macedum tyranno
Regios hausit male sana luxus,
Sive cum Troja genitos ad astra
Misit Julos.
Quippe non cæsis hominum maniplis,
Tollimus nostro titulos Leoni ;
Capta nec Regum Latia ferimus
Colla bipenni.
Munda sed cordis pietas amici,
Debitos reddit meritis honores ;
Ambitu pulso patefacta gaudens
Regna tonantis.
Ponimus juris cupido tuendi,
Ponimus pacis cupido triumphos,
Ponimus, sacras Domino colenti
Palladis artes.
Jamque fundator Latiæ Quirinus
Urbis, e divo sibi dedicato
Gestit, ardentique vocat Leonis
Numina voto.
Advocat trina similis corona, et
Jure Silvester parili Leonem
Collis abrupti modica sacratum
Numen in ara.
Solis adventu siquidem Leonis,
Squalor informis senii recedet,
Surget et templo domibusque sedes
Aucta verendis.

Huc frequens almi jubar, huc Leonis
Adsit, huc frontis radios amicæ
Flectat, huc sedes amet, huc beatos
Ducere gressus.
Parva ne solum, tenuisque Roma
Tibris objectu, a Latio recedens ;
Ipsa sed major quoque jam vocetur
Roma Leonis.

No. XCVII. p. 370.

Brunck. Analecta vet. Poet. Græc. tom. ii. p. 49.

ΕΙΣ ΑΓΑΛΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΡΟΥ.

ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΠΠΟΥ.

Τίς, πόθεν ὁ πλάστης ; Σικυώνιος. Οὔνομα δῆ τίς ;
Λύσιππος, Σὺ δὲ, τίς ; Καιρὸς ὁ πανδαμάτωρ.
Τίπτε δ' ἐπ' ἄκρα βέβηκας ; ἀεὶ τροχάω. Τί δε ταρσοὺς
Ποσσὶν ἔχεις διφυεὶς ; Ἴπταμ' ὑπηνέμιος.
Χειρὶ δὲ δέξιτερῃ τί φέρεις ξυρὸν ; Ἀνδράσι δεῖγμα
Ὡς ἀκμῆς πάσης ὀξύτερος τελέθω.
Ἦ δὲ κόμη, τί κατ' ὄψιν ; Ὑπαντιάσαντι λαβέσθαι.
Νὴ Δία, τἀξοπιθὲν δ' εἰς τί φαλακρὰ πέλει ;
Τὸν γὰρ ἅπαξ πτηνοῖσι παραθρεξαντά με ποσσὶν
Οὔτις ἔθ' ἱμείρων δράξεται ἐξόπιθεν.
Τοὐνεχ' ὁ τεχνίτας σε διέπλασεν ; Εἵνεκεν ὑμέων,
Ξεῖνε, καὶ ἐν προθύροις θῆκε διδασκαλίην.

In Simulacrum Occasionis et Pœnitentiæ.

Ausonius, Epig. xii.

Cujus opus ? Phidiæ, qui signum Pallados, ejus
Quique Jovem fecit tertia palma ego sum.
Sum dea quæ rara, et paucis *Occasio* nota.
Quid rotulæ insistis ? Stare loco nequeo.
Quid talaria habes ? Volucris sum. Mercurius quæ
Fortunare solet, tardo ego, cum volui.
Crine tegis faciem. Cognosci nolo. Sed heus tu
Occipiti calvo es. Ne tenear fugiens.
Quæ tibi juncta comes ? Dicat tibi. Dic rogo quæ sis.
Sum Dea cui nomen nec Cicero ipse dedit.
Sum Dea, quæ facti, non factique exigo pœnas ;
Nempe ut pœnitent, sic Metanœa vocor.
Tu modo dic quid agat tecum ? Si quando volavi
Hæc manet, hanc retinent quos ego præterii.
Tu quoque dum rogitas, dum percontando moraris
Elapsam dices me tibi de manibus.

Capitolo dell' Occasione di Nicolo Machiavelli.

Chi sei tu, che non par donna mortale,
Di tanta grazia il ciel t' adorna et dota?
Perchè non posi? perchè a' piedi hai l'ale?
Io son *l'Occasione*, a pochi nota.
E la cagion che sempre mi travagli
E', perch' io tengo un piè sopra una rota.
Volar non è che al mio correr s' agguagli,
E però l'ale a' piedi mi mantengo.
Acciò nel corso mio ciascuno abbagli.
Gli sparsi miei capei dinanzi io tengo;
Con essi mi ricuopro il petto e 'l volto
Perch' un non mi conosca quando vengo.
Dietro del capo ogni capel m'è tolto,
Onde in van s'affatica un, se gli avviene,
Ch' io l'abbia trapassato, o s'io mi volto.
Dimmi chi è colei che teco viene?
E' *Penitenza*; e però nota e intendi
Chi non sa prender me costei ritiene.
E tu, mentre parlando il tempo spendi,
Occupato da molti pensier vani,
Già non t'avvedi, lasso, e non comprendi
Com' io ti son fuggita dalle mani!

IMITATED.

Hah! who art thou, of more than mortal birth,
Whom heaven adorns with beauty's brightest beam?
On wings of speed why spurn'st thou thus the earth?
Known but to few, OCCASION is my name.
No rest I find; for underneath my feet
Th' eternal circle rolls that speeds my way.
Not the swift eagle wins his course so fleet;
And these my glittering pennons I display,
That from the dazzling sight thine eyes may turn away.

In full luxuriance o'er my angel face
Float my loose tresses free and unconfined,
That through the veil my features few can trace;
But not one hair adorns my head behind.
Once past, for ever gone; no mortal might
Shall bid the ceaseless wheel return again.
But who is she, companion of thy flight?
Repentance. If thou grasp at me in vain
Then must thou in thy arms her loathsome form retain.

And now, whilst heedless of the truths I sing,
Vain thoughts and fond desires thy time employ;
Ah, seest thou not, on soft and silent wing,
The form that smil'd so fair has glided by!

No. XCVIII. p. 392.

Leon. X. Pont. Max. Iambici.

In Lucretiæ Statuam.

LIBENTER occumbo, mea in præcordia
Adactum habens ferrum ; juvat mea manu
It præstitisse, quod Viraginum prius
Nulla ob pudicitiam peregit promptius ;
Juvat cruorem contueri proprium,
Illumque verbis execrari asperrimis.
Sanguen mi acerbius veneno colchico,
Ex quo canis Stygius, vel Hydra præferox
Artus meos compegit in pœnam asperam ;
Lues flue, ac vetus reverte in toxicum.
Tabes amara exi ; mihi invisa et gravis,
Quod feceris corpus nitidum et amabile.
Nec interim suas monet Lucretia
Civeis, pudore et castitate semper ut
Sint præditæ, fidemque servent integram
Suis maritis, cum sit hæc Mavortii
Laus magna populi, ut castitate fœminæ
Lætentur, et viris mage ista gloria
Placere studeant, quam nitore et gratia ;
Quin id probasse cæde vel mea gravi
Lubet, statim animum purum oportere extrahi
Ab inquinati corporis custodia.

No. XCIX. p. 421.

Lilii Gregorii Gyraldi Poematia. Ed. Lugd. 1536.

Hymnus ad Divum Leonem, Pont. Max.

O QUI me gemino Parnassi in vertice sistat ?
Aoniumque mihi præsenti numine plectrum
Sufficiat ? dum te canimus, Leo Maxime, cujus
Auspiciis felix tranquilla per otia pacis
Mundus agit, veteres et dedidicere tumultus
Mortales ; sævus cum jam fera bella tyrannus
Intentans, summa cuperet dominarier urbe,
Ferret et indomitos malesano in corde furores ;
Eduxit Scythicamque manum, populumque ferocem
Vastantem late loca ; dumque ea fama vagatur,
Italiæ gentes omnes, Romanaque pubes
Ancipiti est perculsa metu, spes nulla salutis,
Nulla fugæ ratio est, ostentant omina dirum

Exitium. Haud aliter Gallis intrantibus urbem
Pertimuit, vel cum Cannensi clade superbus
Annibal insultans urbi est extrema minatus.
Ergo, te populus, te plebs, adiere patresque
Orantes veniam divos, pacemque per aras
Exquirunt, miserasque ferunt ad sydera voces.
At tecum (miseratus enim) tum plurima volvens
Obvius ire paras Regi, si flectere mentem,
Si possis dictis animum ad meliora referre.
Est locus, Eridano quo sese Mincius ingens,
Mincius Ocneas gelido qui pectore flammas
Servat adhuc, vatum placidus quique irrigat ora,
Miscet agens ; huc jam provectus barbarus hostis
Venerat armato stipatus milite denso.
Illum hoc forte loco, parva comitante caterva
Offendis fidens animi, atque interritus armis.
Non tibi baccatum triplici diadema corona,
Sed lituus tantum præit, niveaque minister
Non peplum ex humero signis auroque coruscum.
Discinctus tunica. Tum Rex consistere jussit
Agmina, miratus quæ sit fiducia inermi.
Ecce autem (mirum) facies emittere lumen
Visa tua est, subitoque ignis splendente corona
Involvi, summoque duos de vertice divos
Fundere, lambebatque comas et tempora flamma.
Rex pavidus trepidare metu, mussare cohortes,
Diriguere animis visu, mens effera cessit ;
Expleri nequit intentus Rex usque tuendo
Flagrantes vultus, hæret sed pectore toto.
Non secus Æneas stupuit, cum fundere Juli
Visus apex lumen, vel cum Lavinia virgo
Regales accensa comas, pater ipse Latinus.
Tum sic affaris, sustollens lumina, Regem.
Ipse Deum tibi me genitor mandata per auras
Ferre jubet, cœlum et terras qui numine torquet.
Abstineas a cæde manus, Romanaque linquas
Tecta, nec Ausonium fas est tibi visere Tybrim.
Cede Deo ; Divos nec contra audentior ito.
Vix ea fatus erat, cum Regi multa paranti
Obstruit os Divum Pater, et vox faucibus hæsit.
Jam tum consilia in melius, tum denique mentem
Vertere Rex cœpit, ponitque ferocia mitis
Corda, volente Deo ; nec jam parat obvius ire,
Quin dictis paret, vetitaque excedere terra
Actutum celerat, patriasque exquirere sedes
Omnibus est animus, par est sententia cunctis.
Ergo alacres redeunt. Tu pacis munera Romam
Læta refers : te læta capit Romana juventus ;
Nomen in astra ferunt, lætis clamoribus omnes

Ingeminant pæana, et festa fronde coronas
Intexunt, cava tum tinnitus turribus altis
Æra cient, feruntque Leo, Leo, compita et aræ.
Hæc tua facta quidem. Sed quo nunc carmine dicam ?
Vel cum restituitque manum castissima virgo ?
Vel cum consilioque patrum sacrique senatus
Dissidium unigenæ reluis, cogisque fateri
Nestorium esse triplex uno sub numine numen
Barbarica disjecta manu, nova mœnia Romæ
Tu reparas, urbemque tuo de nomine ponis.
Tu sacros ritus, tu mystica munera noris,
Et fandi numeros, et sacra volumina legis.
Tuque Dei interpres, tu præpetis omina cœli
Numina tu vatum, et venientia tempora sentis.
Hinc tua te quando jam fata extrema vocarent,
Et circumfusi gemerent populusque patresque,
Hæc ollis oracla canis, divine Sacerdos.
Parcite lamentis, lachrymas et mittite inaneis.
Prædicam ; veniet olim labentibus annis
Tyrrhena qui gente meo me nomine reddet,
Atque umbrata geret regali tempora mitra,
Uni cui pacis studium, cui secula curæ
Aurea, qui rursus pacata per otia mundum
Componet, convulsa suo qui corpore membra
Restituet, patresque vocet, sanctumque senatum,
Sacraque cui lambent proni vestigia Reges.
Quique Scythas super et Turcas, super et Garamantas
Proferet imperium Romæ, gentesque salubri
Mersabit fluvio mores vitamque docebit
Relligionem animis, hunc expectate futurum.
Hæc dicens, placida compostus pace quiesti,
Aureaque in solio stellantis regia cœli
Te capit, et Divum numerum felicior auges.
Unde reos voti damnas, propriusque tonantis
Colloquio frueris divino nectare pastus.
Salve, sancte pater, Romani maxime custos
Imperii, salve magnum decus addite magnis
Cœlicolis, Italæ magnum decus addite genti.
Jamque tuo felix adsis, pater alme, Leoni,
Et votis faveas princeps et rite secundes,
Si tua consequitur cupidus vestigia morum,
Si Solium hoc animo et Sceptrum sacramque Tiaram
Suscepit, populos vocet ut sub fœdera pacis.

No. C. p. 433.

Bembi Ep. Pontif. lib. ix. ep. 13.

Raphaelo Urbinati.

Cum præter picturæ artem, qua in arte te excellere omnes homines intelligunt, is a Bramante Architecto etiam in construendis ædibus es habitus, ut tibi illo recte Principis Apostolorum templi Romani, a se inchoati ædificationem committi posse moriens existimaverit, idque tu nobis forma ejus templi confecta, quæ desiderabatur, totiusque operis ratione tradita docte atque abunde probaveris: Nos quibus nihil est prope antiquius, quam ut phanum quam magnificentissime quamque celerrime construatur, te magistrum ejus operis facimus cum stipendio nummum aureorum trecentorum, tibi annis singulis curandorum a nostris pecuniarum, quæ ad ejus phani ædificationem erogantur, ad nosque preferuntur. Magistris a quibus id stipendium æquis pro tempore portionibus dari tibi cum petieris, sine mora etiam mensibus singulis jubeo. Te vero hortor, ut hujus muneris curam ita suscipias, ut in eo exercendo cum existimationis tuæ ac nominis, quorum quidem in juvenili ætate bona fundamenta jacere te oportet, tam spei de te nostræ, paternæque in te benevolentiæ, demum etiam phani, quod in toto orbe terrarum longe omnium maximum atque sanctissimum semper fuit, dignitatis et celebritatis, et in ipsum principem Apostolorum debitæ a nobis pietatis, rationem habuisse videare. Dat. Cal. Aug. An. secundo. Roma.

No. CI. p. 434.

Bembi Ep. Pontif. lib. x. ep. 51.

Raphaelo Urbinati.

Cum ad Principis Apostolorum phanum Romanum exædificandum maxime intersit, ut lapidum marmorisque copia, quæ abundare nos oportet, domi potius habeatur, quam peregre advehatur: exploratum autem mihi sit magnam ejus rei facultatem urbis ruinas suppeditare, effodique passim omnis generis saxa fere ab omnibus, qui Romæ, quique etiam prope Romam edificare aliquid, vel omnino terram vertere parumper moliuntur: te quo magistro ejus ædificationis utor, marmorum, et lapidum omnium, qui Romæ quique extra Romam denum milium passuum spacio posthac eruentur, Præfectum facio, ea de caussa, ut quæ ad ejus phani ædificationem idonea erunt, mihi emas. Quare mando omnibus hominibus, mediocribus, summis, infimis, quæ posthac marmora, quæque saxa omnis generis intra ejus, quem dixi, loci spacium eruent, effodient, ut te earum rerum præfectum de singulis erutis effossisve quamprimum certiorem faciant. Id qui triduo non fecerit, ei a centum usque ad trecentum nummum aureorum, quæ

tibi videbitur, mulcta esto. Præterea quoniam certior sum factus, multum antiqui marmoris et saxi, literis monumentisque incisi, quæ quidem sæpe monumenta notam aliquam egregiam præ se ferunt, quæque servari operæ precium esset ad cultum literarum Romanique sermonis elegantiam excolendam, a fabris marmorariis eo pro materia utentibus temere secari, ita, ut inscriptiones aboleantur: mando omnibus, qui cædendi marmoris artem Romæ exercent, ut sine tuo jussu aut permissu lapidem ullum inscriptum cædere secareve ne audeant: eadem illi mulcta adhibita, qui secus atque jubeo fecerit. Dat. sexto Cal. Sept. Anno tertio. Roma.

No. CII. p. 466.

Parid. de Grass Diar. inedit. ap. Bib. Pub. Parisiis.

Die 24 Novembris, hora quasi prima noctis, audivimus bombardas in signum lætitiæ ex Castro Sancti Angeli ob Mediolanum captum a nostris militibus, cum nostro Legato Cardinali de Medicis, qui in civitatem Mediolani cum exercitu Apostolico ingressus esset, direptis Gallorum castris. Et cum vix crederemus, publice per urbem ferebatur. Papam ex hac captura multum lætum esse, tum quia ex favore suo Galli essent ex Italia pulsi, etiam dicebatur ipsum Legatum Cardin. de Medicis futurum Ducem Mediolani pro Duce Bari, qui in Ducem Mediolani suffecturum se putabat. Sed quia Cardinalis iste de Medicis dicebatur cum Imperatore et ipso duce Bari sic composuisse ut ipse Cardinalis cederet Cardinalatui et Cancellariæ et omnibus beneficiis quorum valor. L. mill. ducat. in favorem Ducis Bari, qui Dux Bari cederet juri suo super ducatu Mediolani in favorem legati, et quod sic Papa lætabatur propterea ut nunquam plus ætatus fuerit intrinsecus vel extrinsecus, ita ut signa per triduum fieri curaverit. Et a me fuit quæsitum Papa an vellet aliquas Deo gratias agere. Et papa respondit quid sentirem. Ego respondi quod quando bellum est inter principes Christianos, non solet gratulari Ecclesia, nisi Ecclesia habeat aliquid interesse, quo casu Papa faciet signa lætitiæ. Itaque si Papa habet aliquid interesse magnum, similiter et lætitiam faciat, et gratias Deo agat. Papa ad hoc ridens dixit quod bonum magnum in manibus haberet. Ego replicavi quod et magnas gratias Deo redderet. Et respondit quod die Mercurii teneret Consistorium et quod recordari facerem. Et cum hæc diceret cubiculum ingressus est, ubi cum aliquas horas quievisset, dictus est non bene se habere. Et sic die Mercurii non fuit Consistorium.

No. CIII. p. 468.

Parid. de Grass. Diar. inedit. ap. Bib. Pub. Parisiis.

Die Dominica, quæ fuit prima mensis Decembris, hora quasi septima, mortuus est Papa Leo X. ex catharro superfluo, absque eo quod aliquis prævidisset casum suum : nam Medici ipsum dicebant leviter ægrotare ex catharro concepto in villa Malliana. Ego vocatus sum hora quasi nona ut irem ad parandum funus ejus ; et ivi, eumque mortuum inveni jam frigidum quasi nigrum ex tumore catharri. Omnia solita præparari feci in funere Papali, et feci significari Collegio ut de mane venirent, prout omnes venerunt, videlicet 29 numero. Cum autem tantus populus esset in Palatio ut vix Cardinales ingredi possent, tamen cum difficultate ingressi sunt.

No. CIV. p. 469.

Paid. de Grass. Diar. incdit. ap. Bib. Pub. Parisiis.

Corpus hora noctis tertia vel circa fuit sepultum : sed ego videns illud tumefactum petii a Cardinalibus an placeret quod ego facerem exenterari : et placuit. Et illo aperto, inventum est cor maculatum : et videntes Chirurgi et Physici dixerunt pro certo illum fuisse toxicatum, et maxime quia ipse infœlix Papa ante obitum sæpe doluerit sentire interiora sua quasi ex igne comburi. Itaque manifeste compertum est Papam Leonem venenatum periisse. Quæ res facile credita est, quoniam per aliquos ante dies quidam ignotus in habitu simulato ivit ad fenestram unam Monasterii Sancti Hieronymi, et vocato certo fratre dixit ei quod cras omnino iret ad Papam, et significaret ei qualiter venenum paratum erat sibi de proximo a quodam ejus intrinseco, non in cibo aut potu sed aut in natistergio aut in camiscia seu mappula. Et cum iste frater non vellet ire ad Mallianam, ubi tunc Papa erat, ivit ad Palatium et dixit Datario, qui illico ivit ad Mallianam et retulit hoc Papæ, qui illico misit pro isto fratre ut ad se Mallianam veniret. Et sic ivit et dixit Papæ quod prius Datario dixerat. Quo audito, Papa stupefactus dixit, si voluntas Dei esset, quod pateretur ; sed quod caveret quantum posset. Itaque inde ad paucos dies veniens Romam ægrotare cœpit. Et cum ægrotaret sæpe dicebat quod intrinsecus ardebat, et verbis finalibus dixit se occisum et mox moriturum esse.

Et quia suspicio fuit de veneno propinato in vino, fuit captus quidem Camerarius pincerna Papæ simul cum Canavario a furore populi, ex suspicione, quia iste visus est urbe exire : et captus ductus est in Castellum, et postea sicut innocens, liberatus est ; et conclusum Papam non ex veneno sed ex catharro mortuum.

No. CV. p. 470.

From the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, Vitell. B. 4. p. 209.

QUAM grave Vulnus acceperim ex acerbissima Sanctissimi Domini nostri morte facile est Majestatis vestræ existimare, ut nil mirum videri debeat si doloris magnitudine victus, non ante quid mei officii ratio postulasset ad illam scripsi; ita enim illo ictu conciderat animus, ut erigere se nullo modo posset. Cum primum vero me ex mœrore collegi, has ad Majestatem vestram Literas dedi, ut significarem eadem me in religione, omne tempus, studio atque animo futurum erga Majestatem vestram, quo semper ante hac fuissem. Nam tametsi permultum mihi a fortuna ademptum est de potestate illi serviendi, amoris tamen et observantiæ nulla deductio facta est; quia illam jam pridem cum primis et Christianis Principibus mihi maxime colendam proposui, cujusque benevolentiam omni officio mihi compararem; quam me ab humanissimo et gratissimo principe plenissime consecutum spero, cum in suis ac sui regni, cujus protector sum, negociis, studium meum ac diligentiam perspexerit.

Ornaverat Sanctissimus Dom. noster Majestatem vestram Christianæ Fidei Defensoris cognomine, quod ad posteros quoque Reges transiret, amplissimo illo *decreto* quod maximo illustrique Regi *conveniebat*. Sed quum nova res et admirabilis visa est, in Rege maximo pietas et eloquentia tanta, amplioribus et non usitatis titulis, si qui reperirentur, illam exornare optabat, ideoque habebat adhuc apud se Bullam summorum *cardinalium* consensu super Defensoris Cognomine confectam; quam nunc ad Majestatem vestram mitto, ut quum cætera illi debita Monimentorum genera mors præripuit, habeat hoc saltem summum atque extremum Sanctitatis suæ benevolentiæ ac judicii de se Testimonium. Felicissime valeat Majestas vestra, cui me quam humillime possum commendo. Roma, xxiiii Decembris, M.D.XXI.

Sacræ Serenissimæ Majestatis Vestræ,

Humillimus Servitor.

Sacræ Serenissimæ atque invictissim. Angliæ et Franciæ Regiæ Majestati.

THE END.

INDEX.

A.

Academy, Roman, state of, on the elevation of Leo X., i. 395; restored by Leo X., i. 398.

Acciajuoli Zanobio, librarian of the Vatican, ii. 356.

Accolti Bernardo, L'Unico Aretino, account of his life and writings, ii. 133.

Achillini Giovanni Filoteo, i. 66.

Acquaviva Andrea Matteo, duke of Atri, i. 46.——Belisario, duke of Nardi, i. 46.

Adrian of Utrecht, afterwards Adrian VI. made a cardinal by Leo X., ii. 92.

Ægineta Petrus, one of the Greek instructors of Leo X., i. 19.

Aguilar Gonsalvo d', called the "Great Captain," i. 150; recovers the city of Ostia for Alexander VI. i. 181; betrays the young duke of Calabria, i. 220; compelled by the duke of Nemours to retreat to Barletta, i. 237; defeats the French, and conquers the kingdom of Naples, i. 240; dines at table with the kings of France and Spain, i. 264; disgraced, i. 264; repents of his errors, i. 265; ineffectually vindicated by Jovius, i. 265.

Alamanni Luigi, ii. 172; his poem, entitled "La Coltivazione," ii. 174.

Albino Matteo, i. 51.

Aleandro Girolamo, papal legate to the Imperial court, ii. 276; harangues the diet of the empire against Luther, ii. 277; account of his life and writings, ii. 358; appointed by Leo X. librarian of the Vatican, ii. 361; his private library, ii. 364.

Alessandri Alessandro de,' his "Geniales Dies," i. 49.

Alexander VI. Roderigo Borgia, i. 27; elected Pope, i. 82; general apprehensions thereon, i. 83; forms a league with the Venetians and the duke of Milan, i. 88; remonstrates with Charles VIII. on his intended enterprise against Naples, i. 100; his interview with Alfonso II. of Naples, i. 108; forms an alliance with Charles VIII., i. 134; takes shelter in the castle of S. Angelo, i. 134; refuses to grant Charles VIII. the investiture of Naples, i. 135; his remark on the conquest of Naples by Charles VIII., i. 144; attacks the Roman barons, i. 180; his death, i. 230; remarks on his character, i. 231.

Alfonso II. of Aragon succeeds his father Ferdinand as king of Naples, i. 105; prepares to defend himself against Charles VIII., i. 106; his conference with Alexander VI., i. 108; his unsuccessful expedition against Genoa, i. 109; relinquishes his crown to his son Ferdinand, i. 137; takes shelter in a convent at Messina, i. 148; dies, i. 174.

Alfonso I. duke of Ferrara, succeeds his father Ercole, i. 257; possesses himself of the district of Este, &c., i. 281; defeats the Venetians on the Po, i. 285; excommunicated by the pope, i. 288; contributes to the victory of the French at Ravenna, i. 308; detained at Rome by Julius II., i. 326; effects his escape by the aid of the nobles of the Colonna family, i. 326; sends Ariosto as his ambassador to Rome, i. 327; assists at the coronation of Leo X., i. 356; defeats the projects of Leo X., ii. 452; joins Francis I. against Leo X. and the emperor, ii. 461; is attacked by the allied army, ii. 465.

Alfonso, son of Emanuel king of Portugal, nominated a cardinal by Leo X., ii. 92.

Alidosio Francesco, cardinal of Pavia, defends Bologna for Julius II., i. 294; assassinated at Ravenna by the duke of Urbino, i. 294.

Altilio Gabriele, bishop of Polycastro, i. 50.

Alviano Bartolommeo d', defeats the troops of Alexander VI., i. 180; de-

feats the emperor elect, Maximilian, i. 271; his opinion on the defence of the Venetian state, i. 277; defeated and made prisoner by Louis XII., i. 279; restored to liberty, i. 360; captures Cremona, Bergamo, and Brescia, i. 369; defends Padua against the allies, i. 380; defeated at the battle of Vicenza, i. 381; retires to the Brentel before Cardona, ii 17; his rapid march to join the French, ii. 24; engaged in the battle of Marignano, ii. 26; his death and character, ii. 34.

Ambrogio Teseo, professor of the eastern tongues in Bologna, i. 424; his introduction to the Chaldean and other languages, i. 425.

Ammonio Andrea, the pope's collector in England, i. 443.

Ancient classic writings, early translations of, ii. 164.

Angeriano Girolamo, i. 49.

Anjou, family of, its claims to the crown of Naples, i. 89.

Aniso Giovanni, called "Janus Anysius," i. 49.

Antiquario Giacopo, i. 67.

Antiques, the research of them encouraged by Leo X., ii 390.

Aquila Serafino d', an Italian poet, i. 36.

Aragon, family of, its claims to the crown of Naples, i. 88.——Don Henry, cardinal of, i. 106.——Giovanni d', son of Ferdinand, king of Naples, a cardinal, i. 29.

Aragona Tullia d', an Italian poetess, ii. 156.

Aretino Pietro, account of his life and writings, ii. 340.

Ariosto Lodovico, his early writings, i. 56; ambassador from the duke of Ferrara to Julius II., i. 327; visits Leo X. at Rome, ii. 143; his apologue respecting Leo X., ii. 144; obtains a papal bull for the publication of his poem, ii. 146, *et* 490; repairs to Florence, ii. 147; is deprived of his stipend by the cardinal Ippolito d'Este, ii. 148; establishes his residence in Ferrara, ii. 148; effects of his writings on the state of Europe, ii. 149.

Aristotle, effects of his writings, ii. 307; commentaries on his works, ii. 308.

Asmellini Francesco, raised by Leo X. to the rank of cardinal, ii. 92.

Arrivabene Giampietro, his "Gonzagidos," i. 61.

Arsilli Francesco, his poem "De Poetis Urbanis," ii. 229.

Arts, their revival in modern times, ii. 389; their most flourishing period, ii. 397; Roman school of, ii. 425.

Aubigny Edoardo d', general to Charles VIII., and his envoy at Rome, i. 100; enters Romagna at the head of the French army, i. 110; compels the duke of Calabria to retreat, i. 122; appointed grand constable of Naples, i. 156; defeats Gonsalvo, i. 168; defeated in Calabria by Cardona, i. 240.

Augurelli Giovanni Aurelio, ii. 181; his "Chrysopoeia," ii. 182.

Avalos Alfonso d', marquis of Pescara, defends the Castel-nuovo at Naples against Charles VIII., i. 144.——Costanza d', an Italian poetess, ii. 156.——Ferdinando d', marquis of Pescara, commands the light infantry at the battle of Ravenna, i. 307; leads the attack at the battle of Vicenza, i. 381; his death, ii. 152.

B.

Bagnacavallo Bartolommeo da', assists Raffaello in painting the Vatican, ii. 428.

Bajazet, the Turkish emperor, prevails on Innocent VIII. to keep his brother a prisoner, i. 31; his correspondence with Alexander VI., i. 141.

Baldini Baccio, an early engraver on copper, ii. 444.

Bambridge Christopher, cardinal archbishop of York, poisoned by his steward at Rome, i. 441.

Bandello Matteo, account of his life and novels, ii. 339.

Bandinelli Baccio, ii. 440; erects the monument of Leo X., ii. 471.

Baraballo di Gaeta, a pretender to Latin poetry, ii. 225; his burlesque triumph at Rome, ii. 226.

Battiferra Laura, an Italian poetess, ii 156.

Bayard Chevalier de, knights Francis I. after the battle of Marignano, ii. 28.

Beazzano Agostino, accompanies Bembo on his embassy to Venice, i. 459; account of his life and writings, ii. 140.

Belgioioso Count of, sent by Lodovico Sforza to invite Charles VIII. to attack the kingdom of Naples, i. 88, *et* i. 91.

Bellincione Bernardo, i. 66.

Bembo Pietro, afterwards cardinal, i. 51; his letter to Julius II. on the revival of shorthand writing, i. 345; appointed pontifical secretary by Leo X., i. 361, despatched by Leo X. as legate to Venice, i. 457; his *proposto* to the

senate, i. 457; fails in the object of his mission, i. 459; historical mistakes respecting it, i. 460; account of his life and writings, ii. 135; character of his Latin works, ii. 181; his valuable library, ii. 364.
Benigno Cornelio, of Viterbo, publishes the works of Pindar at Rome, i. 410.
Bentivoglio Giovanni, i. 68; expelled from Bologna by Julius II. i. 261.——Annibale and Hermes restored to Bologna by the French, i. 294.
Benzio Trifone, an Italian poet, ii. 213.
Bernaudo Bernardo, ambassador from the king of Naples to Spain, i. 149.
Berni Francesco, account of his life and writings, ii. 157; his "Orlando Innamorato," ii. 160; his satirical sonnet against Pietro Aretino, ii. 345.
Beroaldo Filippo the younger, publishes a more complete edition of the works of Tacitus, i. 421; appointed by Leo X. librarian of the Vatican, ii. 355.
Bibbiena Bernardo da, directs the riper studies of Leo X., i. 19; promotes the election of Leo X., i. 352; raised to the rank of cardinal, i. 383; his confidential letter to Giuliano de' Medici, ii. 7; legate of Leo X. to France, ii. 237; obtains from Francis I. the bishopric of Constance, ii. 241.
Bigi Lodovico of Ferrara, a Latin poet, i. 53.
Bigio Francia, a painter, employed by Leo X., ii. 441.
Bini Gian-Francesco, cultivates the Poesia Bernesca, ii. 157.
Blois, treaty of, between the Venetians and Louis XII., i. 364.
Boccaccio Giovanni, effects of his writings, ii. 99.
Bocchi Achilles, called "Philerote," ii. 213.
Bodenstein Andrew, called "Carlostadt," his public disputation at Leipsic, ii. 262.
Bojardo Matteo Maria, count of Scandiano, i. 55; his "Orlando Innamorato," i. 55; his "Amores" and other writings, i. 56.
Bologna, state of literature there in 1492, i. 67; restored to the Roman see, i. 324.
Bolzanio Fra Urbano, of Belluno, i. 419.
Bonasone Giulio, an eminent engraver on copper, ii. 446.
Borgia Cesare, second son of Alexander VI., i. 106; accompanies Charles VIII. on his expedition against Naples, i. 134; accused of the murder of his brother, i. 185; his embassy to Louis XII., i. 192; marries Carlotta, daughter of John d'Albret, king of Navarre, i. 202; attacks the cities of Romagna, i. 206; perseveres in his attempts against the states of Italy, i. 212; promises to restore the Medici to Florence, i. 213; turns his arms against the Florentine state, i. 214; captures Urbino and other states of Italy, i. 220; forms an alliance with Louis XII., i. 223; the princes of Italy oppose him, i. 223; puts several of them treacherously to death at Sinigaglia, i. 224; seizes on their territories, i. 229; aspires to the title of king of Romagna and Umbria, i. 229; compelled on the death of Alexander VI. to quit Rome, i. 241; attacked by the Orsini, i. 242; the states of Romagna retain their fidelity to him, i. 243; negotiates with Julius II., i. 245; betrayed by Gonsalvo, and sent to Spain, i. 247; his death, i. 248; his character, i. 248.——Geoffroi, youngest son of Alexander VI., marries Sancia of Aragon, i. 105.——Giovanni, eldest son of Alexander VI., created duke of Gandia, i. 106; wounded at the siege of Bracciano, i. 180; created duke of Benevento, i. 181; his death, i. 182; particular account of it by Burchard, i. 183.——Lucrezia, daughter of Alexander VI. and wife of Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro, i. 180; marries Alfonso of Aragon, i. 193.——Roderigo, *see* Alexander VI.
Boscoli Pietro Paolo, conspires against the Medici, i. 339; decapitated, i. 360.
Bossi Count Cav., remarks on the temporal authority of the pope, i. 6; additional notices of Antiquario and his friends, from a work by Sig. Vermiglioli, Perugia, 1813, i. 67; valuable manuscripts by Felice Feliciano, in the MS. library of Mr. Coke of Holkham, formerly in possession of Count Bossi, i. 73; notices the use of artillery before the year 1330, i. 102; note on the character of Savonarola, i. 193; his opinion as to the absolute extinction of learning in Rome, i. 395; interesting anecdotes of literary characters, i. 395; cites several works respecting the *first public establishment* for botanical pursuits before published, considerable additions to them might be made, i. 399; grants made by the popes of countries beyond the limits of Europe, i. 431; submitted to by European states, i. 432; favourable

view of the character of Louis XII., i. 462; his local knowledge, names of places corrected by him, ii. 23; farther notices of Bartolommeo d'Alviano, the great Venetian commander and patron of literature, ii. 35; thinks it probable, on the authority of the French writers, that some of the cardinals who conspired to poison Leo were put to the torture, of which there exists no evidence, ii. 82; refutation of a charge against the author, ii. 99; Poggio Bracciolini, his "Facetiæ;" number of editions cited by Panzer, Henke, &c. ii. 100; note on the author's too great reliance on the narrative of Luther, answered, ii. 116; note on Tebaldeo, one of the first *improvvisatori* in Italy, an art practised also by Accolti, ii. 131; note of, merits attention of the Italian reader, ii. 151; origin of the macaronic style in France, Germany, and Italy, ii. 162; valuable additions to the correspondence of Gio. Giorgio Trissino, with the most celebrated characters and scholars of the age, ii. 163; errors of the modern French lexicographers respecting Rucellai, corrected, ii. 171; coincides with the author on the character of Vida; defended against the French critics; various editions of; that of Oxford, 3 vols. 8vo. 1722, 1725, and 1733, ii. 194; note on the "Syphilis" of Fracastoro, ii. 199; Latin poems of Flaminio, collected in a beautiful volume of rare occurrence, ii. 211; interesting notices of other writers of Latin poetry, ii. 215; the author's opinion of Leo X. as a great patron and restorer of literature, confirmed, ii. 231; his opinion of Luther's character, ii. 266; note on the reformer Huss; singular fact respecting him and his followers, ii. 269; remarks on controversial and heretical opinions, ii. 283; note on the imperial document against Luther, ii. 285; account of Zuinglius, ii. 291; refutation of a Catholic opinion advanced by, ii. 292; sketch of the character of Luther, ii. 296; remark on the ill effects of the Reformation on literary studies, ii. 298; notice of an "Essay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation of Luther," by M. Villers. Note by the author in answer to M. Villers's statements, ii. 304; his fine "MS. on vellum, of L'Accerba, a poem by Cecco d'Ascoli," ii. 316; opinion of the "Cento Novelle Antiche," ii. 337; of the historical value of the Italian novelists, ii. 338; points out a curious passage in the poem of Arsilli, "de Poetis Urbanis," ii. 350; efforts made for collecting books in Italy during the sixteenth century, ii. 350; mention of ancient copies of Virgil and Terence, and other valuable MSS. said to have belonged to Bembo, ii. 365; accurate information respecting Machiavelli, ii. 369; his extracts from Tricozzi's history of the literati and artists of Piave, ii. 383; note on Raphael's paintings illustrated by d'Hankerville, whose valuable MSS. are in possession of an Englishman, Mr. Parr, ii. 413; remarks on the Swiss mercenaries, the system reprobated by Zuinglius, ii. 459; answer to the censures of both Catholic and Protestant writers, ii. 476; remarks on the character and personal accomplishments of Leo, ii. 478; remark on his distinction between the pope and a temporal sovereign, by the author, ii. 384.——Donato, his chronicle, i. 67.

Bosso Matteo, abbot of Fiesole, invests Leo X. with the insignia of a cardinal, i. 24; his moral writings, ii. 328.

Botticelli Sandro, his designs for the edition of Dante of 1488, ii. 444.

Bracciolini Giovan-Francesco, ii. 225. —— Poggio, effects of his writings, ii. 100.

Bramante, employed by Alexander VI. as his architect, ii. 395; great works executed by him for Julius II., ii. 395; commences the modern church of S. Pietro at Rome, ii. 401.

Brandolini Raffaello, ii. 221.

Brescia stormed by the French, i. 303.

Brissonet, bishop of S. Maloes, appointed a cardinal by Alexander VI., i. 136.

Britonio Girolamo, a pretender to Latin poetry, ii. 225.

Buonaccorsi Filippo, called "Callimachus Experiens," i. 34.

Buonaroti Michel-Agnolo, quits Florence, ii. 397; employed at Rome, ii. 398; emulation between him and Lionardo da Vinci, ii. 398; his colossal statue of David, ii. 399; his cartoon of the wars of Pisa, ii. 399; undertakes the monument of Julius II., ii. 403; his celebrated statue of Moses, ii. 403; quits the service of Julius II. in disgust, ii. 404; his reconciliation with Julius II., ii. 405; erects the statue of Julius II. in Bologna, ii. 405; commences his works in the Capella Sistina.

ii. 407; how far imitated by Raffaello, ii. 414; employed by Leo X. to rebuild the church of S. Lorenzo, at Florence, ii. 417; designs for Sebastiano del Piombo in competition with Raffaello, ii. 431; visits Vittoria Colonna in her last moments, ii. 153; employed to execute a monument of Clement VII. under threat of excommunication, ii. 471.

C.

Cabot, John and Sebastian, eminent navigators, ii. 321.
Calcagnini Celio, account of his life and writings, ii. 384.
Calchi Bartolommeo, i. 67.
Calendar, attempts towards correcting it, ii. 319.
Calliergo Zaccaria, a Greek printer at Rome, i. 410.
Callimachus Experiens, *see* Buonaccorsi.
Calmeta Vincenzo, i. 66.
Cambray, League of, i. 273.
Camerti Varino, called "Phavorinus," i. 411; his "Thesaurus Cornucopiæ," i. 412; appointed librarian to the Medici family, and bishop of Nocera, i. 413; his "Apophthegms," i. 415; his Greek dictionary under the name of "Phavorinus," i. 415.
Camillus, Triumph of, represented at Florence, i. 447.
Campeggio Lorenzo, nominated a cardinal by Leo X., ii. 91; legate from Leo X. to Henry VIII., ii. 237.
Campson, Sultan of Egypt, defeated by Selim, emperor of the Turks, ii. 234.
Canossa Lodovico, bishop of Tricarica, legate from Leo X. to France and England, i. 438; his singular interview with Erasmus in London, i. 443; appointed by Francis I. bishop of Bayeaux, i. 445; his observation on the conduct of Leo X., ii. 253.
Capilupi, Lelio, Ippolito, and Camillo, Latin poets, ii. 213.
Capponi Agostino conspires against the Medici, i. 340; decapitated, i. 360. ——Piero, his courageous opposition to Charles VIII., i. 127.
Carraccioli Tristano, i. 47.
Caraffa Oliviero, a cardinal, i. 29.
Caravaggio Polidoro da, an eminent painter, ii. 428.
Carbone Girolamo, i. 47. ——Antonio, lord of Alise, i. 49.
Cardinals in the college in 1492, i. 27; thirty-one created in one day by Leo X., ii. 90.
Cardona Don Raimondo, viceroy of Naples, his slow operations against Bologna, i. 303; commands the Spanish troops at the battle of Ravenna, i. 307; assists the Medici to regain the city of Florence, i. 329; attacks Padua, i. 380; commands the Spanish troops against Francis I., ii. 17; his indecisive opposition to the French, ii. 25.
Cariteo, a Neapolitan poet, i. 39.
Carlostadt, or Carlostadius, *see* Bodenstein.
Carro Ludovico of Ferrara, a Latin poet, i. 53.
Carvajal Bernardo, cardinal, chief of the council of Pisa, i. 296; restored to his rank by Leo X., i. 390; performs divine service on the termination of the council of the Lateran, ii. 97.
Casa Giovanni della, archbishop of Benevento, ii. 160.
Castagno Christoforo, attempts to assassinate Zizim, brother of the emperor Bajazet, i. 30.
Castiglione Baldassare, account of his life, ii. 331; his "Libro del Cortegiano," ii. 336; his verses on the statue of Cleopatra, ii. 392.
Cavanilla Trojano, count of Troja, i. 47.
Cento Novelle Antiche, ii. 337.
Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles, ii. 338.
Ceri Renzo da, commands in the fortress of Crema, ii. 17; employed against the duke of Urbino by Leo X., ii. 63.
Cesarini Alessandro, bishop of Pistoja, appointed a cardinal by Leo X., ii. 91.
Cesio Paulo-Emilio raised to the rank of cardinal by Leo X., ii. 92.
Chalcondyles Demetrius, instructs Leo X. in Greek, i. 19.
Charles VIII. of France, invited by Lodovico Sforza to attack the kingdom of Naples, and resolves to undertake the enterprise, i. 87; his character, i. 90; prepares for his expedition, i. 94; accommodates his differences with Ferdinand king of Spain, i. 95; and with the emperor elect, Maximilian, i. 96; negotiates with the Florentines for their assistance, i. 97; dismisses the Florentine ambassadors in displeasure, i. 99; is encouraged by the duke of Ferrara, i. 101; his indecision, i. 102; engages Italian stipendiaries, i. 107; passes the Alps, i. 111; is detained by sickness at Asti, i. 112; his interview at Pavia with Gian-Galeazzo Sforza, duke of Milan, i. 113; hesitates as to the prosecution of his enterprise, i. 113; determines to proceed by way of Florence

to Rome, i. 114; prevails on Piero de' Medici to surrender to him the fortresses of Tuscany, i. 115; enters the city of Florence, i. 122; intends to reinstate the Medici, i. 125; concludes a treaty with the Florentines, i. 128; enters the states of the church, i. 128; forms an alliance with Alexander VI., i. 134; exercises supreme authority in Rome, i. 136; proceeds towards Naples, i. 140; enters the city of Naples as sovereign, i. 144; his conduct there, i. 147; league among the states of Italy to oppose his return, i. 150; gives great dissatisfaction to the Neapolitans, i. 151; his coronation, i. 153; resolves to return to France, i. 155; proceeds through the Roman territories, i. 156; arrives at Viterbo, i. 157; arrives at Siena, i. 157; his interview with Savonarola at Pisa, i. 158; his troops massacre the inhabitants of Pontremoli, i. 161; he passes the Appenines, i. 162; is opposed by the allied army under the marquis of Mantua, i. 163; prepares for engagement, i. 164; effects the passage of the Taro, i. 165; returns to France, i. 172; consequences of his expedition to Naples, i. 172; his death, i. 191.

Charles, archduke of Austria, afterwards Charles V., assumes the government of the Netherlands, ii. 2.

Charles V., having succeeded to the crown of Spain, forms the treaty of Noyon with Francis I., ii. 68; endeavours to obtain the title of king of the Romans and the investiture of Naples, ii. 243; contends for the imperial crown, ii. 247; elected emperor, ii. 250; summons Luther to attend the diet of the empire, ii. 278; declares his opinion of Luther in writing, ii. 284; issues an imperial decree against him, ii. 287; unites with Leo X. in restoring the family of Sforza to Milan, ii. 454.

Charles III. duke of Savoy, endeavours to reconcile Francis I. and the Swiss, ii. 22.

Chisi Agostino, a merchant at Rome, celebrates the election of Leo X., i. 358; publishes the first Greek books at Rome, i. 410; employs Raffaello to decorate his palace, now called the Farnesina, ii. 422.

Cibo Francisco, son of Innocent VIII., marries Maddalena, sister of Leo X., i. 12; sells his territorial possessions in the Roman state, i. 87.——Innocenzio, nephew of Leo X., raised to the rank of cardinal, i. 385.

Cieco Francesco, his poem of "Mambriano," i. 57.

Cingoli Benedetto da, i. 66.

Cinthio da Tivoli, envoy of Leo X. to Louis XII., i. 366.

Cleofilo Ottavio, of Ferrara, i. 53.

Clergy, their misconduct arraigned by the early promoters of literature, ii. 98.

Coccajo Merlino, *see* Folengi.

Colocci Angelo, his celebrated collection of antiques, ii. 392.

Colombo Christoforo, or Columbus, ii. 321.

Colonna Prospero, conveys Cæsar Borgia to Spain, i. 248; defeats d'Alviano at the battle of Vicenza, i. 380; opposes the French in the Milanese, ii. 17; surprised and made prisoner by the French, ii. 18; commands the allied army against Milan, ii. 458; attacks the city of Parma, ii. 460; passes the Adda, ii. 462; captures Milan, ii. 464; attacks the duke of Ferrara, ii. 465.——Fabrizio, commands the Italian troops at the battle of Ravenna, i. 307; made prisoner, i. 308; assists in releasing the duke of Ferrara from Rome, i. 325.——Marc-Antonio, defends Ravenna against Gaston de Foix, i. 306; assists in liberating the duke of Ferrara, i. 325; defends Verona against the French and Venetians, ii. 65.——Pompejo, nominated a cardinal by Leo X., ii. 93.——Vittoria, account of her life and writings, ii. 151; her attachment to the reformed religion, stated by both the German and Italian translators of this work, ii. 154.

Combat of thirteen French and thirteen Italian soldiers, i. 238.

Compare Pietro, a Neapolitan academician, i. 49.

Conspiracy of the cardinals to poison Leo X., ii. 80; observations thereon, ii. 88.

Constantine, his supposed donation to the church, i. 5.

Conti Francisco de', appointed a cardinal by Leo X., ii. 92.

Contucci Andrea Sansovino, his celebrated group of S. Anne, ii. 227; employed as a sculptor by Leo X., ii. 440.

Corbey, treaty of, i. 392.

Cornazzano Antonio, an Italian poet, i. 66.

Corneto Cardinal Adrian di, a party in the conspiracy against Leo X., ii. 85.

Cortese Paolo, a promoter of literature at Rome, i. 35.

Corvino Massimo, bishop of Massa, i. 50.

Coryciana, a collection of Latin poems by Roman authors, in the time of Leo X., ii. 228.
Corycius Janus, *see* Gorizio.
Cosmico Nicolo Lelio, a Latin poet, i. 58.
Cotta Giovanni, a Latin poet, i. 51.
Coxe, Archdeacon, answer to his observation on the author's character of Maximilian I., ii. 501.
Crinitus Petrus, *see* Ricci.
Cugna Tristano, ambassador from the king of Portugal to Leo X., i. 429.
Cupi Giovanni de', appointed a cardinal by Leo X., ii. 91.

D.

Dante, satirizes the Roman church, ii. 98.
Decio Filippo, delivers instructions in the academy of Pisa to Leo. X., i. 21.
Delfino Pietro, one of the instructors of Leo X. and general of the order of Camaldoli. His letters, Venice, 1524, folio, very rare; display great vivacity and learning: died in 1525, i. 21.
Dijon, treaty of, i. 379.
Dioscorides, his works published, ii. 327.
Discoveries in the East and West Indies, ii. 320; consequences thereof, ii. 322.
Dulciatus Antonius, inscribes to Leo X. his treatise "De Kalendarii Correctione," ii. 319.

E.

Eccius Johannes, animadverts on the propositions of Luther, ii. 111; intrusted with the execution of the papal bull, condemning the doctrines of Luther, ii. 272.
Ecus L', a French general, made prisoner by Guicciardini at Reggio, ii. 455.
Egidio of Viterbo, an Italian poet, i. 51; raised by Leo X. to the rank of cardinal, ii. 90.——Cardinal, legate from Leo X. to Spain, ii. 237.
Elio Giovanni, called "Elio Marchese," i. 49.
Eliseo Giovanni, called "Elysius Calentius," i. 50.
Emanuel, king of Portugal, sends a splendid embassy to Leo X., i. 429.
Engraving on copper, its origin and progress, ii. 443.
Entraghes D', governor of the citadel of Pisa, i. 160; sells it to the inhabitants, i. 175.
Erasmus Desiderius, his interview with Canossa, the pope's legate in London, i. 443; his account of a singular sermon delivered before Julius II., ii. 102; favours the cause of Luther, ii. 124; engages in the discussion of the questions agitated at Leipsic, ii. 263; his opinion respecting picturesque representations in places of worship, ii. 300; friendly correspondence with Leo X., ii. 487.
Ercole d'Este, duke of Ferrara, a promoter of literature, i. 53; encourages Charles VIII. to attack Naples, i. 101; appointed umpire between the inhabitants of Florence and Pisa, i. 196; dies, i. 257.
Este, tragical event in the family of, i. 258.——Ferdinando d', remains fifty-four years in prison, i. 259.——Giulio, imprisoned for life, i. 259.
Etching on copper invented, ii. 446.
Europe, state of, at the time of the birth of Leo X., i. 2; political system of, i. 3; pacification of, ii. 66.

F.

Faerno Gabriello, his Latin fables, ii. 213.
Farnese Alessandro, cardinal, afterwards Paul III. announces the election of Leo X., i. 350; legate from Leo X. to the emperor elect, Maximilian, ii. 237; his improvements in the vicinity of the lake of Bolsena, ii. 497.
Fascitello Onorato, a Latin poet, ii. 214.
Federigo of Aragon, afterwards king of Naples, his interview with Charles VIII., i. 146; succeeds his nephew Ferdinand II., i. 175; attempts to defend his dominions against Louis XII., i. 216; is betrayed by Ferdinand of Spain, i. 216; retires to Ischia, i. 218; relinquishes the crown of Naples, i. 219; mediates between the French and Spanish monarchs, i. 250.
Ferdinand I. king of Naples, forms an alliance with the Florentines, i. 89; endeavours to prevail on Charles VIII. to relinquish his enterprise, i. 103; prepares for his defence, i. 104; dies, i. 105.
Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, afterwards Ferdinand II. king of Naples, opposes the French in Romagna, i. 110; retreats before D'Aubigny, i. 122; assumes the crown on the resignation of his father Alfonso, i. 139; preparations for defending himself against

Charles VIII., i. 139; retires before the French army, i. 142; releases his subjects from their oath of fidelity, i. 143; escapes to Ischia, i. 143; kills Candina, lieutenant of the castle of Ischia, i. 143; refuses to treat with Charles VIII. for the surrender of his crown, i. 146; resorts to the aid of Ferdinand of Spain, i. 148; recovers the kingdom of Naples, i. 168; expels the French from his dominions, i. 170.

Ferdinand II. marries his aunt Joanna, i. 174; dies, i. 175.

Ferdinand, king of Spain, agrees with Charles VIII. not to interfere in the concerns of Naples, i. 95; assists Ferdinand II. king of Naples, to expel the French from his dominions, i. 148; forms a secret treaty with Louis XII. for the partition of the kingdom of Naples, i. 216; quarrels with Louis XII. respecting the partition of Naples, i. 236; expels the French from Naples, i. 240; marries Germaine de Foix, niece of Louis XII., i. 260; visits his Neapolitan dominions, i. 263; joins Leo X. in the treaty of Mechlin, i. 366; forms an alliance with Henry VIII. and the emperor Maximilian against Francis I., ii. 53; his death and character, ii. 55.

Fermo Oliverotto da, put to death by Cæsar Borgia, at Sinigaglia, i. 228.

Ferrara, state of literature there in 1492, i. 52.

Ferreri Bonifazio, appointed a cardinal by Leo X., ii. 92.

Ficino Marsilio, appointed a canon of Florence, i. 80.

Filiberta of Savoy, aunt of Francis I., marries Giuliano de' Medici, ii. 6.

Firenzuola Agnolo, ii. 159.

Flaminio Giovan-Antonio, favoured by Julius II., i. 344.——Marc-Antonio of Sicily, i. 51.——Marc-Antonio of Serravalle, account of his life, ii. 206; his writings, ii. 212.

Flodden, battle of, i. 376.

Florentines attack Pisa, i. 176; form an alliance with Ludovico Sforza, i. 190; recover the possession of Pisa, i. 286; extinction of their popular government, i. 366; their splendid pageants, i. 455; state of their government on the death of Lorenzo duke of Urbino, ii. 253.

Foix Gaston de, relieves Bologna, i. 300; storms the city of Brescia, i. 303; attacks Ravenna, i. 305; defeats the allies before Ravenna, i. 308; his death, i. 309.

Folchi Giovanni, conspires against the Medici, i. 340; pardoned by Leo X., i. 360.

Folengi Teofilo, called "Merlino Coccajo," ii. 161; macaronic poems and other works, ii. 162.

Fortiguerra Scipione, called "Carteromachus," i. 416.

Fracastoro Girolamo, account of his life, ii. 194; his poem entitled "Syphilis," ii. 196.

Francis, duke of Angoulême, i. 462; succeeds to the crown of France by the name of Francis I., ii. 1; assumes the title of duke of Milan, ii. 2; forms an alliance with the archduke Charles, ii. 2; with Henry VIII., ii. 3; with the Venetians, ii. 4; prepares to attack the Milanese, ii. 15; arrives at Turin, ii. 21; summons the city of Milan to surrender, ii. 22; ineffectually endeavours to form an alliance with the Swiss, ii. 23; defeats them at Marignano, ii. 26; knighted by the chevalier Bayard, ii. 28; possesses himself of the Milanese, ii. 29; forms an alliance with Leo X., ii. 30; receives at Milan an embassy from the Venetians, ii. 33; interview with Leo X. at Bologna, ii. 42; abolishes the Pragmatic Sanction, and concludes the *Concordat* with Leo X., ii. 46; forms designs upon the kingdom of Naples, ii. 56; suspects Leo X. of insincerity, ii. 60; endeavours to gain him over, ii. 67; joins in the treaty of Noyon, ii. 68; opposes the projects of Charles of Spain, ii. 244; contends with him for the imperial crown, ii. 247; prepares to defend his Italian possessions, ii 459; divested of the Milanese by Charles V. and Leo X., ii. 464.

Franco Niccolo, writes against Pietro Aretino, ii. 345.

Frederick, elector of Saxony, favours Luther, ii. 113; endeavours to obtain a hearing of his cause in Germany, ii. 116; refuses to condemn Luther, ii. 121; receives from Leo X. the consecrated rose, ii. 259.

Fregoso Antonio, called "Phileremo," i. 66.——Ottaviano, brings to Rome the first intelligence of the battle of Ravenna, i. 312.——Giano, escapes from Genoa, i. 369.——Ottaviano, doge of Genoa, assumes the title of governor for the king of France, ii. 13; vindicates himself to Leo X., ii. 14; surrenders Genoa to the French, ii. 18.

Fumani Adamo, a Latin poet, ii. 214.

Fusco Tomaso, a Neapolitan academician, i. 49.
Fuseli Henry, his letter to the author on the subject of Michel-Agnolo, and Vittoria Colonna; Michel-Agnolo's painting, in *chiaro-scuro*, of Christ at the Well with the woman of Samaria, formerly in the collection at Capo di Monte; since in the author's possession, and now in the collection of the Liverpool Royal Institution, ii. 153.

G.

Galateo Antonio, an eminent physician, i. 50.
Gallo Fillenio, of Montesano, an Italian poet, i. 52.
Gama Vasco del, his discoveries celebrated at Rome, i. 429.
Gambara Veronica, account of her life and writings, ii. 155.
Gazoldo Giovanni, poet and buffoon, ii. 225.
George, duke of Saxony, attends the disputes of Luther and his adversaries at Leipsic, ii. 262.
Ghiaradadda, battle of, i. 278.
Ghiberti Giammatteo, apostolic datary and bishop of Verona, ii. 200; an opponent to Pietro Aretino, ii. 343.
Gianuario Alfonso, i. 48.——Pietro Jacopo, i. 48.
Giovio Paullo, called "Paullus Jovius," his vindication of Gonsalvo, i. 265; his treatise de "Piscibus Romanis," ii. 357; his favourable reception by Leo X. at Rome, ii. 376.; his historical writings, ii. 379.
Giustiniani Agostino, publishes a polyglot edition of the Psalter, i. 426.
Gonzago Lodovico, protects the Latin poet Cosmico from the inquisition, i. 58.——Francesco, marquis of Mantua, commands the allied army of Italy against Charles VIII., i. 163; opposes his passage of the Taro, i. 165; high commendations of him, i. 167; appointed captain-general of the church, i. 262; taken prisoner by the Venetians, i. 283.——Federigo, marquis of Mantua, appointed by Leo X. captain-general of the church, ii. 458.——Federigo, lord of Bozzolo, i. 312.; joins the French in the defence of Milan, ii. 456.——Ridolfo, a commander at the battle of the Taro, i. 163; killed, i. 166.
Gorizio Giovanni, called "Janus Corycius," a patron of learning at Rome, ii. 227.
Granacci Francesco, employed in the preparing the splendid exhibitions at Florence, i. 450.
Grasso Luca, a Neapolitan academician, i. 49.
Gravina Pietro, a Latin poet, i. 50.
Grimani, cardinal, his library at Rome, ii. 364.
Grudius Nicolas of Rohan, a Neapolitan academician, i. 51.
Guicciardini Pietro, envoy from Florence to congratulate Leo X., i. 359.——Francesco, favoured and employed by Leo X., ii. 374; his history of Italy, ii. 375; makes the French general L'Ecus a prisoner at Reggio, ii. 455; appointed by Leo X. commissary-general of the papal army, ii. 459.
Guidacerio Agacio, dedicates his Hebrew grammar to Leo X., i. 426.
Gurck, cardinal of, Matteo Langi, imperial ambassador to Leo X., i. 382; his ambition and avarice, i. 452.
Gyraldi Lilio Gregorio, account of his life and writings, ii. 386.
Gyraldi Giovambattista Cynthio, ii. 387.

H.

Henke, severe denunciations of the Roman church pointed out, in the poem "De Calamitatibus Temporum," by Baptista Mantuano, i. 63; refutation of his charge of having overrated the merits of Aldo, i. 77; note of, which confirms the idea that the pope was adverse to the war, i. 136; note of, on the policy of Maximilian, i. 177; authorities to prove Cæsar Borgia guilty of the murder of his brother, i. 186 strictures on the character of the Giulio de' Medici, afterwards pope Clement VII., ii. 89; note by, on the influence of pagan mythology in the age of Leo X., ii. 103; accusation of Leo's misapplying the property of the church, answered, ii. 107; the title of emperor elect of the Romans, customary till the dissolution of the German imperial dignity, ii. 250.; thinks the Reformation not unfavourable to the fine arts, ii. 301; high opinion of the Latin poems of Castiglione, ii. 337; quotes some verses of Beroaldo, addressed to Giulio de' Medici, pope Clement VII., ii. 356.; notes on the life and writings of Guicciardini, ii. 376; note on Leo X.; causes of the diversity of opinions respecting him,

ii. 479, gives a curious Latin epistle from Longolius to Leo X., ii. 497.
Henry VIII. king of England, joins with Julius II. and Ferdinand of Spain against Louis XII., i. 298; unites with Leo X. in the treaty of Mechlin, i. 367; subsidizes the emperor elect, Maximilian, i. 368; invades France, i. 374; defeats the French at the battle of the Spurs, i. 375; captures Tournay, and appoints Wolsey bishop of that see, i. 375; captures Terouenne and gives it to the emperor elect, Maximilian, i. 375; receives a congratulatory letter on his victories from Leo X., i. 377; returns to England, i. 380; forms an alliance with Louis XII., i. 437; agrees to give his sister Mary in marriage to the French king, i. 439; enters into an alliance with Francis I., ii. 3; admonishes him not to disturb the peace of Christendom, ii. 18; joins the alliance against Francis I., ii. 53; forms the treaty of London with the emperor elect, Maximilian, and Leo X., ii. 69; writes his vindication of the seven sacraments against Luther, ii. 288; is honoured by Leo X. with the title of Defender of the Faith, ii. 289; sends Aretino three hundred gold crowns, ii. 342.
Historians in the time of Leo X., ii. 365.

I.

Jacobatio Domenico, appointed a cardinal by Leo X., ii. 91.
James IV. king of Scotland, threatens Henry VIII., i. 375; enters England in great force, i. 376; is defeated and slain at the battle of Flodden, i. 376.
Inghirami Tomaso Fedro, librarian of the Vatican, ii. 353.
Innocent VIII. (Giambattista Cibo) elected pope, i. 11; appoints Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Leo X., a cardinal, i. 16; receives him into the college, i. 24; his death and character, i. 80.
Jovius Paullus, *see* Giovio.
Italian poets in the time of Leo X., ii. 130; general classification of them, ii. 175.
Julius II. (Giuliano della Rovere), i. 28; quits Rome on the election of Alexander VI., i. 84; his interview with the cardinal de' Medici at Savona, i. 205; elected pope, i. 244; his treaty with Cæsar Borgia, i. 245; attempts to divest Borgia of his territories, i. 245; seizes the cities of Perugia and Bologna, i. 261; joins in the league of Cambray, i. 273; excommunicates the Venetians, i. 278; deserts his allies and forms an alliance with the Venetians, i. 287; excommunicates the duke of Ferrara, i. 288; is besieged in Bologna, i. 289; captures Mirandola, i. 292, restores it to Giovan-Francesco Pico, i. 293; loses the city of Bologna, i. 293; his statue by Michel-Agnolo destroyed, i. 294; unites with Ferdinand of Spain and Henry VIII. in *the holy league*, i. 297; determines to restore the Medici to Florence, i. 299; opens the council of the Lateran, i. 316; deceives Louis XII., i. 318; recovers Bologna. i. 324; his treacherous conduct to the duke of Ferrara, i. 326; threatens to have the poet Ariosto thrown into the sea, i. 328; his death, i. 340; his character and conduct considered, i. 341; library formed by him, i. 345; letter to him from Pietro Bembo, i. 345; his encouragement of the arts, ii. 397; undertakes to rebuild the church of S. Pietro, ii. 402; his monument by Michel-Agnolo, ii. 403.
Justiniano Paullo, an early instructor of Leo X., i. 21.

L.

Lætus Pomponius, an eminent scholar at Rome, i. 34.
Lampridio Benedetto, a Latin poet, ii. 214.
Lanfredini Giovanni, Florentine envoy at Rome, i. 14.
Lapi Basilio, dedicates to Leo X. his treatise "De ætatum computatione," ii. 319.
Lascar Giovanni, employed by Leo X. in the promotion of Greek literature, i. 400; appointed to superintend the Greek press at Rome, i. 407.
Lateran, council of, opened by Julius II., i. 316; its sittings renewed by Leo X., i. 382; its termination, ii. 97.
Latin poetry, its progressive improvement, ii. 269; urbanity of Latin writers in the time of Leo X., ii. 214; particularly cultivated at Rome, ii. 215;
—— extemporary Latin poets, ii. 220.
Latino Giacomo, of Flanders, a Neapolitan academician, i. 51.
Laurentian library, its establishment and vicissitudes, ii. 348.

Leo the Tenth (Giovanni de' Medici) born, i. 1; destined to the church, i. 8; receives the Tonsura, i. 10; appointed by Louis XI. abbot of *Fonte dolce*, i. 10; appointed abbot of Passignano by Sixtus IV., i. 10; his numerous church preferments, i. 11; raised to the rank of a cardinal, i. 13; his education, i. 17; causes of the defects in his character, i. 20; repairs to the academy of Pisa, i. 21; receives the insignia of a cardinal, i. 24; quits Florence to reside at Rome, i. 25; his entry, and reception at Rome, i. 26; his first letter to his father, i. 26; his letters to his brother on the death his father, i. 79; appointed legate of the patrimony and of Tuscany, i. 80; visits Florence, i. 80; returns to Rome on the death of Innocent VIII., i. 80; retires again to Florence on the election of Alexander VI., i. 84; expelled the city of Florence with his brothers, i. 120; escapes to Bologna, i. 120; retires to Castello, i. 125; quits Italy and travels through Europe, i. 203; his interview with the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere at Savona, i. 205; returns to Rome, i. 200; his moderation and prudence, i. 253; his difficulties and embarrassments, i. 256; appointed to the chief direction of the papal troops, i. 300; differs in opinion with the Spanish generals, i. 301; legate of the church at the battle of Ravenna, i. 307; made a prisoner, i. 309; despatches Giulio de' Medici to Rome, i. 312; delivered up to the custody of the cardinal Sanseverino, i. 312; conveyed to Milan, i. 314; absolves his enemies, i. 315; effects his escape, i. 323; attempts, by the aid of the Spanish troops, to regain the city of Florence, i. 330; endeavours to preserve from pillage the inhabitants of Prato; i. 332; restored to Florence, i. 335; returns to Rome on the death of Julius II. i. 348; elected pope, i. 350; assumes the name of "Leo the Tenth," i. 350; motives of the choice of the college, i. 351; reasons for his assuming the name of Leo X., i. 353; his coronation, i. 354; splendid procession to the Lateran, i. 355; pardons the conspirators at Florence, i. 360; favours the family of Soderini, i. 361; recalls Piero Soderini, late *Gonfaloniere*, from exile, i. 361; appoints Bembo and Sadoleti pontifical secretaries, i. 361; resolves to establish the peace of Europe, i. 362; endeavours to dissuade Louis XII. from attacking Milan, i. 365; opposes his attempt upon Italy, i. 366; forms the treaty of Mechlin, i. 367; subsidizes the Swiss, i. 368; recommends lenient measures to his allies, i. 372; his congratulatory letter to Henry VIII., i. 377; appointed to decide the differences between the Venetians and the emperor elect, Maximilian, i. 382; renews the sittings of the Lateran council, i. 382; nominates four cardinals, i. 383; pardons the cardinals who had adhered to the council of Pisa, i. 389; receives the humiliation of Louis XII., i. 391; high expectations formed of his pontificate, i. 396; restores the *Gymnasium*, or Roman academy, i. 398; encourages the study of the Greek language, i. 400; his letter to Musurus, i. 402; founds the Greek institute at Rome, i. 402; address to him in Greek verse, prefixed by Musurus to his first edition of Plato, i. 403; appoints Musurus archbishop of Malvasia, i. 403; dedication to him by Aldo Manuzio of the works of Plato, i. 404; grants to Aldo a pontifical privilege, i. 407; establishes a Greek press at Rome, i. 407; obtains and publishes a more complete copy of the works of Tacitus, i. 420; encourages the study of Oriental literature, i. 423; vindicated by the author from the charge advanced by Mr. Henke, of having increased the restrictions upon the press, i. 423; directs the translation of the scriptures by Pagnini to be published at his expense, i. 426; encourages researches for eastern manuscripts, i. 426; orders public thanksgivings for the success of the Christian arms, i. 428; receives a splendid embassy from the king of Portugal, i. 429; confers on him the consecrated rose, i. 431; grants to him the newly-discovered countries, i. 431; endeavours to prevent the alliance of France, Spain, and Austria, i. 434; attempts to reconcile the French and English sovereigns, i. 435; forms designs upon the kingdom of Naples, i. 452; enters into a secret alliance with Louis XII., i. 453; his motives for such measure, i. 455; possesses himself of the city of Modena, i. 456; endeavours to reconcile the Venetians with the king of Spain and the emperor, i. 457; despatches Bembo as his legate to Venice, i. 457; endeavours to maintain his

neutrality in the contests respecting Milan, ii. 5; compelled by Francis I. to take a decided part, he accedes to the league against France, ii. 12; relaxes in his opposition to Francis I., ii. 20; forms an alliance with him, ii. 30; visits Florence, ii. 37; his splendid procession, ii. 39; visits the tomb of his father, ii. 41; arrives at Bologna, ii. 41; his interview there with Francis I., ii. 42; particular occurrences on that occasion, ii. 44; abolishes the Pragmatic Sanction, ii. 46; concludes the *Concordat* with Francis I., ii. 48; returns to Florence, ii. 49; expels Borghese Petrucci from Siena, ii. 50; in danger of being seized on by barbarian corsairs, ii. 51; suspected by Francis I. of having favoured the attempt of the emperor against Milan, ii. 60; forms designs for the aggrandizement of his nephew Lorenzo, ii. 60; excommunicates the duke of Urbino, and expels him from his dominions, ii. 61; invests Lorenzo de' Medici with the duchy of Urbino, ii. 64; refuses to absolve the exiled duke, ii. 64; his aversion to the establishment of a French government in Italy, ii. 66; attempts to engage the Swiss against Francis I., ii. 67; endeavours to counteract the effects of the treaty of Noyon, ii. 68; forms the treaty of London with Henry VIII. and the emperor Maximilian, ii. 69; motives of Leo X. for opposing the general pacification, ii. 70; requires the aid of all Christendom against the duke of Urbino, ii. 72; conspiracy by several of the cardinals to destroy him by poison, ii. 80; his conduct on this occasion, ii. 82; creates in one day thirty-one cardinals, ii. 90; establishes the Roman see in great splendour, ii. 93; promotes the happiness of his subjects, ii. 94; his statue erected by the citizens of Rome, ii. 95; promulgates indulgences for sale in Germany, ii. 106; impolicy of this measure, ii. 108; inclined to temperate measures against Luther, ii. 112; exhorted by the emperor Maximilian to interfere, ii. 113; summons Luther to appear at Rome, ii. 114; writes to the elector of Saxony respecting him, ii. 115; consents that the cause of Luther may be heard in Germany, ii. 116; issues a bull, asserting the power of the supreme pontiff, ii. 121; encourages men of talents, ii. 129; presents the poet Tebaldeo with five hundred ducats, ii. 131; confers on the poet Bernardo Accolti the duchy of Nepi, ii. 133; enriches Agostino Beazzano by church preferments, ii. 140; his reception of Ariosto at Rome, ii. 144; grants him a papal bull for the publication of his "Orlando Furioso," ii. 146; appoints Sadoleti bishop of Carpentras, ii. 179; presents Augurelli, in return for his "Chrysopoeia," with an empty purse, ii. 183; requests Sanazzaro to publish his Latin poem, "De partu Virginis," ii. 186; receives Vida with great kindness at Rome, ii. 190; suggests to him the subject of his "Christiad," ii. 191; commended in the Latin writings of Fracastoro, ii. 197; encourages Marc-Antonio Flaminio, ii. 207; his liberality to Guido Postumo Silvestri, a Latin poet, ii. 218; amuses himself with the absurdities of pretended poets, ii. 224; endeavours to unite the christian princes in a league against the Turks, ii. 235; publishes a general truce for five years, ii. 237; forms the plan of an attack upon the Turks, ii. 238; prevails only on the sovereigns of Europe to engage in a defensive alliance, ii. 239; his profusion on the marriage of Lorenzo de' Medici, ii. 242; remonstrates with Francis I. on his neglect of the celebrated Trivulzio, ii. 243; opposes Charles of Spain in his attempt to obtain the title of king of the Romans, ii. 245; refuses to grant him the investiture of Naples, ii. 246; his motives, ii. 246; his views and conduct on the election of Charles V., ii. 348; obtains the opinion of Machiavelli on the government of Florence, ii. 254; establishes new regulations there, ii. 256; endeavours to pacify Luther, ii. 259; confers on the elector Frederick the consecrated rose, ii. 259; publicly condemns the doctrines of Luther by a papal bull, ii. 269; the execution of his bull suspended at Wittemberg, ii. 273; his bull publicly burnt by Luther, ii. 278; despatches Aleandro as his legate to the emperor, ii. 276; endeavours to reform the calendar, ii. 319; interposes on behalf of the inhabitants of the newly-conquered countries, ii. 324; increases the library of the Vatican, ii. 350; encourages the research of antiquities, ii. 390; places in the Vatican the group of the Laocoon, ii. 391; his Iambics on the statue of

Lucretia, ii. 392; said to have ordered a magnificent funeral for Bramante, the great architect, which he attended with his whole court, ii. 396; employs Michel-Agnolo to rebuild the churchof S. Lorenzo, at Florence, ii. 417; engages Raffaello to proceed in painting the frescoes of the Vatican, ii. 419; his portrait by Raffaello, ii. 424; account of his portrait by Andrea del Sarto copied from Raffaello, formerly in possession of the author, now in the collection at Holkham, ii. 424; employs Raffaello to make a survey and delineation of Rome, ii. 433; engages various artists in his service, ii. 439; great works completed by him in different parts of Italy, ii. 441; seizes upon several of the smaller states of Italy, ii. 449; betrays and puts to death Gian-Paolo Baglioni, ii. 450; attempts to possess himself of the duchy of Ferrara, ii. 451; accused of having conspired against the life of the duke, ii. 452; meditates the expulsion of the French and Spaniards from Italy, ii. 453; engages Swiss mercenaries in his service, ii. 453; forms a treaty with Charles V. for restoring the family of Sforza to Milan, ii. 454; commences hostilities against the French, ii. 458; captures Milan, ii. 464; his sudden indisposition and death, ii. 466, 467; reasons for believing that he was poisoned, ii. 468; original letter from the cardinal de' Medici, communicating his death to Henry VIII., ii. 470; his monument, ii. 471; diversity of opinions respecting his character, ii. 473; causes of such diversity, ii. 473; inquiry into his real character, ii. 476; his person and manners, ii. 476; his intellectual endowments, ii. 478; his political conduct considered, ii. 479; his ecclesiastical character, ii. 483; his supposed neglect of sacred literature, ii. 484; his correspondence with Erasmus, ii. 488; charged with profligacy and irreligion, ii. 489; aspersions on his moral character, ii. 491; his relaxations and amusements, ii. 492; his knowledge of music, ii. 493; his predilection for buffoons, ii. 494; his abstinence, ii. 495; devoted to the pleasures of the chase, ii. 496; his encouragement of letters and of arts, ii. 498; how far he was rivalled in this respect by the other sovereigns of his time, ii. 500.

Leonico Nicolo, *see* Tomeo.

Literature, state of in Rome in 1492, i. 37; at the commencement of the pontificate of Leo X., i 445; effects of its revival on the established religion, ii. 102; consequences of the Reformation upon it, ii. 297.

London, treaty of, ii. 69.

Louis duke of Orleans, afterwards Louis XII., defeats the Neapolitans at Rapello, i. 109; asserts his claims to the duchy of Milan, i. 161; succeeds to the crown of France on the death of Charles VIII., i. 191; divorces his wife, and marries the dowager queen of Charles VIII., i. 192; resolves on the conquest of Milan, i. 201; forms an alliance with the pope and Venetians, i. 202; possesses himself of the states of Milan, i. 206; conspires with Ferdinand of Spain to betray the king of Naples, and partition his dominions, i. 215.

Louis XII. attacks the Neapolitan territory, i. 216; quarrels with the king of Spain respecting the partition of Naples, i. 230; attacks successfully the Spanish troops, i. 237; his army defeated on the Garigliano, i. 251; his final expulsion from Naples, i. 259; causes of his animosity against the Venetians, i. 272; joins the league of Cambray, i. 273; defeats the Venetians at Ghiaradadda, i. 278; storms the citadel of Peschiera, i. 280; opposes the authority of Julius II., i. 290; is desirous of reconciliation with him, i. 317; is deluded by him, i. 318; his troops expelled from Italy, i. 320; intends to attack the states of Milan, i. 363; negotiates for the favour of Leo X., i. 363; forms with the Venetians the treaty of Blois, i. 364; attacks the Milanese, i. 369; defeated by the Swiss at Novara, i. 371; again expelled from Italy, i. 374; his humiliation and absolution by Leo X., i. 391; endeavours to gain over to his interests the Helvetic states, i. 432; proposes an alliance by marriage with the Houses of Spain and Austria, i. 433; is counteracted by Leo X., i. 434; reconciles his differences with Henry VIII., and forms an alliance with him, i. 437; rejects the alliance of Spain and Austria, i. 440; marries the princess Mary, sister of Henry VIII., i. 442; forms a secret alliance with Leo X., i. 453; dies, i. 460; his character, i. 461.

Louis of Bourbon, appointed a cardinal by Leo X., ii. 92.
Luther Martin, prepares the way for the Reformation, ii. 98; opposes the sale of indulgences, ii. 109; publishes his propositions, ii. 110; replies to Silvestro Prierio, ii. 111; summoned by Leo X. to appear at Rome, ii. 114; complains of the proceedings against him, ii. 114; obtains a hearing of his cause in Germany, ii. 115; repairs to Augsburg, ii. 116; his interview with the cardinal of Gaeta, ii. 117; requires time to deliberate, ii. 119; appeals to Leo X. ii. 119; his doctrines opposed by a papal decree, ii. 121; appeals from Leo X. to a general council, ii. 122; combines his cause with that of the promoters of literature, ii. 123; his conduct towards Erasmus, ii. 124; offers to submit his opinions to the test of reason and scripture, ii. 125; his conferences with Miltitz, ii. 261; is prevailed on to write to Leo X., ii. 264; sarcastic tenor of his letter, ii. 264; his doctrines publicly condemned by a papal bull, ii. 269; burns the pope's bull at Wittemberg, ii. 273; endeavours to obtain the favour of Charles V., ii. 274; cited to appear before the diet of the empire, ii. 278; proceeds to Worms, ii. 278; his first appearance before the emperor, ii. 279; circumstances attending it, ii. 280; his second appearance, ii. 281; refuses to retract his writings, ii. 282; observations on his conduct, ii. 283; quits Worms to return to Wittemberg, ii. 287; is seized on by order of the elector of Saxony, and conveyed to the castle of Wartburg, ii. 287; his doctrines attacked by Henry VIII., ii. 288; his conduct and character considered, ii. 291; his bold assertion of the right of private judgment, ii. 291; his inflexible adherence to his own opinions, ii. 293.

M.

Machiavelli Niccolo, ambassador from the Florentines to Louis XII, i. 211; his account of the means adopted by Cæsar Borgia for the destruction of the princes of Italy, i. 224; engages in a conspiracy against the Medici, i. 340; pardoned by Leo X., i. 360; his memoir addressed to Leo X. on the government of Florence, ii. 254; conspires a second time against the Medici, ii. 366; his history of Florence, ii. 366; estimate of his political writings, ii. 367.
Majo Giuniano, of Naples, preceptor of Sanazzaro, i. 49.
Mantegna, Andrea, his engravings on copper, ii. 444.
Mantua, diet of, i. 328.
Mantuano Battista, a Latin poet, i. 61.
Manuzio Aldo, account of him, i. 73 instructs Alberto Pio, lord of Carpi, i. 74; his acquaintance with Giovanni Pico of Mirandola, i. 74; his motives for undertaking to print the works of the ancients, i. 75; establishes his press at Venice, and founds an academy there, i. 75; progress and success of his undertaking, i. 76; inscribes to Leo X. the first edition of the works of Plato, i. 404; obtains from Leo X. a papal privilege, i. 407.
Marck Robert de la, gallant action of, i. 372.
Marignano, battle of, ii. 26.
Marone Andrea, an extemporary Latin poet, ii. 222.
Marullus Michaele, i. 51; encourages Charles VIII. to the conquest of Naples, i. 139.
Mary, sister of Henry VIII., marries Louis XII., i. 442; left a widow, and marries the duke of Suffolk, i. 462.
Mattioli Pier-Andrea, his commentaries on Dioscorides, ii. 327.
Mauro Francesco, cultivates the *poesia Bernesca*, ii. 157.
Maximilian, emperor elect, reconciled to Charles VIII., i. 95; enters Italy in great force, i. 176; his attempt frustrated, i. 177; makes an unsuccessful attempt on the city of Padua, i. 283; joins Leo X. in the treaty of Mechlin, i. 367; serves in the British army under Henry VIII., i. 375; razes the town of Terouenne, i. 375; submits his differences with the Venetians to Leo X., i. 382; joins with England and Spain in the treaty against Francis I., ii. 54; enters Italy at the head of his army, ii. 57; his ineffectual attempt against Milan, ii. 58; joins with Leo X. and Henry VIII. in the league of London, ii. 69; accedes to the treaty of Noyon, ii. 69; exhorts Leo X. to proceed against Luther, ii. 113; dies, ii. 246.
Mazzuoli Francesco, called "Parmigiano," his beautiful etchings, ii. 447.

Mechlin, treaty of, i. 366.
Medici, the family of, expelled from Florence, i. 120; their palace plundered, i. 120; attempt to regain their native place, i. 177; make a second attempt to enter Florence, i. 186; unsuccessful in a third attempt, i. 194; attempt a fourth time to effect their return to Florence, i. 212; again endeavour to effect their restoration, i. 329; restored to Florence, i. 335; methods adopted by them to secure their power, i. 338; conspiracy against them, i. 339; deliberations at Rome, for their aggrandizement, i. 451. —— Alessandro de', afterwards called duke of Florence, ii. 251; created duke of Città di Penna, ii. 455.—— Alfonsina de', her cautious advice to her son Lorenzo, i. 449.—— Clarice de', daughter of Piero, marries Philippo Strozzi, i. 253.—— Giovanni de', *see* Leo X.—— Giovanni de', captain of the *bande nere*, his early military services, ii. 76; his intrepidity, ii. 463.—— Giovanni de', son of Pier-Francesco, encourages Charles VIII. to enter Italy, i. 114; returns to Florence and assumes the name of "Popolani," i. 124.——Giuliano de', expelled the city of Florence with his brothers, i. 119; restored to his native place, i. 335; acknowledged as chief of the state, i. 337; institutes the order of the Diamond, i. 338; his *Impresa*, or arms, i. 338; mediates between Leo and Louis XII., i. 363; relinquishes his authority at Florence to reside at Rome, i. 386; his moderation and urbanity, i. 386; appointed a Roman citizen, i. 388; rejoicings at Rome on that occasion, i. 388; his amiable character, i. 451; married Filiberta of Savoy, aunt of Francis I., ii. 6; confidential letter to him from the cardinal da Bibbiena, ii. 8; commands the Roman cavalry as general of the church, ii. 17; his death, ii. 51.——Giulio de', son of the elder Giuliano de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII., i. 23; despatched to Rome with information of the battle of Ravenna, i. 312; raised to the rank of cardinal, i. 383; advises Leo X. against pusillanimous measures, ii. 21; takes the command in the war of Urbino, ii. 77; directs the affairs of Tuscany under Leo X., ii. 256; legate to the allied army before Milan, ii. 461; captures the city of Milan, ii. 464; original letter of, communicating the death of Leo X. to Henry VIII. and transmitting to him the bull for his title of defender of the faith, ii. 470.——Ippolito de', afterwards cardinal, a favourite of Leo X., ii. 251.——Lorenzo de', called the Magnificent, father of Leo X., destines his son Giovanni to the church, i. 10; his account of the early promotions of his son, i. 10; his efforts to obtain for his son the dignity of cardinal, i. 11; his account of the elevation of his son to that dignity, 1. 14; endeavours to shorten his son's probation, i. 22; his advice to his son on his first visit to Rome, i. 27; his death, i. 79.——Lorenzo de', son of Pier-Francesco, encourages Charles VIII. to enter Italy, i. 98; returns to Florence and assumes the name of "Popolani," i. 124.——Lorenzo de', son of Piero, afterwards Duke of Urbino, i. 252; assumes the government of Florence, i. 386; entertains the Florentines with tournaments, i. 449; cautious advice to him from his mother, i. 449; his ambitious character, i. 451; commands the Florentine troops against Francis I., ii. 17; hesitates to proceed against the enemy, ii. 25; attacks the duchy of Urbino, ii. 63; assumes the title of duke of Urbino, ii. 64; conducts the war of Urbino, ii. 76; is dangerously wounded before the fortress of Mondolfo, ii. 77; marries Madelaine de la Tour, ii. 241; his death, ii. 250. —— Madalena de', daughter of Lorenzo, married to Francesco Cibo, son of Innocent VIII., i. 12.——Piero de', brother of Leo X., visits Rome, i. 12; accompanies his brother from Fiesole to Florence after receiving the insignia of cardinal, i. 25.——Piero de', forms an alliance with Ferdinand king of Naples, i. 89; declines the proposed alliance with Charles VIII., i. 98; his agents driven from Lyons, i. 100; surrenders to Charles VIII. the fortresses of Tucany, i. 115; his letter to the magistrates of Florence, i. 116; incurs the displeasure of the Florentines, i. 118; is opposed on attempting to enter the palace, and expelled the city, i. 119; retires to Venice, i. 124; loses the opportunity of being restored by Charles VIII., i. 125; original sonnet of, i. 195; perishes in the river Garigliano, i. 251.
Melancthon-Filippo, Luther's affection

for him, ii. 116; attached to the cause of Luther, ii. 123; takes a part in the disputations at Leipsic, ii. 263; softens the asperity of Luther's doctrines, ii. 296.
Menaldo, commander of Ostia, led in triumph to Rome by Gonsalvo, i. 181.
Michele Antonio, a Neapolitan academician, i. 51.
Michelozzi Bernardo, one of the instructors of Leo X., i. 19.
Military discipline, improvements in, i. 269.
Miltitz Charles, sent by Leo X. as his legate to pacify Luther, ii. 259; his conferences with Luther, ii. 261; renews his efforts to appease him, ii. 263.
Minuziano Alessandro, of Milan, pirates the first edition of the works of Tacitus, i. 422.
Mirandola captured by Julius II., i. 292.
Molza Francesco Maria, account of his life and writings, ii. 141.
Mompensier Gilbert de Bourbon, duke de, viceroy of Charles VIII. in Naples, i. 154; compelled to retire to Atella, i. 170; surrenders himself to the Spanish troops, i. 170; his death, i. 171.
Montalto Lodovico, a Neapolitan academician, i. 50.
Montefeltri Guidubaldo di, duke of Urbino, his eulogy by Bembo, i. 59; by Castiglione, i. 60.
Moral Philosophy, study of, ii. 327.
Morone Girolamo, advises Maximilian Sforza to resign his dominions, ii. 29; negotiates for an attack on the French, ii. 67.
Mozzarello Giovanni, called "Mutius Arelius," a Latin poet, ii. 219; his unfortunate death, ii. 220.
Musurus Marcus, letter to him from Leo X., i. 402; translation of his Greek verses prefixed to the first edition of Plato, i. 403, *et* 516; appointed archbishop of Malvasia, i. 403; dies, i. 404.

N.

Naples, state of literature there in 1492, i. 37; disputed claims of the families of Aragon and Anjou to the sovereignty, i. 91; secret treaty between the kings of France and Spain for its partition, i. 215; dissensions between those monarchs respecting its division, i. 235; finally conquered by the Spaniards, i. 240.
Nardi Jacopo, his history of Florence, ii. 372.
Natural history, study of, ii. 325.
Natural philosophy, study of, ii. 316.
Navagero Andrea, his life and writings, ii. 201; exhorts Leo X. to attack the Turks, ii. 236.
Navarro Pietro, his advice at the battle of Ravenna, i. 308; made a prisoner by the French, i. 309; released by Francis I. and commands the Basque infantry in his service, ii. 16.
Nelli Pietro, called "Andrea da Bergamo," ii. 159.
Nemours, duke of, attacks the Spaniards in the kingdom of Naples, i. 237; his defeat and death, i. 340.
Nerli Filippo de', ii. 370; his commentaries on the civil affairs of Florence, ii. 371.——Bernardo and Neri de', publishers of the first edition of Homer, ii. 370.
Nestor Dionysius, his vocabulary, i. 67.
Nicholas III. enlarged the palace of the Vatican, ii. 393.
Nicholas V. his extensive project for improving the palace of the Vatican, ii. 393.
Niello, stampe di, ii. 443.
Nifo Agostino, an eminent teacher of philosophy, ii. 312.
Nino Antonio, a conspirator against Leo X., ii. 81; executed, ii. 87.
Novara, battle of, i. 370.
Novara Giovanni di, or Johannes Novariensis, points out the errors of the calendar, ii. 319.
Novels, writers of, in the time of Leo X., ii. 337.
Noyon, treaty of, ii. 69.
Numalio Cristoforo, appointed a cardinal by Leo X., ii. 90.

O.

Orlandini Piero, conspires against the Medici, i. 340; pardoned by Leo X., i. 361.
Orsini Carlo, defeats the troops of Alexander VI., i. 180.——Clarice, mother of Leo X., her dream, i. 2.——Franciotto, nominated a cardinal by Leo X., ii. 93.——Nicolo, count of Pitigliano, general of the Venetians, i. 277; his opinion on their mode of defence, i. 277; defeated by Louis XII. at the battle of Ghiaradadda, i. 278; his death, i. 287.——Paolo, put to death by Cesar Borgia

at Sinigaglia, i. 228.——Rinaldo, archbishop of Florence, his embassy to Rome, i. 23.——Virginio, engages to assist the Medici in recovering the city of Florence, i. 177; his unsuccessful attempt, i. 178.
Ostia captured by Gonsalvo d'Aguilar, i. 181.
Ottley, Wm. Young, his History of Engraving; value and beauty of the work, ii. 447

P.

Padua recovered by the Venetians, i. 283; ineffectual attempt upon it by the emperor Maximilian, i. 283.
Pagnini Sante, encouraged by Leo X. to publish his translation of the Bible, i. 426.
Palisse Le Sieur de, a French commander, surprises Prospero Colonna and takes him prisoner, ii. 19.
Pallai Biagio, called "Blosius Palladius," a Latin poet, ii. 228; publishes the "Coryciana," ii. 228.
Pallavicini Giovan Battista, raised to the dignity of cardinal by Leo X., ii. 93.——Cristoforo, a noble Milanese, put to death by Lautrec, ii. 463.
Pandolfini Nicolo, created a cardinal by Leo X., ii. 91.
Paolo Fra, his animadversions on Leo X., ii. 485.
Papal government, nature of, i. 3; its advantages, i. 7; how exercised in the middle ages, ii. 98.
Pardo Giovanni, a Neapolitan academician, i. 51.
Parmenio Lorenzo, *Custode* of the Vatican library, ii. 351.
Parmigiano, *see* Mazzuoli.
Passerini Silvio, nominated a cardinal by Leo X., ii. 92.
Pazzi Cosmo de' archbishop of Florence, conspires against the Medici, i. 340.
Pellegrino da Modena, paints in the Vatican, ii. 428.
Penni Giov. Francesco, called "Il Fattore," a pupil of Raffaello, ii. 428.
Petrarca, his reproaches of the Roman court, ii. 99.
Petrucci Borghese, expelled from Siena by Leo X., ii. 50.——Raffaello obtains the chief authority in Siena, ii. 50; appointed a cardinal by Leo X., ii. 92.——Alfonso, a cardinal, conspires to destroy Leo X. by poison, ii. 80; is seized on by Leo X., ii. 82; degraded from his rank, ii. 87; strangled in prison, ii. 87.
Piccolomini Francesco, *see* Pius III.
Pico Giovanni, of Mirandola, his friendship with Aldo Manuzio, i. 74.——Galeotto assassinates his uncle Giovan-Francesco, ii. 315.——Giovan-Francesco, count of Mirandola, ambassador of Julius II., i. 290; restored to his dominions by Julius II., i. 293.——Giovan-Francesco, account of his life and writings, ii. 313; his unhappy death, ii. 315.——Lodovico, count of Mirandola, killed, i. 285.
Pio Alberto, lord of Carpi, i. 74.
Pippi Giulio, called "Giulio Romano," a disciple of Raffaello, assists him in painting the Vatican, ii. 427.
Pisa, asserts its liberties, i. 121; the inhabitants entreat the protection of Charles VII., i. 159; prepare for their defence, i. 175; exertions for that purpose, i. 197; repulse the Florentines, i. 209; surrender to the Florentines, i. 286; council of, i. 296; transfer their session to Milan, i. 297.
Pisani Francesco, appointed a cardinal by Leo X., ii. 93.
Pius III., Francesco Piccolomini, i. 28; his election and short pontificate, i. 242.
Platonic philosophy, its effects on the established religion, ii. 104; its study restrained by the church, ii. 105.
Pliny the elder, his works commented on and published, ii. 326.
Poderico Francesco, a Neapolitan academician, i. 47.
Politiano Angelo, an early instructor of Leo X., i. 17; his letter to Innocent VIII., i. 17; original letter from him to Lorenzo de' Medici, i. 18; his Latin writings compared with those of Pontano, i. 39; inventory of his library at his death, i. 121.
Pollajuolo Antonio, an early engraver on copper, ii. 444.
Pomponazzo Pietro, called "Perotto," an eminent professor of philosophy, ii. 309.
Pontano Giovanni, called "Jovianus Pontanus," i. 37; his various works, i. 38; his Latin poetry compared with that of Politiano, i. 39; appointed secretary to Alfonso II., i. 105; his oration before Charles VIII., i. 154; his treatise, "De Principe," ii. 328; his work, "De Obedientia," and other moral writings, ii. 329.

Pontremoli, massacre of the inhabitants of, by Charles VIII., i. 161.
Ponzetto Ferdinando, created a cardinal by Leo X., ii. 93.
Popes, origin of their temporal authority, i. 4; mode of electing, i. 349.
Portio Camillo, his oration in praise of Emanuel, king of Portugal, i. 407.
Prato sacked by the Spaniards, i. 332.
Prie Aymar de, captures the territory of Genoa, ii. 18.
Prierio Silvestro, master of the apostolic palace, answers the propositions of Luther, ii. 111.
Pucci Lorenzo, endeavours to assist the cause of the Medici in Florence, i. 328; raised by Leo X. to the rank of cardinal, i. 383.
Puntormo Giacomo da, employed as a painter by Leo X., ii. 441.

Q.

Querno Camillo, called the "arch-poet," ii. 223.

R.

Raffaello d'Urbino, *see* Sanzio.
Raimondi Marc-Antonio, an eminent engraver on copper, ii. 445.
Rangone Ercole, raised to the rank of cardinal by Leo X., ii. 92.
Rannusio Giovan-Battista, ii. 200.
Ravenna attacked by the French under Gaston de Foix, i. 305; battle of, i. 306.
Ravenna Marco da, an engraver, ii. 446.
Reformation of the church, its origin, ii. 98; by what means promoted by Luther, ii. 123; its further progress, ii. 258; uncharitable spirit of its first promoters, ii. 295; its effects on literary studies, ii. 297; on the fine arts, ii. 299; on the political and moral state of Europe, ii. 302.
Relics sent by the Turkish emperor to the pope, i. 31.
Rhallus Manilius, appointed archbishop of Malvasia by Leo X., i. 403.
Riario Raffaello, cardinal of S. Georgio, i. 29; favours the election of Leo X., i. 351; conspires against Leo X., ii. 83; degraded from his rank, ii. 87; pardoned and restored to favour, ii. 88; quits Rome to reside at Naples, ii. 88.
Ricci Pietro, called "Petrus Crinitus," i. 69; laments the approaching calamities of Naples, i. 140; his ode on the prospect of expelling the French from Naples, i. 152.
Ridolfi Nicolo, created cardinal by Leo X., ii. 91.
Riva Andrea, the Venetian commissary, hung with his son by Louis XII., i. 280.
Robbia Luca della, an artist employed by Leo X., ii. 439.
Rome, state of literature there in 1492, i. 33; in 1513, i. 394; its population in the time of Leo X., ii. 95.
Rosi Francesco de', presents to Leo X. his translation of an Arabic MS., i. 426.
Rosmini Cav., his excellent Life of Trivulzio; attempts to defend him from the charge of betraying Ferdinand of Naples, i. 142; account of the battle of Marignano, by some denominated Melegnano, or S. Donato; letter of Francis I. to his mother Louisa on that event, ii. 28; extract from Morone's defence, on being accused of treachery to the duke his master, Maximilian Sforza, ii. 30; error pointed out by him; some inadvertencies in his valuable work detected, ii. 34; ruins of a chapel erected by Louis XII. to S. Maria della Vittoria, as a mark of gratitude and piety for his victory, i. 280; anecdote of Francesca, widow of Lodovico Pico, and daughter of Gian Jacopo Trivulzio, i. 293; inadequate authority for attributing a victory to Trivulzio at Bologna, i. 294.
Rossi Luigi, nominated a cardinal by Leo X., ii. 91.
Rovere Francesco Maria della, afterwards duke of Urbino, i. 60; attacks the Venetians, i. 277; assassinates the cardinal of Pavia, i. 294; absolved from his homicide by the pope, i. 295; excommunicated and expelled from his dominions by Leo X., ii. 61; publishes a letter arraigning the conduct of Leo X., ii. 71; recovers his dominions, ii. 71; challenges Lorenzo de' Medici to single combat, ii. 74; has recourse to a stratagem, ii. 76; withdraws his army, ii. 78; resigns his dominions, ii. 78.——Galeotto della, a cardinal, his accomplished character and untimely death, i. 255.——Giovanni della, lord of Sinigaglia, i. 60.——Giuliano della, *see* Julius II.
Rucellai Bernardo, refuses the office of envoy from Florence to congratulate

Leo X. on his election, i. 358.——Giovanni, Castellano of S. Angelo, ii. 169; his didactic poem "Le Api," ii. 171; his tragedy of "Oreste," ii. 172.

S.

Sabadino Giovanni degl' Arienti, his novels entitled "Porrettane," ii. 338.
Sabeo Fausto, *Custode*, or keeper, of the Vatican library, ii. 351.
Sacchetti Franco, his novels entitled "Pecorone," ii. 338.
Sadoleti Jacopo, afterwards cardinal, a Neapolitan academician, i. 51; appointed pontifical secretary to Leo X., i. 361; account of his life and writings, ii. 179; his verses on the Laocoon and Curtius, ii. 231; his oration against the Turks, ii. 237; his library lost, ii. 364.
Salernitano Masuccio, his "Cento Novelle," ii. 338.
Salviati Giovanni, raised to the rank of cardinal by Leo X., ii. 91.
Sanazzaro Giacopo, called "Actius Syncerus," i. 40; his "Arcadia," i. 42; his other writings, i. 43; his dissensions with Politiano, i. 44; his sonnet on the abdication of Alfonso II. of Naples, i. 138; accompanies Federigo II. of Naples into France, i. 219; his Italian writings compared with those of Bembo, ii. 130; his Latin writings, ii. 184; his poem "De partu Virginis," ii. 186.
Sangro Giovanni di, a Neapolitan academician, i. 47.
Sanseverino Cardinal, commands in the battle of Ravenna, i. 307; restored to his rank by Leo X., i. 390.
Sansovino, *see* Contucci.
Sanzio Raffaello, d'Urbino, his early studies, ii. 406; improves himself from the cartoons of Lionardo da Vinci and Michel-Agnolo at Florence, ii. 406; commences his paintings in the Vatican, ii. 410; his representation of ——Theology, ii. 410, Philosophy, ii. 412, Poetry, ii. 412, Jurisprudence, ii. 412; whether he improved his style from the works of Michel-Agnolo, at Rome, ii. 414; circumstances decisive of the question, ii. 415; his picture of Heliodorus, and other works, ii. 416; employed by Leo X. to proceed in painting the frescoes of the Vatican, ii. 419; his picture of Attila, ii. 419; its allegorical purpose explained, ii. 420; his picture of the liberation of St. Peter, ii. 421; works executed by him for Agostino Chisi, ii. 422; his Galatea, ii. 422; his history of Cupid and Psyche, ii. 423; his statue of Jonah, ii. 424; his portrait of Leo X., ii. 424; his coronation of Charlemagne, and other works, ii. 426; his Loggie, ii. 427; his Cartoons, ii. 429; his picture of the Transfiguration, ii. 430; his designs for the paintings in the hall of Constantine, ii. 432; employed by Leo X. to delineate the remains of ancient Rome, ii. 433; appointed by Leo X. prefect of the building of St. Peter's, ii. 434; his report to Leo X. on the state of the ancient buildings in Rome, ii. 435; the original drawings of architectural remains in Rome by his own hand, made at the desire of Leo X., now in the library of T. W. Coke, Esq., at Holkham, ii. 437; his death, ii. 438; further account of his works, and of his scholars, by Count Bossi, ii. 438; his liberal disposition, ii. 439.
Saraceno Giovan-Antonio, envoy from Siena, to congratulate Leo X. on his elevation, i. 359.
Sarto Andrea del, employed in painting for Leo X. the palace of Poggio-Cajano, ii. 441.
Sauli Bandinello de', cardinal, arrested as one of the conspirators against Leo X, ii. 82; his motives and conduct, ii. 87; degraded from his rank, ii. 87; pardoned and restored by Leo X., ii. 87.
Savonarola Girolamo, his violent harangues at Florence, i. 32; his interview with Charles VIII. at Pisa, i. 158; his death and character, i. 193.
Scala Bartolommeo, of Florence, i. 51.
Selim usurps the Ottoman throne, ii. 233; defeats the Sophi of Persia, ii. 234; conquers Egypt, ii. 234; occasions great alarm in Italy, ii. 235.
Sforza Ascanio, a cardinal, i. 29.——Francesco, alliance between Leo X. and Charles V. for restoring him to Milan, ii. 454; obtains the government on the expulsion of the French, ii. 465.——Gian-Galeazzo, duke of Milan, oppressed by his uncle Lodovico, i. 84; his interview with Charles VIII. at Pavia, i. 113; his death, i. 113.——Lodovico, encourages men of talents, i. 65; his ambitious views, i. 84; jealous of the alliance between Piero de'

Medici and the king of Naples, i. 87; resolves to invite Charles VIII. into Italy, i. 87; forms a league with the pope and Venetians, i. 88; usurps the government of Milan, i. 113; forms a new alliance with Charles VIII., i. 171; his extravagant grief on the death of his wife Beatrice of Este, i. 179; forms an alliance with the Florentines, i. 190; betrayed by the Swiss, i. 208; his imprisonment and death, i. 208. ——Maximilian, restored to the government of Milan, i. 337; prepares to defend his dominions against Louis XII., i. 368; his apprehensions of treachery, i. 370; relinquishes to Francis I. the duchy of Milan, ii. 29.
Silvestri Guido Postumo, account of his life, ii. 216; his Latin writings, ii. 219.
Sion, cardinal of, stimulates the Swiss to oppose the French, ii. 22.
Sixtus IV., his death, i. 11.
Society, errors incident to an early state of, ii. 306.
Soderini Francesco, cardinal, favoured by Leo X., i. 361; conspires against the pope, ii. 85.——Pietro, preserves Florence from the attacks of Cæsar Borgia, i. 122; is appointed *Gonfaloniere* for life, i. 223; his indecision, i. 331; is deposed from his office, i. 333; escapes into Turkey, i. 334; is recalled and favoured by Leo X., i. 361. uctions
Sozzini Bartolommeo, gives instr to Leo X., i. 21.
Stampa Gaspara, an Italian poetess, ii. 156.
Staupitz John, general of the Augustines, applied to by Leo X. to pacify Luther, ii. 113; prevails upon Luther to address to the cardinal of Gaeta a conciliatory letter, ii. 120.
Strozzi Ercole, a Latin poet, i. 53.—— Filippo, marries Clarice, daughter of Piero de' Medici, i. 253.——Tito Vespasiano, a Latin poet, i. 53.
Suffolk, duke of, marries Mary, sister of Henry VIII. and widow of Louis XII., i. 462.
Summonte Pietro, a Neapolitan academician, i. 49.
Surrey, earl of, defeats James IV. of Scotland at the battle of Flodden, i. 376.
Swiss, betray Lodovico Sforza, i. 208; arrive in Italy in the service of Leo X., i. 368; defeat the French at the battle of Novara, i. 370; compel the duke de la Tremouille to enter into the treaty of Dijon, i. 379; undertake the defence of Milan, ii. 21; defeated at Marignano by Francis I., ii. 27; join the pope and emperor Francis I., ii. 462.
Symmachus Pope, erected the palace of the Vatican, ii. 393.

T

Taro, battle of the, i. 165.
Tebaldeo Antonio, i. 49; his opinion on the abdication of Alfonso II. of Naples, i. 139; his sonnet on the conquest of Naples by Charles VIII. i. 145; account of his life and writings, ii. 131.
Tebalducci Anton-Giacomino, defends Leghorn against the emperor elect, Maximilian, i. 177.
Terouenne razed by the emperor elect, Maximilian, i. 375.
Terracina Laura, an Italian poetess, ii. 156.
Tetzel John, answers the propositions of Luther, ii. 110.
Theophrastus, his works published, ii. 326.
Tintoretto, the painter, terrifies Pietro Aretino, ii. 344.
Tomeo Nicolo Leonico, first explains the works of Aristotle in the original Greek, ii. 308.
Tomombey, the last sovereign of the Mamelukes, defeated and put to death by Selim, emperor of the Turks, ii. 235.
Torriano, the three brothers of, ii. 214.
Tournay captured by Henry VIII., i. 375.
Tremouille, duke of, attacks the Milanese as general of Louis XII., i. 369; compelled by the Swiss to enter into the treaty of Dijon, i. 379; opposes the Swiss in Provence, ii. 16.
Tribolo, a Florentine sculptor, ii. 441.
Tribraco Modonese, a Latin poet, i. 53.
Trissino Gian-Giorgio, introduces the *Versi sciolti*, or Italian blank verse, ii. 165; his "Italia liberata da' Goti," ii. 167.
Trivulzio Gian-Giacopo, betrays the king of Naples, i. 141; allows the cardinal de' Medici to escape, i. 324; enters Italy as Marshal of France, against Milan, i. 369; promises to deliver up the duke of Milan to Louis XII., i. 370; passes the Alps at the head of the

French, ii. 18. —— Agostino, raised to the rank of a cardinal by Leo X., ii. 93. —— Scaramuccio, appointed a cardinal by Leo X., ii. 93. —— Theodoro, a commander in the service of the Venetians, his remark o the death of D'Alviano, ii. 34.

V.

Vaga Perino del, assists Raffaello in painting the Vatican, ii. 428.
Valeriano Giovan-Pietro, of Belluno, called "Pierius Valerianus," i. 51; attends the court of Leo X., ii. 382; his treatise, "De Literatorum Infelicitate," and other writings, ii. 383.
Valle Andrea della, raised to the rank of cardinal by Leo X., ii. 91.
Valori Nicolo, the biographer of Lorenzo the Magnificent, conspires against the Medici, i. 340; condemned to perpetual imprisonment, i. 360; pardoned by Leo X., i. 361.
Vatican Palace, its érection and progressive improvements, ii 393; library, increased by Leo X., ii 350; *Custodi*, or keepers of, ii. 351; its state under Clement VII., ii. 353; learned librarians of, ii. 353.
Venetians, causes of the jealousy of the Europeans against them, i. 267; repel the attack of the emperor elect, Maximilian, i. 271; prepare for their defence against the league of Cambray, i. 276; their territories dismembered, i. 280; exertions of the senate, i. 282; recover the city of Padua, i. 283; defeated on the Po by the duke of Ferrara, i. 285; pacify and form an alliance with Julius II, i. 287; form with Louis XII. the treaty of Blois, i. 364; submit their differences with the emperor elect, Maximilian, to Leo X., i. 382; renew the treaty of Blois with Francis I., ii. 4; assist him in recovering the Milanese, ii. 27; despatch an embassy to Francis I. at Milan, ii. 33; recover the city of Brescia, ii. 65.
Veneziano Agostino, an eminent engraver on copper, ii. 446.
Verazzani Giovanni, an eminent navigator, ii. 321.
Vercelli Battista da, employed by the cardinal Petrucci to poison Leo X., ii. 81; executed, ii. 87.
Vespucci Amerigo, ii. 321.
Vicenza, battle of, i. 380.
Vick Gulielmo Raimondo, appointed a cardinal by Leo X., ii. 92.
Vida Girolamo, account of his life, ii. 189; his "Christiad," ii. 191; his "Poetics," ii. 192; his Ode to Leo X., exhorting him to attack the Turks, ii. 236.
Vincenzo da S. Gemignano, paints in the Vatican, ii. 428.
Vinci Lionardo da, i. 63; his picture of the Last Supper, i. 64; emulation between him and Michel-Agnolo, ii. 398; his Cartoons of the Wars of Pisa, ii. 399; doubts respecting his visit to Rome in the pontificate of Leo X., ii. 422.
Vio Tomaso di, nominated a cardinal by Leo X., and called cardinal of Gaeta, or "Cajetanus," ii. 90; authorized by Leo X. to call Luther before him at Augsburg, ii. 114; interview between him and Luther, ii. 117; writes to the elector of Saxony against Luther, ii. 120.
Virunio Pontico, i. 67.
Visconti Gasparo, i. 66.
Vitelli Paolo, attempts to storm the city of Pisa, i. 176; appointed general of the Florentine army by the rules of astrology, i. 189; captures the fortress of Vico-Pisano, i. 193; effects a breach in the walls of Pisa, i. 198; brought to Florence and decapitated, i. 199. —— Vitelozzo, put to death by Cesar Borgia, at Sinigaglia, i. 227.
Volta Achille della, wounds Aretino with a dagger, ii. 344.
Urbino, seized on by Leo X., ii. 64; Lorenzo de' Medici created duke of, ii. 64; recovered by the exiled duke, ii. 71; wars respecting it, ii. 75; ceded to Leo X., ii. 78; united to the dominions of the church, ii. 256.
Urceus Codrus, i. 68.

W.

Wittemberg, the university of, intercedes with Leo X. on behalf of Luther, ii. 115.
Wolsey Thomas, appointed bishop of Tournay, i. 375; succeeds Christopher Bambridge as archbishop of York, i. 441; raised to the rank of a cardinal, ii. 35.

X.

Ximenes Cardinal, his great Complutensian Polygot, dedicated to Leo X., i. 426.

Z.

Zanchi Basilio, of Bergamo, a Latin poet, i. 51, *et* ii. 214.

Zazzi Rinaldo, assists the cardinal de' Medici in effecting his escape, i. 322.

Zenone Rutilio, a Neapolitan academician, i. 49.

Zizim, brother of the Sultan Bajazet, delivered into the custody of Innocent VIII., i. 29; accompanies Charles VIII. on his expedition to Naples, i. 134; his death, i. 140.

Zuinglius promotes the Reformation in Switzerland, ii. 290.

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7188